A Critical Examination of Māori Economic Development: A Ngāti Awa Perspective

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ABSTRACT

This thesis provides a critical examination of Māori economic development with particular emphasis on the Eastern Bay of Plenty iwi of Ngāti Awa.

A 'development patterns framework' was employed in order to explore key patterns and characteristics associated with Ngāti Awa development from the arrival of Māori in Aotearoa New Zealand, the subsequent colonisation by Britain, and the outcome of these two very different settlement patterns. The preliminary sections of the thesis discuss the relevant social, cultural, political and economic contexts that are used to build the multi-layered historical foundation of the research. The underlying evidential base includes a comprehensive literature review of historical records such as examination of the Ngāti Awa Treaty of Waitangi claim, as well as a comparative analysis of alternative indigenous development models in both non-tribal and international contexts.

The research approach was designed with two aims: Firstly, to clarify what is meant by 'Maori Economic Development' – an approach that allows the researcher to refine both its meaning and practical application. And secondly, to provide the foundation for the field research and to elicit key findings from a series of interviews conducted with 'key informants'. The key 'informants' included leaders of the rūnanga, tribal members of Ngāti Awa, as well as

external personnel regarded as influential in shaping Māori development policy and practice.

The historic patterns of development, and the cultural, commercial and community aspects of Ngāti Awatanga discussed in the literature review, in addition to the research fieldwork, contributed to the Māori development framework. The development of a framework was the major objective of this research in order that a uniquely Māori perspective on development from an iwi-centric basis could then be provided.

The creation of specific iwi-centric research combined with a kaupapa Māori development framework, are two significant outcomes arising from the research process. These outcomes not only make an original contribution to knowledge about Māori development, but they have been achieved using a non-traditional research approach. In addition, the key findings and the conclusions identified in this research should assist Ngāti Awa as the tribe endeavours to adapt to the many future challenges that lie ahead.

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ATTESTATION OF AUTHORSHIP

I hereby declare that this submission is my own work and that, to the best of my knowledge and belief, it contains no material previously published or written by another person (except where explicitly defined in the acknowledgements), nor material which to a substantial extent has been submitted for the award of any other degree or diploma of a university or other institution of higher learning.

Jim Mather

18 August 2014

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Nōku e rangahau ana i tēnei kaupapa i ngā tau e ono kua pahure, kua ukaukaina ahau e te taunaki o ōku tūpuna me tōku whānau. Nā ō rātou wawata mō tō mātou iwi ahau i whakakipakipa hei whakatutuki i ngā mahi, ahakoa i ētahi wā he māmā ake kia whakarerea tēnei kawenga ki te taha. He rētō te puna o tōku aroha, e kore rawa e tōmiti ngā mihi ki a koutou.

In a very personal way, throughout the six year duration of undertaking this research, I have always felt sustained by the support of my tūpuna and whānau. It was because of their aspirations for our people and tribe that I was able to draw the strength to continue when at times it would have been much easier to simply set this work aside. My aroha for you all runs deep.

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PREFACE

I was fortunate to live with my maternal grandparents for three years at our whānau homestead in Te Teko in 1971 when I was seven years old. A lasting impression from that time is that neither of my grandparents ever once spoke to me in Māori; nor did they ever share any insights into traditional cultural practices. This was surprising as they were both native speakers of te reo Māori and had led very traditional Māori lives. Along with their other grandchildren I was strongly encouraged to *'learn the ways of the Pākehā'*, which entailed getting a good education, speaking English well, finding employment and hopefully never experiencing the hardships that they had to endure. It was a profound first-hand experience of the impact of pervasive assimilation practices which had been widely accepted by our Māori elders at that time.

Undertaking this research has been a journey of enlightenment. Issues such as why many of those of earlier generations made the decision to hold fast to their own culture, language and heritage whilst actively encouraging their children and grandchildren to adapt to the changing world, have become much clearer. These personal insights make it clear to the researcher that Māori economic development has been a complex process that has been shaped by a range of different cultural, social, political and economic conditions prevailing at particular periods throughout the history of Aotearoa New Zealand.

As a tribal member who long ago moved away from his traditional home area of Ngāti Awa, I am considered an 'outsider' by those who remained. So although this means I am not widely known to the *'ahi kaa' ('keepers of the home fires'),* or those who live within the traditional boundaries of the tribe, it has enabled me to undertake this research with a degree of independence and autonomy. Another perceived advantage is that I can use my professional experience gained from my roles associated with business development and that as a chief executive, to be able to contribute to this research. My recent work life has provided me both with an understanding of, and different insights into 'economic development' and has been a major stimulus for undertaking the research.

For several years I was employed as the Chief Executive Officer (CEO) of an economic development agency, namely the Pacific Business Trust (PBT). The PBT was a government funded national organisation which equated economic development with 'business'. My role was to facilitate the creation and implementation of business programmes designed to encourage New Zealanders of Pacific descent to start up and operate successful business entities. After working alongside other Economic Development Agencies in Auckland I became aware of the differing interpretations and priorities encompassed by the term 'economic development'.

My subsequent role as CEO of Māori Television (2005 - 2013) gave me an understanding of the strong emphasis of the cultural foundations of development as highlighted by the organisation's mission which was to *'contribute to Māori success through te reo me ngā tikanga Māori'*. Māori Television, as an indigenous media organisation, provides a uniquely Māori perspective on issues of historical and current importance while at the same time promoting Māori language and culture. During my tenure we began to explore links with other indigenous broadcasting organisations located in North America and Australia, as well as those in other parts of the world. While doing this I discovered an element that has influenced my research, and that is the significance of the environment, or the context, in which development occurs.

As I was finalising my research I began working in a new role in October 2013 as CEO of the national Māori tertiary institution Te Wānanga o Aotearoa (TWoA). This has given me the opportunity to consider the role of tertiary education in the development of Māori and as a driver of economic development. But that journey is only just beginning. My current task is to complete the research begun several years ago in an effort to understand the essence of Māori economic development.

Based on my background, professional career experiences, and my role as an 'insider / outsider' of Ngāti Awa, I believe that I have not been influenced by the legislatively mandated tribal authority, Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Awa

(TRONA), or any other tribal groups or individuals, during the research process. This was particularly important to me in my desire to produce original and independent research that is intended to make a meaningful contribution to the future development of Ngāti Awa. It is hoped that this iwi centric research will therefore be of benefit to tribal members, whether they reside in the traditional *rohe* or elsewhere.

The findings of this research is offered to the people of Ngāti Awa so that they can use it to identify and select viable pathways for the future development of the tribe. Since the history, experiences and context of Ngāti Awa economic development is not particularly dissimilar to other tribes, it is hoped that it will also be relevant and help those tribes in their struggle to improve the well-being of their people.

CHAPTER 1 - INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the research

The story of the Māori people is a saga of human endeavour. It is essentially a tale of Polynesian explorers who colonised numerous Pacific islands from their ancestral origins in the region of Taiwan and New Guinea right across the vast expanse of the Pacific Ocean eastward to South America and then to the world's most southern landmass, Aotearoa (New Zealand). After arriving in Aotearoa around 1100 CE, Māori were themselves colonised after almost 700 years of isolation and independence. The signing of The Treaty of Waitangi with the English colonisers in 1840 was a catalyst for a bewildering array of change and challenges for Māori that have continued unabated through to the present time. This research explores what is commonly referred to as Māori economic development and specifically the Ngāti Awa response to the changing conditions and events of the past 174 years.

The Polynesian exploration and settlement of the vast Pacific region was a feat of human achievement which arguably ranks amongst the greatest successes of mankind. Noted New Zealand historian Michael King (2003) observed that these journeys, which covered over half of the earth's surface, were being undertaken whilst European mariners dared not venture beyond the continental coastline. He further endorsed comparisons that have been made between Polynesian migration throughout the Pacific and the 1960s

space exploration programme, citing that 'the Pacific Ocean with its widely spaced islands dotted across a vast surface was a kind of terrestrial mirror of the galaxy' (King, 2003, p. 50).

The reasons for these waves of Polynesian explorers to the Pacific over several millennia will remain forever uncertain. However, the pattern of exploration, discovery, settlement and then further migration, which included Tonga, Samoa, Hawai'i, Tahiti, Rapanui, the Cook Islands, Pitcairn and eventually New Zealand, is likely to have been driven by a wide range of internal and external factors that emerged at different times. Factors such as pressure on resources, population increases, disputes, conflicting leadership ambitions, or even simply an innate desire to explore further, may all have contributed to the legacy of Polynesian colonisation across the Pacific.

What is known with certainty is that the discovery and subsequent settlement of Aotearoa was the last stage in this incredible exploration of the huge expanse of the Pacific and which is likely to have also included the west coast of South America given the origins of the staple Māori kumara or South American sweet potato. Another prominent New Zealand historian Jamie Belich concluded that 'Lapita pottery and a range of domesticated plants and animals were acquired from South-East Asia' (Belich, 1996, p. 25). This discovery, along with Māori possession of the kumara and other historical and linguistic based evidence, further supports the theory of Polynesian migration across the Pacific and its eventual destination in Aotearoa.

Aotearoa or 'the land of the long white cloud', which supposedly derived its name from exclamations of *'Aotea! Aotea!'* (clouds denoting landfall) made by the navigator of the double-hulled ocean voyaging canoe, was the last remaining large mass of uninhabited land in the Pacific. Although a range of dates have been posited, the actual date of Polynesian discovery of Aotearoa remains inconclusive with the period from 1150 to 1350 C.E. being a generally accepted consensus (King, 2003). However, others suggest an arrival date around 800 C.E (Walker, 2004), whilst specific Ngāti Awa research based on oral historical records document an even earlier arrival period of 500 C.E. (Nuku, Ngaropo, & Belshaw, 1995).

The arrival of the Polynesian explorers in Aotearoa occurred in waves that took place over several centuries and supposedly culminated with a 'great migration' that consisted of seven waka or large canoes. This was apparently a controlled migratory process undertaken by Polynesian seafarers who were able to navigate the vast Pacific Ocean and there is evidence of return trips from Aotearoa to Hawaiiki, the ancestral homeland of those early explorers. Aotearoa was uninhabited by humans at the time of the first arrival, and these Polynesian explorers became the first settlers of New Zealand. With the eventual arrival in the late eighteenth century of early European colonisers, the indigenous people or 'tāngata whenua' ('people of the land') became collectively known as 'Māori'.

Once settled in Aotearoa these Polynesian explorers (the term 'Māori' was not used until the mid-nineteenth century) remained undisturbed by the outside world until the fleeting appearance of Dutch explorer Abel Janszoon Tasman in 1642. Tasman's most lasting contribution as the first European to 'discover' Aotearoa was to name it 'Staten Land' as he considered it may have been the western extremity of Staten Land in South America. After this was proven to be incorrect it was renamed 'Nieuw Zeeland' after a province in Tasman's native Netherlands and was eventually adapted to 'New Zealand' with the passage of time.

This initial external contact was not followed up until over a century later in 1769 by the legendary English mariner Captain James Cook, with the subsequent onslaught of large-scale British colonisation that occurred after the 1840 signing of the Treaty of Waitangi. Although the post-European colonisation period covers less than 180 years, it has been a period of the greatest challenges ever confronted by Māori despite their long and eventful history, initially as explorers of the Pacific and finally as the indigenous inhabitants of Aotearoa New Zealand.

One of the initial seven ocean-going canoes that formed part of the supposed 'great migration' was the Mataatua waka, which landed in what is today known as the Bay of Plenty region of New Zealand. Of the several tribes which descended from the Mataatua waka were the people of Ngāti Awa who settled in the Eastern Bay of Plenty region around the key coastal area of

Whakatane, augmenting those earlier Māori arrivals who were already established in the area.

Over several centuries Ngāti Awa became an economically advanced tribe (iwi) which grew and developed through trading activities, inter-marriage and military actions both with and against other iwi. Soon after British colonisation began at the beginning of the nineteenth century, Ngāti Awa also established successful trading relationships with the early Pākehā (European) settlers such as sailors, sealers, whalers, missionaries and others prior to the large-scale immigration of British settler families.

Recognising that rapidly increasing colonisation had significantly changed the 'balance of power' in favour of the British, Ngāti Awa, in February 1840, became a signatory to the Treaty of Waitangi, the founding document of New Zealand. Along with the majority of other iwi, Ngāti Awa supported the terms of the Treaty in the hope that it would provide a level of protection and security in the face of rapid colonisation and mass immigration. Soon after ratification of the Treaty of Waitangi, the English colonisers oversaw the widespread confiscation of Māori land and other resources. This pattern of land acquisition and alienation of Māori by subsequent colonial governments of that time significantly undermined the commercial progress of Ngāti Awa and most of the other tribes. It also had a detrimental impact on the interrelated social and cultural development of many of the iwi, including Ngāti Awa. The historical context of this impact is explored in Chapter 3 *'The*

Growth and Development of Ngāti Awa'. However, it is somewhat ironic that the Treaty later led to the establishment of the Waitangi Tribunal, which in turn led to the Ngāti Awa claim and eventual settlement agreement with the Crown.

It was not until the establishment of the Waitangi Tribunal in 1975, under the Treaty of Waitangi Act 1975, that it became possible to redress historical Treaty related grievances. The Tribunal was established as a permanent commission of inquiry charged with making recommendations on claims by Maori against the Crown that relate to actions and / or omissions dating back to 1840. Claims have been focussed on alleged breaches to the articles of the Treaty of Waitangi. Using this framework, the Treaty claim of Ngāti Awa (WAI 46) was lodged with the Waitangi Tribunal and progressed over a 30 year period, subsequently resulting in a settlement agreement in 2005 which consisted of reimbursement of cash and assets valued at $42.39 million (New Zealand Government, 2003a).

1.2 Research issues

Although colonisation related grievances represent a long and difficult period in the history of Ngāti Awa, the focus of this research is on their future economic path and the important concept of *'winning the peace'*. Notwithstanding the importance of historical issues, it is recognised by Ngāti Awa tribal leaders that the focus should be on the continued rebuilding of a successful and prosperous iwi.

The story of Māori development is not just a saga of the incredible deeds of Māori in their exploration of the vast Pacific region while establishing communities on the various islands *en route* to Aotearoa, and then living in isolation until the arrival of the first wave of European settlers in the late eighteenth century. Nor is it an historical account of colonisation and the severe impact on an indigenous people who were overwhelmed over a relatively short period of time by large influxes of European settlers, bringing bewildering new technologies, with the resulting dispossession of their land, traditions and language. Of course these events and other wider societal influences are all important elements. However, the story of Māori economic development is ultimately about the way in which Māori have adapted to those changing economic and social conditions, with particular emphasis on the role of Iwi in forging a distinctive model of 'development'.

There are specific questions in regard to issues such as how Ngāti Awa responded and adapted to the challenges of unparalleled disruption to their way of life prior to colonisation. How did the catalysts of change and subsequent patterns of development throughout the post-colonial period in Aotearoa affect Ngāti Awa? Why did Ngāti Awa respond in the ways that they did, and what were other key events in New Zealand society that influenced those responses? How are current generations of Ngāti Awa coping with past influences, whilst at the same time dealing with the present and planning for their future. And, as a corollary to these questions, what do the people of Ngāti Awa envisage in the post-Treaty settlement environment?

1.3 Justification for the research

The overarching focus of this thesis is a critical examination of Māori development with the iwi of Ngāti Awa as the central element. Both the context and substance of Māori development after colonisation provides the foundation for the research which uses a development framework that includes Maori cultural traditions and history within the New Zealand political economy over time. The framework will then be used to evaluate the progress being made by Ngāti Awa including a review and critique of both current and alternative development pathways.

It is this fusion between Māori 'development' *per se* and an iwi-centric approach to our understanding of what is meant by 'economic development' that is expected to make an original contribution to knowledge.

1.4 Research methodology

In order to conduct *'a critical examination of Māori economic development'* while presenting *'a Ngāti Awa perspective'* the research methodology incorporates six distinctive components:

1. An examination of 'Māori development' from pre-colonial settlement to the present day with particular emphasis on cultural traditions and practices that form the core of Māori value systems and beliefs.

2. An analysis of development patterns over time within New Zealand as society engaged in and mediated the political and economic conditions that prevailed at particular periods.

3. The combining of the first two components in order to explore the relationship between Māori development and the political economy of New Zealand.

4. An examination of Ngāti Awa's development as a tribal entity within the context of New Zealand's political economy in accordance with Te

Rūnanga o Ngāti Awa (TRONA) interpretation of economic development.

5. Consideration of alternative approaches to indigenous development that include local non-tribal based models as well as international approaches.

6. A critical assessment of Ngāti Awa's approach to economic development and how this contributes to Māori development through policy and practice. Interviews will be conducted with key people from within the rūnanga of Ngāti Awa as well as informed outsiders for this part of the research.

The research methodology for this thesis is anchored in an exploration of Māori development, not only in terms of cultural traditions and practices, but also as indigenous settlers coming to terms with colonisation as well, as the changing dynamics of New Zealand's political economy. The first three components of the research programme are based on historical records and the literature review and encompasses both Māori and Pākehā development. To be able to examine and analyse the vast amount of literature available two specific frameworks are used. The first focusses on what could be described as the political economy of Māori as gleaned from historical records, such as those of the Waitangi Tribunal, and from the work of Māori scholars in

particular, as well as through discussions with Māori philosophers and academics.

The second framework used in analysing New Zealand's development over time is based on an examination of 'development patterns' that capture the dynamic relationships between people, the institutions they have established, and the systems or structures of society within which they operate. The use of this framework allows social formations to be explored by identifying those periods when a variety of forces and conditions caused a significant shift in society. By utilising a framework that is simultaneously historical, empirical and critical it is possible to identify economic, political and social connections including the drivers of development and those underlying theories and assumptions on which development outcomes are based.

The research method used to examine Ngāti Awa include a documentary analysis and interviews with key people of TRONA. The documentary analysis is comprised of historical records that relate to Ngāti Awa's Treaty of Waitangi claim (the Claim) as well as those records maintained by TRONA. A leading kaumātua of Ngāti Awa and a former chairman of TRONA were instrumental in getting access to these records and also provided background information on the development of the Ngāti Awa as an iwi.

The final part of the research is a series of interviews with individuals referred to in this thesis as 'key informants'. The key informants include leaders of the

rūnanga, tribal members of Ngāti Awa, as well as external personnel who are regarded as influential in shaping Māori development policy. The information from the interviews is complemented by an examination of other approaches to indigenous development along with an analysis of the relevance of the different development models that need to be considered in the research conclusions.

The literature review consists of the examination of historical records and the Ngāti Awa Treaty of Waitangi claim. This forms the basis of the empirical evidence for this thesis. To be able to use this approach it was necessary to examine the development of the different social formations of New Zealand society over the last 200 years. It includes how the different cultural traditions and practices evolved and were affected by the changing social and political parameters. It was necessary to identify the key periods when various forces and conditions occurred that moved society from one formation to another. As a result, documentation related to the Ngāti Awa Treaty of Waitangi claim, along with other relevant publications and books has been incorporated into the literature review. Further additional research was also undertaken to include comparative material drawn from other approaches to indigenous development.

A core component of the research was a range of interviews with key informants to be able to then analyse various aspects and characteristics of

Māori economic development. The interview participants included the Minister of Māori Affairs, the Chairman of the Iwi Leaders Forum, Ngāti Awa tribal leaders, urban Māori leaders, Māori development practitioners, tribal members of Ngāti Awa, and others influential in Māori development. Based on the depth of expertise, experience and commitment to Māori economic development demonstrated by the key informants, it was expected that their views and opinions would contribute significantly to the body of knowledge informing both Māori and rūnanga development.

To complement the importance of the interview process and the resultant key findings, the researcher also had an 'insider' perspective on the tribal affairs of Ngāti Awa through his early upbringing in the region, the views of whānau still living there as well as subsequent engagements with Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Awa (TRONA). Attendance at various whānau and tribal hui, as well as meetings associated with economic development and educational initiatives has enabled the researcher to relate theoretical aspects of his research with actual events he has experienced or participated in. This 'insider' perspective has also enabled the researcher to more critically evaluate key themes and viewpoints arising from the interview process.

Given the high degree of relevance of the Ngāti Awa perspective to this research, the long-time Chairman of TRONA, Sir Hirini Moko Mead, was also consulted who then provided on-going mentoring and support. Furthermore, engagement and discussions took place with other senior figures within

TRONA and the wider tribe. It is expected that this holistic approach should increase the relevance of the research to TRONA, particularly if they choose to benchmark the economic development of Ngāti Awa and review the strategic direction that has been set by the Rūnanga.

An exploratory approach was adopted in preference to using a specific hypothesis or research question. The reason for this decision was to be able to explore in a progressive manner the patterns and characteristics associated with Māori development since the arrival of Māori in Aotearoa New Zealand, the subsequent British colonisation and then the major changes that have occurred in the post-colonisation period through to the present time.

It was considered that this approach, aligned with the literature review and primary research, would contribute to a better understanding of the meaning of Māori economic development. If it is possible to identify a uniquely *kaupapa Māori* framework then that framework should be capable of capturing the dynamic relationship between Māori, the institutions that they have established and the broader systems or structures within New Zealand society. Only a research framework that is simultaneously historical, empirical and critical can capture these changing relationships over time. This development framework could then be used to critique the economic development progress being made by Ngāti Awa while also exploring other viable pathways.

1.5 Ethical considerations

AUT Ethics Committee approval for this research was provided on 28 March 2013 (AUTEC reference number 13/35).

The key ethical considerations focused on the interview process as it was extremely important to clarify the authenticity of documentary records and to identify any disjuncture between policy and practice. The interviews were considered to be critical in linking the global views of Māori development and how TRONA applied those views in practice. This emphasised the need for interpretative research as it required analysing the responses to questions by the intentionally chosen research participants.

To ensure that the interviews could be analysed appropriately the following process was followed:

a) All interviews were recorded and then comprehensively transcribed. The transcribed, verbatim interview notes were integrated with notes made by the researcher which then gave a descriptive record of the interview to be analysed and interpreted.
b) The researcher read through all the transcribed data to identify the key themes and meaning of the information provided.
c) A standardised coding process was implemented to segment the data into categories such as general themes, sections and related topics.

d) All identified topics were listed and categories created to simplify the analysis and interpretation process.
e) Preliminary interpretations were developed and reviewed against the interview transcriptions to test the analytic process and veracity of the interpretations.
f) Once the analysis was validated initial conclusions were then drawn.

To obtain a purposive sample thirteen participants were recruited by either direct correspondence or a personal approach . TRONA offered support in facilitating the recruitment of interviewees. However, to maintain the integrity of the sample only the researcher made contact with the participants. It was also considered inappropriate to use TRONA facilities for the interviews, although some participants are / were employed by the organisation. Interviews were conducted at locations chosen by participants and included offices, cafes, motels and a marae.

Participants were given the opportunity to withdraw from the interview process, and their identity and personal information was not used in the research without their authorisation. Research participants were told they could review their transcript of the interview and make amendments if necessary. The results were reported in an aggregated fashion and so specific findings were not attributed to any participants without seeking and

receiving their permission to do so. However, as there was only a small number of participants, the context and views expressed might be identifiable. For this reason, only limited confidentiality could be offered to those interviewed.

It is recognised that the research could lead to findings that are potentially controversial as the topic involves a 'critical examination' of Māori development from a Ngāti Awa perspective. The approach highlights the possibility that the findings might be critical of TRONA's performance. There were some negative views expressed during the interview process that might be considered provocative. However, the researcher deems that those views expressed by the participants, and the associated key findings, are not of a sufficiently controversial nature to warrant withdrawing from the research.

CHAPTER 2 – THE CULTURAL CHARACTERISTICS OF MĀORI DEVELOPMENT

2.1 Introduction

The next three chapters explore the key patterns and characteristics of development that have impacted upon Māori society, its beliefs, customs and practices since the arrival of Māori in Aotearoa. Chapter 2 focuses primarily on the cultural concepts of development and it examines the far-reaching impact of European colonisation on Māori development. Chapter 3 examines the growth and development of Ngāti Awa, whilst Chapter 4 provides a comprehensive contextual analysis of development in Aotearoa from the advent of European settlement to the present day. These three chapters provide a framework for the critical analysis of Māori economic development and a platform for the fieldwork components of the research which are outlined in Chapter 7.

Chapter 2 focuses specifically on Māori development not simply as a catalogue of historical events, but primarily as an exercise in identifying critical patterns in the development of both a society and its people. Accordingly, the research highlights milestone events that have resulted in significant changes that were uniquely different from the status quo at the time, and which ultimately led to major changes in the equilibrium of Māori society. Finally, this chapter also provides a Ngāti Awa perspective on

development which forms the initial basis of a specific Māori economic development framework.

2.2 Key cultural concepts associated with Māori development

An important starting point in analysing Māori development is to firstly consider the underlying cultural context in which such development has occurred, with a specific emphasis on relevant core components of Māori culture (as distinct from esoteric aspects of Māori spirituality). These cultural concepts relate to the fabric of Māori societal development and provide essential background understanding as to the various identifiable patterns of Māori development.

The foundation unit of Māori society has traditionally been the whānau, or extended family, typically consisting of three generations. As the size of whānau grew over several generations and interconnected with other whānau, they eventually acquired the status of hapū, or sub-tribe, usually consisting of 200 to 300 people. Over time several hapū would join forces to form the largest traditional Māori collective being that of an iwi or tribe. At this stage in Māori history the rational purpose for development of iwi collectives was primarily self-preservation including the capacity to defend tribal territories.

Aside from the pragmatic issues related to security, a key unifying aspect of whānau, hapū and iwi was usually an eponymous ancestor and genealogical links to a common ancestral waka which made the original migratory journey from the spiritual Māori homeland of Hawaiiki to Aotearoa (Walker, 2004). Affiliation by waka, such as *Mataatua* which incorporates the tribes of Ngāti Awa, Ngāi Tūhoe, Te Whakatōhea, Te Whānau ā Apanui and Tauranga Moana, provided the broadest level of tribal identification and alliance. Notwithstanding the consolidating ties of a common ancestral waka, most coordinated activities tended to occur at the whānau and hapū levels.

With the foundations of Māori society being based on the whānau, hapū and iwi framework, collectivism is a historical feature of Māori development. However, in a kaupapa Māori context the concept of collectivism can be more accurately described as whanaungātanga which refers to inherent relationships based on kinship as opposed to organisatonal structure. Whanaungātanga also reflects the process by which whānau ties and responsibilities are strengthened (Whaiti, McCarthy, & Durie, 1997). The subordination of an individualistic Māori focus and an overriding cultural emphasis on collective benefits and responsibilities is epitomised in the well-known whakataukī or proverb *'ehara taku toa i te toa takitahi, engari he toa takitini'* (my strength is not mine alone, but the strength of many). Based upon this collectivist tribal philosophy are a range of important aspects of Māori culture which continue to reinforce the customs, protocols and beliefs still prevalent within traditional Māori society to this day. That said, it should

be noted that Māori urban migration, particularly in the post-World War II period, has seen a greater emphasis on individualism by many Māori who have over time become disconnected from their traditional whānau, hapū and iwi ties. This gradual shift of urban Māori away from their tribal roots, along with what appears to be an increasing emphasis on individualism, is highlighted by the results of Census 2006 which recorded the fact that approximately 20 per cent of Māori were completely unaware of their tribal connections.

Notwithstanding the impact of rapid urban migration, in a Māori development context the tribal collectivist model continues to feature strongly and is reinforced by the concept of *'kotahitanga'* or 'tribal unity'. Since the arrival of Māori in Aotearoa tribalism has been a core feature of Māori society, however *kotahitanga* was also an historical response to security risks (as well as opportunities) associated with inter-tribal conflict and the pragmatic logic of the 'security in numbers' philosophy. Both tribalism and *kotahitanga* have continued to remain key aspects of modern Māori society, although attempts at 'pan-tribalism' or unified tribal approaches have tended to gain traction primarily in larger cities where there is a greater propensity for Māori of varying tribal backgrounds to be interacting and living side-by-side on a daily basis.

Another important cultural concept is *'kaitiakitanga'* which is derived from the historical meaning of spirits who are entrusted with guiding and protecting

sacred places and their descendants. In a contemporary setting it is most commonly related to guardianship and the protection of resources and people for the benefit of all constituents. *Kaitiakitanga* is a common theme of modern Māori development with many research participants emphasising a guardianship role over land and resources, as well as tribal language and other cultural revitalisation responsibilities.

An overview of the cultural aspects associated with Māori development would be incomplete without discussion of the important concept of *'mana'* based on its sheer pervasiveness in associated literature. Historical references to *'mana'* referred to the paramount power of the gods or *'the sacred fire that is without beginning and without end'* (Barlow, 2004, p. 61), whilst modern interpretations have been simplified to include power, authority and prestige. The term *'mana'* also incorporates the concepts of *'mana tāngata'* and *'mana whenua'* which are important in relation to Māori economic development as they refer respectively to the power acquired by individuals or groups of people to wield influence through specific skills and acquired knowledge, as well as the power associated with land and its capacity to produce economic outcomes (Waikerepuru, 2005). Furthermore, the two concepts are inextricably linked as '*mana whenua'* cannot be exercised without *'mana tāngata'* and groups being prepared to defend the mana of their whenua.

The importance of land and its significance is further emphasised by the concept of *'tūrangawaewae'* or a 'place to stand'. *'Tūrangawaewae'*

highlights the fact that land should not only be viewed as a powerful economic resource, but also a source of identity and a deep sense of belonging to a whānau, hapū and iwi. Moreover, *'tūrangawaewae'* also implies an indelible bond with ancestral land and the related concept of *'whakapapa'*. This is emphasised by a common phrase recounted by many Māori elders: *'you always whakapapa back to the land'*.

The literal meaning of *'whakapapa'* is 'to lay one thing upon another' as in one generation upon another (Barlow, 2004, p. 173). Although the modern usage of the term *'whakapapa'* is often associated with genealogical recitation, it is further defined by Barlow as 'a basis for the organisation of knowledge in respect of the creation and development of all things'. Accordingly the history of Māori development and its associated cultural components for the purposes of this research is encapsulated in the term *'the whakapapa of Māori development'*.

2.3 The whakapapa of Māori development

The whakapapa of Māori development has a series of layers which extends back to migration across the Pacific, eventual arrival in Aotearoa around 1150 C.E. and subsequent pre-contact tribal development. Over a 600 year period Māori societal development was characterised by inter-tribal warfare and based predominantly on the whānau, hapū, and iwi structure underpinned by

a collectivist philosophy and regulated by a framework of key cultural concepts, rituals and protocols.

The arrival of early European settlers at the end of the 18th century through to the onset of mass immigration after the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840, heralded the start of full-scale colonisation of Aotearoa. The impact of colonisation has been profound for Māori as it set in motion a series of events that have greatly influenced the whakapapa of Māori development through to the present day.

Some of the key events in Māori development that precipitated periods of significant change are highlighted by major milestones such as the aforementioned pre-contact tribal development, contact and engagement with early settlers, the impact of Christianity, the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi, and subsequent mass European immigration. The resultant loss of land and alienation of Māori subsequently led to conflict with Pākehā settlers, the overwhelming use of military force by the British, attempts by some Māori to unify under the banner of the Kingitanga, eventual erosion of Māori language and culture, aligned with subsequent major socio-economic Māori underachievement. A critical juncture in Māori development occurred through the 1950s and 1960s when many Māori migrated from the rural areas of the country to the towns and cities of New Zealand. The urban migration of Māori was accompanied by the implementation of Government assimilation policies

and the subsequent disconnection of a predominantly urban Māori population from traditional hapū and iwi ties.

All of these milestones were noted by the prominent Māori leader, the Reverend Māori Marsden, as being representative of a common pattern of events in countries where indigenous peoples have been subjected to colonisation. These patterns are also supported by comparative studies of the experiences of the indigenous peoples of Australia and Canada, which will be addressed in Chapter 6. Marsden referred to this process as the implementation of 'colonialist policies' whereby 'its methods of operation and pattern of imposition are clearly distinguishable and highly predictable' (Marsden, 2003). He categorised the five successive aims and objectives of colonisation as:

1. *Pacification* - by treaty, military, paramilitary or legislative means.
2. *Dispossession* - by the appropriation of lands and resources.
3. *Disenfranchisement* - by dispossession and alienation.
4. *Deculturation* - by cultural genocide under assimilation policies.
5. *Assimilation* - the assimilation and conditioning of the minority indigenous people.

The history of New Zealand (Belich, 1996; King, 2003; Oliver, 1960) indicates that successive Governments have attempted to implement a framework of 'colonialist policies' since first contact with Māori through to the present time.

Yet ultimately it can be concluded that the overall goal of assimilation and deculturation as reviewed by Marsden has failed. A key factor in mitigating the assimilation objective stems from the renaissance of Māori language and culture in the 1970's, which subsequently ensured that Māori were not subsumed by the majority culture. This development was further strengthened by Treaty settlements and associated self-determination opportunities that have arisen in the post-Treaty settlement environment being experienced by many tribal entities.

Another perspective on the colonisation of New Zealand and the impact on Māori has been provided by Ngāi Tūhoe kaumātua John Rangihau who chaired a Māori perspectives advisory committee for the Department of Social Welfare in 1986. The purpose of the committee was to provide advice on how best to achieve a 'bi-cultural approach to policy, planning and service delivery within the department' with the objective of improving relations with Māori (New Zealand Government, 1986). After widespread consultation with Māori and other stakeholders, covering 65 consultation meetings involving several thousand participants, the report *'Puao-te-Ata-tu' ('Day break')* was published. The report catalogued historical interactions between Māori and European settlers from a Māori perspective, with the conclusion being that institutionalised racism existed in New Zealand and specifically within the Department of Social Welfare.

'We had countless discussions and consultations. The faces and the places have been different, the statements have been made in countless different ways, but the messages have been the same' (Rangihau, 1986, p. 17). Those messages of frustration, anger and alienation reflected the historical break-down of the Māori institutions of whānau, hapū and iwi and the existence of both cultural and institutional racism. The report also noted that 'the disintegration of Maori society has occurred over a 150 year period', which reflected the process detailed in Marsden's colonalisation framework.

Māori writers who have addressed Māori development from an indigenous perspective have also emphasised the importance of integrating core Māori values into any development framework or strategy. Some of the most powerful interpretations of Māori development have come from Māori scholars placing emphasis on the cultural foundations of what it means to be 'Māori' and relating these characterstics, values and beliefs to the changing political economy of the country.

Ranginui Walker begins his story of 'development from below' by identifying the mythologies and beliefs conveyed from one generation to the next through an oral tradition rooted in traditional Māori structures such as the marae.

'The Māori people had been in occupation of the land they called Aotearoa for a thousand years before systematic colonisation by Europeans began in

1840. From this prior occupation they derive status as tangata whenua (people of the land). According to their mythology, Papatuanuku the Earth-mother and Ranginui the sky-father were the first cause. They begat the gods who presided over the land, seas, forests, animals and plants. From the bottom of the Earth-mother Tane the procreator fashioned Hine-ahu-one the Earth-formed-maid to establish the descent of man. Because man is derived from the Earth-mother who provides sustenance with food from her bosom, the Earth was loved as a mother is loved'.

(Walker, 1982, p. 69)

Those holistic development philosophies were further examined by Walker who referred to the need for Māori to ensure they retained their culture and vibrancy to 'exorcise the Pākehā ghost of assimilation, and its weaker sibling integration' (Walker, 2004, p. 389) . In Walker's *'State of the Nation'* section of *'Ka Whawhai Tonu Mātou' ('Struggle Without End')* he considers that Māori are now 'irrevocably integrated into the political economy' whilst extolling the ideology of bi-culturalism (ibid 2004, p. 390). His approach emphasised that Māori must not only operate and function in two cultures, but moreover merge Māori tikanga and values with the political, social, cultural and economic factors that inevitably interact to shape wider Māori development.

Reference to the critical role of cultural values in Māori development was further highlighted by former Secretary of Māori Affairs, Kara Puketapu. He stated very succinctly that 'in the same way we deal with our rules on marae

you deal with the same rules in business, there is no difference'. Moreover, Puketapu also highlighted the cumulative benefits arising from development approaches that combine the 'whole power force of Māoridom' in a more holistic approach (Puketapu, 2010). Those benefits were predominantly a far greater sustainable approach to Māori development based on achieving integration and balance between social, cultural, business and community objectives.

Puketapu was also the primary advocate for the 1978 *'Tū Tangata'* (*'Stand Tall'*) policy framework based on the promotion of socio-economic equality programmes through local development programmes. A core component of 'Tū Tangata' was the integration of core Māori values and a focus on an holistic approach to Māori development (Fleras, 1984). Tikanga Māori (at that time) was uncharacteristically positioned as a positive influence which could enhance the value of a range of associated community development programmes which included trade training for school leavers and the *'Kohanga Reo'* full Māori immersion pre-school 'language nests'. The contemporary political and public funding support for Kohanga Reo, which has continued to the present time, was a significant milestone in terms of not only the growing recognition of bi-culturalism, but also the value of adopting an holistic approach to Māori development.

Sir Hirini Mead has consistently approached Māori development from an holistic perspective, incorporating tikanga Māori concepts as well as general

development philosophies. Mead has defined tikanga as 'the set of beliefs associated with practices and procedures to be followed in conducting the affairs of a group or individual' (Mead, 2003, p. 12). In terms of putting the concepts of tikanga into practice, Mead specifically refers to three key inter-related elements of tikanga Māori as: having the requisite background knowledge, understanding the concepts related to the tikanga, and being cognisant of the associated principles and values (ibid, 2003). In Chapter 5.2 of this research Mead is referred to in further detail in relation to his views on 'Ngāti Awatanga' or the strong bond and sense of connection that Ngāti Awa tribal members should innately have with the iwi. However, he has further acknowledged that a successful Māori development framework must also have a corporate focus which incorporates recognition that tikanga associated with Ngāti Awatanga must be maintained.

Contemporary Māori writers who approach Māori development from a cultural framework or perspective include Henare who examined the Māori social organisation and its social fabric (Henare, 2003, p. 124). He referred to 'mauri, tapu and mana as part of a matrix of ethics and pointers to a Māori worldview'. A Māori scholar who applied this holistic view to the health sector is Sir Mason Durie. By articulating a Māori development model for the health sector Durie identified three patterns of Māori participation in health since 1900. He also identified specific Māori characteristics relating to 'the location of the mana, the type of leadership, and the purpose of the intervention' (Durie, 1998, p. 41). These characteristics were subsequently reflected in the

'Whare Tapa Whā' model (a four-sided house) which had a specific focus on *taha wairua* (spiritual), *taha hinengaro* (mental), *taha tinana* (physical) and *taha whānau* (extended family). The unique feature about this model is that it reflected a specific Māori perspective and increasing acceptance of specific Māori cultural values in the health sector. This was previously emphasised by the 'Ngā Take o Te Whānau' model which considered family and whānau capacities for the healthy development of Māori (Whaiti *et al*., 1997, p. 10).

The holistic frameworks of indigenous scholars such as Rangihau, Mead, Walker and Durie contrast noticeably with commentators such as McLeod and Wijohn who have made important contributions to economic development from alternative perspectives. Of Ngāti Porou descent, McLeod's interpretation of Māori economic development is essentially libertarian with an emphasis on self-responsibility, limited government, individual property rights and human capital (as opposed to) cultural capital.

In a keynote address to the Hui Taumata in 2005, McLeod argues for the significance of education as an important contributor to economic development in general and Māori economic development in particular. His fundamental argument is that 'choice' is the key ingredient for the economic and social progress of Māori with the most valuable economic asset in terms of choice being the individual's human capital. It follows that education and training is significant in terms of enhancing human capital and he then extends the libertarian argument to the national economy by reducing all

organisational forms and structures to individual self-interest, asserting that 'private firms are more effective at generating most economic goods and services than government' (McLeod, 2005).

The thesis advanced by McLeod is persuasively argued if one accepts the underlying theoretical assumptions or drivers of his philosophical framework. It is a position espoused by the Business Roundtable of which McLeod was Chairman and consistent too with the framework advanced by the New Zealand Treasury in their 1984 and 1987 publications wherein society was portrayed as a collection of individuals without any social or cultural identity.

Families and tribes are not organic entities with morality, rationality and senses, they cannot feel pleasure and pain … if social entities derive their value from the fact that people as individuals derive value from them, then it would seem that the individual person is the logical basis for analysis (New Zealand Treasury, Vol I, p. 410).

It is a framework in which human groups, institutions and collectivities of one sort or another are reduced to a world of rational individual beings seeking to maximise their productive capacities (Shirley, 1990, pp. 351 - 390). Even concepts such as justice and fairness are prescribed by individual rights and responsibilities and as a consequence the concept of 'government' is limited to a residual role reminiscent of the reluctant liberal state which operated in New Zealand toward the end of the nineteenth century. What is apparent

from examining the analytical frameworks adopted by Māori scholars is that the whakapapa is essentially different. Whereas McLeod bases his analysis on Libertarian constructs, Walker *et al.* argue from a holistic cultural framework that describes the past as *'ngā wa o mua'* (the days in front) and the future as *'kei muri'* (behind). Māoridom moves into the future with its eyes on the past. In deciding how to act in the present it examines the panorama of history spread before its eyes and in this process selects the most appropriate model or approach. It is not simply an approach to history in the *western* tradition, but rather an appreciation of those historical forces, values and beliefs that are critical in making judgements at a particular period of historical time.

In order to conduct this approach as a means of understanding 'development', it is necessary to look at the development of New Zealand society over the past 200 years and the way in which the different cultural traditions and practices, including the changing parameters of our social and political lives, can be understood through an examination of different social formations. This means identifying those key periods of time in which various forces and conditions came together to signify a significant shift in society from one particular formation to another. This development pattern framework is explored further in Chapter 4.2.

2.4 Creation of a development framework based on core Māori values

To provide a uniquely Māori perspective on the whakapapa of Māori development, the whakataukī or proverb *'kia uru kahikatea te tū'* is used to encapsulate the nature and key characteristics of Māori development. Māori often recite whakataukī to provide a set of philosophical cultural reference points to emphasise, in a metaphorical sense, key aspects of important issues.

'Kia uru kahikatea te tu' refers to the Māori tribal or collectivist approach whereby collaborative effort on the part of all relevant parties is deemed necessary to achieve successful outcomes. The whakataukī refers to the kahikatea tree (dacrycarpus dacrydioides) and its interdependence with other kahikatea tree for both strength and survival. The literal meaning of the whakataukī is *'to stand as a grove of kahikatea'*.

The kahikatea is typically the tallest tree in the forest, and grows in groves with other kahikatea. It is unique and resilient as its root structure does not primarily grow below ground, but rather across the forest floor to connect and intermingle with the roots of other kahikatea. It is this intermingling of roots with other kahikatea that makes it amongst the strongest and most resilient of native trees within the forests of Aotearoa. Kahikatea trees literally stand as a grove and as a result are extremely difficult to fell because they are supported by the intertwined roots of other kahikatea.

Figure 1 – A grove of Kahikatea and the 'intermingling' root structure of Kahikatea trees

The direct correlation between the kahikatea and the Māori tribal approach, whereby strength and survival are predicated on whanaungātanga, represents a core underlying value of Māori development. A successful economic development strategy, therefore, inherently needs to also incorporate the foundation tribal concepts of whānau, hapū, iwi, within the

interwoven core cultural values of kotahitanga, kaitiakitanga, mana whenua, mana tāngata and tūrangawaewae.

During the research process it was expected that an overarching Māori development framework based on *'kia uru kahikatea te tu'* and core Māori values might be helpful in providing a cultural platform for an iwi-centric research approach.

CHAPTER 3 – THE GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT OF NGATI AWA

3.1 Introduction

Recounting of the story of Ngāti Awa requires appropriate coverage of the associated historical context which has significantly influenced the development of the tribe. This chapter covers the key issues that have given rise to the present situation of the people of Ngāti Awa. It refers primarily to the report developed by Professor Sir Hirini Mead and Jeremy Gardiner which was used as the basis of the tribe's successful Treaty of Waitangi claim presented to the Waitangi Tribunal in 1994 (Mead & Gardiner, 1994). That report is further reinforced by other tribal research including the closing submissions of the Hapū of Ngāti Awa in support of Claim WAI – 46 (Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Awa, 1995) and the eventual legislative conclusions reached in the settlement of the Claim on 24 March 2005.

The story of Ngāti Awa, however, is not simply an historical account of key events in the history of the tribe. It must also articulate the essence of Ngāti Awatanga, i.e. the language and culture of Ngāti Awa, aligned with core societal concepts and cultural values. This framework of values, customs, beliefs and traditions contributes to the overall Ngāti Awa perspective on economic development, and is particularly relevant given that it incorporates core components of the tribe's successful Treaty of Waitangi claim. Accordingly, the historical patterns of development of the tribe need to be

interwoven with key aspects of Ngāti Awatanga including further development of the *'kia uru kahikatea te tu'* framework. Moreover, key milestone events in the history of Ngāti Awa are explored through utilisation of Marsden's 'colonialist policies' model of pacification, dispossession, disenfranchisement, deculturation and the overall objective of assimilation.

3.2 Pre-contact history through to the Treaty of Waitangi

It is stated through traditional Ngāti Awa recounting of history that Tīwakawaka, a grandson of the legendary voyager Maui, made the initial discovery of the area today known as Whakatane. Twelve generations from Tīwakawaka arose his descendent Toi, who is acknowledged as a principal ancestor of Ngāti Awa (New Zealand Government, 2003b). The tribal name of Ngāti Awa, '*the great tributary of Rangi'* originates from Awanuiārangi I, the son of Toi (Nuku *et al*., 1995).

Ngāti Awa traditions such as whakapapa, waiata, kōrero and whakairo then recall the arrival of the waka Mataatua (*'Face of the Supreme Being'*) from the ancestral home of Hawaiki. The name of the waka had been inspired by the vision of the Supreme Being *Io Matuanui* materialising after karakia was recited *en route* to Aotearoa to protect the voyagers who had encountered very turbulent conditions.

The arrival of the Mataatua waka in Te Moana Nui a Toi (the Eastern Bay of Plenty of Aotearoa) almost 200 years after the initial discovery by Tīwakawaka, is a seminal event in the history of Ngāti Awa. Captained by another principal ancestor of Ngāti Awa, Toroa, there were also many other ancestors on board from whom almost 22,000 Ngāti Awa are descended. Alongside Toroa on the Mataatua waka was his daughter, Wairaka, who is credited with actions which gave rise to the region being named Whakatane. It is recounted in traditional whaikōrero that upon arrival and mooring of the Mataatua in the estuary close to the location of the current township, the men left the waka in the care of the womenfolk whilst they climbed the hillside to Kapu-te-rangi. In the absence of the men the waka started drifting uncontrolled back out to sea upon which Wairaka was prompted to chant *'E! Kia whakatane au i ahau'* (let me act the part of a man). This led to the women on the waka breaching protocol and paddling it back to shore and in the process giving the area its eventual modern name of *'Whakatane'.*

Upon settlement of the Whakatane region, Ngāti Awa and other tribes which descended from the Mataatua waka, remained largely undisturbed until the arrival of the first wave of Pākehā in the late eighteenth century. The intervening seven centuries was a time of adaption by Māori to the new land, environment and range of food sources. During this period tribalisation and associated whanaungātanga became key features of Māori development, based initially on historical waka affiliations and then reinforced by such factors as interaction with other tribes, inter-tribal warfare and intermarriage.

This traditional Māori period also strengthened and reinforced the core Māori characteristics associated with tribalism. As concluded in the submissions made to the Waitangi Tribunal 'each group held dominion over its borders, managed its resources (based on subsistence) and established effective political and social structures' (Nuku *et al*., 1995).

The arrival of the *'Endeavour'* captained by James Cook in 1769 led to the initial tranche of Pākehā arriving on the shores of Aotearoa which included missionaries, sealers, whalers, traders and others. At the forefront of the early stages of this English colonisation of Māori and Ngāti Awa was the arrival of missionaries. The missionaries were associated with trade and developed influence with their peace-making role within Ngāti Awa. However, an unfortunate aspect of the arrival of missionaries was their willingness to trade the most prized possession of that era being muskets. The northern iwi of Ngāpuhi was the tribe to have earliest contact with missionaries and accordingly the first to have access to muskets and other weaponry. Ngāpuhi was then able to conduct successful raids of other tribal areas, including Ngāti Awa, based on their military superiority through being armed with muskets. This was an advantage that other tribes wanted to minimise promptly and accordingly the missionaries were welcomed by most tribes.

The missionaries were followed by the traders who were keen to exploit the rich natural resources of the region such as flax and timber. Although there was minimal interest in trading with Māori for goods they produced, like the

missionaries before them, the traders also offered the most prized possession which was still the musket. With more frequent and larger raids being conducted by Ngāpuhi through the 1820s and 1830s against Ngāti Awa, access to muskets became a high priority for Ngāti Awa.

Agricultural related trade developed in the early 1840s with wheat and potatoes being the first types of crops (Petrie, 2006). The introduction of the horse drawn plough opened up large scale cultivation and flour mills were then established by Ngāti Awa. Government subsidies encouraged the building of flour mills by Ngāti Awa and large water-driven mills were later built by Māori around 1860. However, wheat growing and flour milling was adversely impacted by land confiscations and also competition from other regions with more suitable climates. In addition to early ownership of flour mills, Ngāti Awa also bought several boats to transport produce down the Tarawera and Rangitikei rivers to Whakatane, and then on to traders at Auckland and Russell for export to Sydney (Mead & Gardiner, 1994). Ngāti Awa chiefs had identified the opportunities that the arrival of the missionaries and then traders provided. They also recognised that the tide of change, based on unprecedented levels of new arrivals from England, Scotland, Ireland, Wales as well as other European countries and Australia, was irreversible (ibid, 1994).

3.3 Pacification by treaty - The Treaty of Waitangi

On 6 February 1840 Māori chiefs, predominantly of the northern tribes, and Pākehā leaders congregated at the Waitangi homestead of the 'British Resident', James Busby, to reach agreement on the future relationship of the two peoples of Aotearoa. As the consular representative, Busby had been under longstanding instructions from Governor Richard Bourke of New South Wales, 'to protect the more orderly British settlers and traders and prevent outrages by the less orderly Europeans against Maori' (Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 2012). Unfortunately for Busby throughout his tenure he was given minimal support and resources to achieve those aims and subsequently acquired the unflattering nickname from Māori of *'Man-o-War without guns'*. Busby had earlier sent a request in 1837 to his British superiors, which in turn was accepted and relayed to Commander William Hobson to sail to New Zealand to provide security and support after continued escalation of inter-tribal fighting. Hobson was later appointed Governor of New Zealand in 1840 and almost immediately set about drafting a treaty designed to pacify the indigenous Māori with the assistance of Busby and his secretary James Freeman (Orange, 1987).

The context of the development of the Treaty of Waitangi was that Māori consent and support were required to enable British colonisation to occur at that specific time. This was highlighted by earlier British support for the Declaration of the Independence of New Zealand, which was drafted by

Busby in 1834 and signed by prominent northern chiefs, including Tamati Waka Nene, on 28 October 1835. This declaration enabled northern Māori tribes to create a pseudo state under the mantle of the 'United Tribes of New Zealand' and most importantly claim the status of an independent sovereign nation. It was, however, largely a contrived measure on the part of the British to undermine the colonial aspirations of the French, and it clearly recognised that the balance of power still remained fully with Māori at that time. However, the British Colonial Office was not supportive of this Māori led declaration of sovereignty and they continued to assert the need for a formal agreement that recognised British colonial ownership of the fledgling colony (Belich, 1996). This desire eventually resulted in the Treaty of Waitangi.

The contemporary position of strength held by Māori was also later emphasised by the English Lords of the Treasury who instructed Busby in 1839 that pending mass scale colonisation must 'be strictly contingent upon the indispensable preliminary of the Territorial cession having been obtained by amicable negotiation and with the free concurrence of the native chiefs' (New Zealand Papers 1820 - 1890, 1907). Indeed the scale of British and European immigration was significant post ratification of the Treaty in 1840, with 12,000 Pākehā settling in New Zealand in 1844, 26,000 by 1851, 59,000 by 1858, and 99,000 by 1861. Conversely in 1857 there were 56,000 Māori, an historical low of 42,000 in 1896, and then a recovery in growth noted in the census of 1906 (ibid, p. 335). These figures indicate that the two population trajectories crossed paths around 1857 – 1858 when the respective

populations were of similar size, but heading in completely different directions.

The onset of exponentially increased levels of immigration had also been signaled in 1839 by the New Zealand Company, which was an English-based entity influential in organising passage for British migrants to New Zealand. The privately owned company apparently also had plans to colonise New Zealand and create its own form of government (King, 2003). Accordingly, Busby was expected to encourage Māori to cede their sovereignty to the British Crown and on 15 June 1839 a new Letters patent was issued to expand the territory of New South Wales to include all of New Zealand. This development further emphasised the British Government's own intent to annex Aotearoa and commence mass-scale colonisation (ibid, p. 214). Interestingly, the Colonial Office originally contemplated establishing a *'Māori New Zealand'*, but after the demise of the New Zealand Company's ambitious plans, these plans were refocused on a *'settler New Zealand in which a place had to be kept for Māori'* (Orange, 1987, p. 32).

Initially 40 chiefs signed the Treaty of Waitangi on 6 February 1840 and copies of the Treaty were subsequently taken around the country for other chiefs to sign. Although many decided against committing to sign the Treaty, ultimately over 500 chiefs signed various copies of the document and it eventually became incorporated into New Zealand history. An unfortunate aspect of the origins of the Treaty was the haste in which it was prepared and

translated, which led to on-going disputes over its intent and meaning which continue to the present day. Hobson, along with Busby and Freeman, recruited the assistance of missionary Henry William and his son Edward who translated the English version of the Treaty into Māori overnight on the eve of the actual presentation of the Treaty document to the assembled chiefs. This translation process occurred after the actual Treaty had been formulated over the preceding three days.

The Treaty of Waitangi is comprised of three key articles which contain significant differences in their English and Māori language translations. Under article one of the English version, Māori leaders ceded to Her Majesty Queen Victoria of England *'all the rights and powers of sovereignty'* over their land. However, in the Māori version of the Treaty, the Chiefs gave the Queen *'te kāwanatanga katoa'* or complete governorship over their land, which is a less definitive obligation. It also reflects the highly implausible scenario of Māori chiefs giving up their *'tino rangatiratanga'* particularly as they were still the powerbrokers at that stage of the country's development. In return, under article two of the English version, the Queen of England guaranteed Māori *'exclusive and undisturbed possession of their lands and estates, forests, fisheries and other properties'*. Appended to this clause was the controversial caveat *'so long as it is their wish and desire to retain in their same possession …'* Once again, the English version conflicted with the Māori version of the Treaty, whereby it was generally assumed by the chiefs in attendance that *'te tino rangatiratanga'* or the unqualified exercise of chieftainship over their

lands, villages and all of their properties and taonga (treasures) was being guaranteed. Finally, under article three, as well as the provision of *'tino rangatiratanga'* as outlined in Article Two, the Queen of England also extended *'to the Natives of New Zealand, Her royal protection and imparts to them all the rights and privileges of British subjects'*. Although 'royal protection' was a key driver for Māori support for the Treaty at that time, this third clause also envisaged a subordinated role for Māori akin to being 'British subjects' which was contrary to the understanding and expectations of the assembled chiefs as outlined in the Māori version of the Treaty which referred to *'oritetanga'* or equality between Māori and other New Zealanders.

Whilst the motivation for the British to enter into a treaty of pacification of the indigenous peoples of New Zealand included annexation before other European powers, such as the French, as well as the facilitation of mass settlement (Belich, 2001a) there were also senior officials and missionaries who harboured personal ambitions and foresaw opportunities to enhance their own positions and standing. Hobson had clearly identified the expediency required to ratify the intent of the Treaty, which saw him asserting British sovereignty over the entire country as the Treaty was still being taken to various tribes throughout the outlying regions for signing. Whilst the Treaty supposedly gave Māori sovereignty over their lands and possessions and all of the rights of British citizens, the initial Māori signatories to the Treaty were also motivated by a range of other benefits. Those additional advantages included a desire for protection from the pending onslaught of immigration

and potential associated lawlessness, the possibility of governorship over European settlers and traders, and the benefits that would accrue for Māori from increased trade and the resultant prosperity (ibid).

Hobson, who had consistently displayed a sincere empathy for Māori culture and development, died in September 1842. At the actual signing of the Treaty at Waitangi, Hobson famously repeated the phrase *'he iwi tahi tātou'* (we are all one people) throughout the ceremony as the various senior chiefs signed the Treaty. Prior to his death, Hobson had been confirmed as Governor and Commander in Chief of New Zealand on 3 May 1841, after Queen Victoria had signed a royal charter in November 1840 declaring New Zealand a crown colony separate from New South Wales. Although the new governor, Robert FitzRoy, took some steps to recognise the commitments made to Māori under the terms of the Treaty, they were largely symbolic in nature. Fitzroy's successor, George Grey, however wasted no time in enacting the 'colonist policies' posited by Marsden with dispossession of Māori from their land, disenfranchisement and subsequent deculturation occurring in rapid succession. Yet the practical effect of the Treaty was, in the beginning, only gradually felt, especially in predominantly Māori regions such as that of Ngāti Awa.

3.4 Pacification by military and legislative means

After signing the Treaty of Waitangi at Whakatane in 1840, Ngāti Awa continued its self-sufficient existence alongside other iwi and the rapidly increasing Pākehā population. At the time it was reported that Ngāti Awa were commercially active in local trade and also owned ships to transport their wares to larger markets (Mead and Gardiner, 1994).

However, by the end of the 1860s, Ngāti Awa had experienced large-scale land confiscation of more than 168,000 acres by the Crown. Pressure to meet the freehold land expectations of British settlers and military personnel, had given rise to the settler government consistently manipulating circumstances to create unrest amongst Māori. This in turn, would ultimately lead to military retribution and punishment through the confiscation of land and other resources. At this time in history it was clear that the bilateral Treaty of Waitangi obligations had been discarded by the British Treaty partner. This position became clearer with the passage of time and was later confirmed by the landmark ruling of Chief Justice Sir James Prendergast, who in 1877 stated 'that the whole treaty was worthless – a simple nullity (which) pretended to be an agreement between two nations but (in reality) was between a civilised nation and a group of savages …' (ibid, 1994).

Mead and Gardiner (ibid, p. 34) concluded that 'the period 1848 to 1860 was characterised by economic co-operation, but friction between settlers and

Māori was still strong'. Given the relative remoteness of Whakatane at that time, the twenty year period after the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi, meant that Ngāti Awa remained largely unaffected by the Colonial authority. During that time the tribe also continued to assert its tribal sovereignty; however the land acquisition activities undertaken by the British authorities in other regions were being closely monitored. Discontent and resentment on the part of Māori to the growing negative influence of the Government was the initial catalyst for the establishment of the Māori sovereignty King Movement ('Kingitanga') in 1853. Ngāti Awa maintained a neutral stance towards the Kingitanga and it had little impact upon Ngāti Awa tribal affairs at that time. This was likely given there was less pressure on Ngāti Awa lands but that was all to change in a short period of time.

In an attempt to address growing dissatisfaction within Māoridom, a national hui was called by the Government to be held at Kohimarama, Auckland in 1860. Several Ngāti Awa chiefs attended the Kohimarama hui held in July and August with discussions centred on the intentions of the Government, land confiscations, the Kingitanga movement and the Treaty of Waitangi. The key outcomes of the hui for the Ngāti Awa chiefs in attendance were to understand the developments in other regions and also the extent of the Crown's growing resentment with the Kingitanga movement. It was also clear that the Pākehā Government was signalling its intentions of taking military action against the Kingitanga by building a road from Drury into the Waikato.

Within weeks of the re-appointment and return of Governor George Grey to New Zealand in 1861, he started developing plans for self-government for Māori. Grey's plan for Māori self-determination was based on dividing the country into 20 districts and further sub-dividing these districts into smaller districts, each with its own elected rūnanga or council. The concept of district rūnanga was not widely supported within Ngāti Awa due to tribal politics and an increasing awareness of the Kingitanga movement. In order to encourage further immigration from England, land was being offered to settlers, and the resultant upsurge in immigration was unsustainable. Land became scarce and the head of the Colonial Government, Premier Fox, and Grey then advanced plans to invade the Waikato to acquire further land for sale to the burgeoning immigrant settlement.

By 1864 it was clear to many Ngāti Awa leaders that the ramifications of the land wars occurring in the Waikato were far-reaching and a proactive stance had to be adopted. Without support being provided to Waikato the war would eventually be fought on Ngāti Awa soil. Tauranga iwi, Ngāi Te Rangi strongly supported the Waikato tribes with logistical support and reinforcements from their region, through Tauranga to the Waikato. This resulted in the Government sending a force under Colonel Carey to occupy Tauranga to halt the flow of supplies and warriors. This force, supported by three warships, was also designed to intimidate supporters of the Kingitanga and heightened Ngāti Awa concerns about the intentions of Government to annex Ngāti Awa land and resources.

Closer to the fighting in the Waikato was the iwi of Te Arawa. Te Arawa was concerned that an East Coast force that was assembling to support the Waikato tribes would pass through Te Arawa lands and draw them into the widening conflict. Eager to avoid conflict with the Crown, Te Arawa placed an *'aukati'* or ban to deny the East Coast force passage through their lands. Despite this *'aukati'* the Tairawhiti (East Coast) force attempted to disregard this constraint and continued to deliver their support to the Kingitanga. Although not all Te Arawa leaders supported the *'aukati'*, it was enforced and a battle occurred at Rotoiti between 7 and 10 March 1864, along with a series of other skirmishes. The Tairawhiti force eventually numbered 800 warriors by April culminating in a major battle at Matata from 26 to 28 April 1864. A Te Arawa force of 300 supported by Government troops and two gunboats routed the Tairawhiti force with significant deaths and casualties being suffered.

Immediately after the defeat at Matata, the Ngāti Awa leadership communicated with the Civil Commissioner, Smith and confirmed that Ngāti Awa was prepared to swear allegiance to the Queen and cease all military activities against the Crown. This coincided with the final major battle of the war in the Waikato, with the defeat of the Waikato forces and Government troops occupying much of the Waikato by July 1864. This defeat led not only to the confiscation of Waikato lands, but also Ngāti Awa lands to be used as settlement land for the Waikato militia.

3.5 Dispossession by appropriation of lands and resources

During this period the influential Aborigines Protection Society based in England, wrote to Governor Grey expressing concern at the military actions being taken against Māori to enact land confiscation on a widespread level. Grey's response was that the Government forces were protecting the lands and interests of Māori not in rebellion with the Crown, and to deter other Māori from taking up arms against settlers. He also outlined plans to provide conquered Māori with sufficient lands with no reference to the original agreement under the Treaty of Waitangi.

At this time a movement founded by Te Ua Hamene in 1862 called the Paimārire ('the good and peaceful cult') was gaining strong support amongst Māori. The cult combined traditional Māori spirituality and Māori interpretations of Christianity and according to Mead and Gardiner (1994), was supported by Māori 'because it was their way of trying to adapt and relate to the rapidly changing world around them' (ibid, p. 62). However, Paimārire was considered to be 'barbaric and savage' by settlers and the Government was concerned as it provided a focus for Māori aggrieved at the on-going land confiscations. With the defeat of the Kingitanga, Paimārire provided the only remaining focus for these sentiments.

When a Church of England missionary, Reverend Carl Volkner, was killed by Paimārire followers in March 1865 at Opotiki, the response of the Crown was swift and indiscriminate. Suspicions were held by Māori that Volkner had been sending sensitive military information about previous Māori troop movements and supply routes to Governor Grey during the military activities in 1864. After Volkner was hanged and his execution and subsequent decapitation reported in the 'Southern Cross' newspaper on 31 March 1865, the floodgates were opened for retribution by the Crown. The subsequent killing of James Te Mautaranui Fulloon, the son of a Pākehā Whakatane based trader and a Ngāti Awa mother, also added to the sense of foreboding or 'whakamomori' that had prevailed within Ngāti Awa.

The Government was no longer required to manufacture a reason for classifying Ngāti Awa as a people in rebellion as a precursor to enforced land acquisition. That reason had been provided by Paimārire, emphasised through the killings of Volkner and Fulloon, and occurring within the heart of Ngāti Awa territory. The response of the Crown was conveyed by Civil Commissioner Smith who issued a warrant on 2 August 1865 for the arrest of those implicated in the killing. The subsequent trial of the men accused of murdering Volkner occurred from 27 March to 4 April 1866. Of the five accused, all were found guilty and four sentenced to be executed. Previously, the trials associated with the killing of Fulloon had occurred from 14 to 23 March 1866, with all 16 accused being sentenced to death. The pre-determined nature of the trials were characterised by the defence calling no

witnesses, with only character referees being presented at trial for the defendants. Although only five of the convicted Ngāti Awa defendants were executed, the majority had their convictions commuted to life imprisonment or very lengthy prison terms, with eight eventually receiving pardons. These events and the subsequent convictions of those responsible for the deaths of Volkner and Fulloon led to Ngāti Awa being indelibly branded as *'tāngata hara'* or *'sinful people'* (Mead & Gardiner, 1994). The term *'tāngata hara'* was derived from the disingenous assertion of the Crown that Ngāti Awa were a *'sinful people'* in rebellion. It also provided the context for the dispossession of land and resources and set the scene for the disenfranchisement and deculturation of Ngāti Awa.

3.6 The disenfranchisement and deculturation of Ngāti Awa

Even though Ngāti Awa endeavoured to make amends for the Volkner and Fulloon murders, by assisting Government troops against the remaining Paimārire and Te Kooti, as well as allowing the Crown to disestablish the carved Mataatua meeting house for shipment and exhibition in Sydney, the branding of Ngāti Awa as 'rebels' was reinforced. This was undertaken primarily through a range of punitive measures associated with large scale land confiscation.

The Government treatment of Ngāti Awa as 'rebels' was used as pretext for confiscating large tracts of Ngāti Awa land holdings. Under the New Zealand

Settlements Act 1863, the Governor could confiscate land if a tribe, or a considerable section of a tribe, was deemed to be in rebellion. The legislation did not specifically define the term 'rebellion' and although Ngāti Awa had been branded as 'rebels', it is clear that the murders of Volkner and Fulloon, which gave rise to that negative label, were conducted primarily by Paimārire leaders and supporters.

Confiscation of land was undertaken rapidly to accommodate the land requirements of settlers. By June 1867, Special Commissioner for the Bay of Plenty, Wilson, had achieved a primary Government objective of acquiring 75,000 acres of prime Ngāti Awa land for sale to Pākehā soldiers, settlers, farmers and others. A further 87,000 acres of less desirable Ngāti Awa land was gifted to Te Arawa, with the most non-productive and least fertile land consisting of 96,000 acres being repatriated back to the Ngāti Awa 'rebels'. Finally, the remaining 57,000 acres of unusable land was 'abandoned' in the east of the district (Mead & Gardiner, 1994).

Most significantly, the best and most fertile land was confiscated and ownership transferred to either the Government or military settlers. Conversely, Ngāti Awa were allocated the most unusable land which was either flood prone, swampy or inaccessible. These injustices were further exacerbated by Wilson's setting aside of traditional boundaries which resulted in some hapū being removed from ancestral lands, whilst others were situated on land traditionally held by other hapū. This upheaval with ancestral

social structures and the land tenure system was to have a negative long-term impact. There were numerous subsequent land boundary disputes and many hapū suffering *'noho taurangi'*, i.e. living on land that they had no ties to or formal claim to ownership.

These significant upheavals imposed on Ngāti Awa led to petitions and submissions to Government in the 1880's to redress the land related grievances. However it was not until 1922, after a petition organised by Ngāti Awa leader Te Hurinui Apanui and signed by 605 iwi members, that any notable progress was made. The Government eventually responded by appointing a Royal Commission of Inquiry (the Sim Commission), which covered not only the Ngāti Awa petition, but also similar petitions for Waikato and Taranaki. Ultimately this process was to prove fruitless for Ngāti Awa and its grievances were to be compounded over ensuing generations.

With historical ties to ancestral lands being severed, the economic development of Ngāti Awa was devastated. This was borne out by the continued deterioration of the social, cultural and economic fabric of Ngāti Awa society through to the twenty first century.

3.7 The assimilation of Ngāti Awa

The final stage in Marsden's model of 'colonialist policies' is the assimilation

and conditioning of the minority indigenous people. According to Marsden (2003), the framework to achieve assimilation is based on active deculturation i.e. the process of divesting or causing the abandonment by an indigenous people of their cultural practices, perspectives and traits, including their native language(s). The historical assimilation of Māori, as described by parliamentarian Isaac Featherston, was considered to be a humane process to 'smooth down their dying pillow' (Featherston, 1856) after total biological and cultural assimilation were deemed to be inevitable by the majority Pākehā population at that time.

It is understandable that Featherston's sentiment that Māori were a dying race prevailed given the rapidly declining Māori population resulting from various epidemics and the 'swamping' of New Zealand with Pākehā population growth (which doubled in the 1860s and then again in the 1870s). King (2003) further defined 'swamping' as the process whereby 'Māori became so geographically interspersed among, economically and socially interlocked with, and demographically outnumbered by Europeans that they lost their capacity to control engagement with them' (King, 2003, p. 571). The combination of 'swamping', significant decreases in Māori population, systematic elimination of the Māori language (primarily through the monolingual English language school education system) and the higher status attributed to Pākehā society and related opportunities, provides a compelling insight into the powerful forces which contributed to Māori assimilation.

Several of the closing statements on claims submissions made by representatives of various hapū of Ngāti Awa as part of the tribe's overarching Treaty claim in 1995 make specific reference to the assimilation process and the many negative impacts that were experienced. Given the personal nature of many of the submissions, the researcher has sought permission to share only the experiences of his own whānau to encapsulate the human impact that the aforementioned stages of colonisation through to assimilation had on their hapū of Te Tawera ki Tuariki, as experienced by his paternal grandfather, Tarewa Peri and recorded by his uncle Timi Peri (Peri, 1995). The following reflections are based on extracts from Tarewa Peri's diary 'which show and describe how life was after the Raupatu for himself, his immediate family and relatives from the hapū of Te Tawera'.

Tarewa was born at Oterongorehe, a swampy area between Dick Hunia's home and the Rangitaiki river on December 6 1906. It appears that Ngāti Awa iwi once inhabited a pa or village here regarded by some as a temporary haven, or a stopover. From here they shifted to some poplar trees in front of the Tuteao Marae. Before the First World War broke out the whānau moved again to Te Umuhika, near the flour mill in an old house. They were happy here. The mill was owned and managed by Te Tawera people. His aunty, Pawhenua had one son called Moho (George) after his father George Elliot. Tarewa started school at Awakaponga located opposite the cemetery, with his brothers, but after a year they moved again to Onepu where his father's

people lived. This time near another marae Hahuru. There were three families living here, Taukiwaho his uncle and his wife Atareta; Aunty Mihi and Uncle Hunia and their family. His grandmother Katerina died during this time. They lived at Te Umuhika.

The flu epidemic broke out in 1918 and as a result his Aunty Whareake died, followed two days later by his father Peri who was still a young man. His brothers Panapa and Pohe also died three days later. Also an infant brother Tiaki died and another brother who was buried with his grandfather and grandmother at Otukoiro on the hill behind the Savage home, Rakeihopukia.

Tarewa's brother Te Raihi and sister Te Arani stayed with Tene Neke and Aunty Whareake who became whangai parents, and once again the whānau moved. He was employed by Tene at the age of 13 years and 7 months. Tene was later to become his stepfather. They built a road from the Rangitaiki Dairy factory through to the Western Drain Road.

The whānau moved once more to Soldier Settlement Road in Otakiri, from there to Otamarakau. Road construction took them through to Bartons, and to the hills at Ohinepanea, down to the beach and then to Awakaponga. Within a year the road works were closed down with no reason given. As a young man he continued seeking employment and found work for a farmer Jim Judge in Te Teko at the back of the now regularly used rugby football field. The land from Awaiti West, Brophy Road, Gows Road and Bill Orr Road

were all filled with stopbank and drained. Work was taken over by the Whakatane County Council in 1927. When this occurred he did odd jobs until he met his wife Patuwaka.

They moved back to Umuhika in 1928 and were married in 1930. There they began milking cows. The house they moved into was the whānau home. Tarewa continued to work and they moved two nephews in with them, Noki Hoe and William Beau August to help milk the cows. Patuwaka worked very hard and lost two children. In May 1934, Thora, a daughter was born followed by a son, Tiaki, in April 1935. Henare in December of 1936 and Pita in September 1938.

Shortly after the Second World War broke out, 'The Scheme' took over their land.

Tarewa and Patuwaka shifted again back to Te Teko in 1941 with their worldly goods on the waka. Uncle Peri helped by borrowing a wagon and horses from Te Kori Ngaheu and came to Te Umuhika. Tarewa was on the Putauaki Scheme and then worked for George Murray. Having provided for his whānau which was now increasing to enormous proportions he found work at the Public Works Department for a very long time …

This personal account illustrates the impact of raupatu and the issues associated with the loss of traditionally held land aligned with assimilation

policies. As covered in the vast majority of Treaty of Waitangi claim submissions, the resultant severe erosion of social, economic, health, educational and cultural aspects of Ngāti Awa development had long-term, multi-generational adverse implications.

3.8 The Treaty of Waitangi Claim of Ngāti Awa

'Ngāti Awa is a sick people because of the punishments of the law … and I wept for them that had been made to suffer so harshly at the hands of the Government'

Apirana Ngata 1899

In the Claim it was noted that at the time of widespread land confiscations (raupatu) of the 1860s 'Ngāti Awa was a society that was able to hold its own in regard to te reo, tikanga and cultural traditions'. However the impact of raupatu, which included the forced relocation of hapū and reallocation of lands, 'triggered a dramatic loss of momentum in the culture despite the best efforts of iwi'. As a result 'the integrity of Ngāti Awa was reduced to a fragile and threadbare fragment of what it was' (Mead, 1995). Accordingly, the Claim further noted that 'massive and comprehensive compensation is called for to assist in the restoration of that loss'.

Ngāti Awa sought redress from the Crown for the extensive array of grievances arising from the raupatu in 1866 in a process that became an

inter-generational undertaking. Petitions and representations were initiated in the late nineteenth century and continued through to 1988, when an amendment was made in 1985 to the Treaty of Waitangi Act 1975 which allowed retrospective claims to be submitted dating back to 1840. This was the catalyst for Ngāti Awa to lodge its Claim and establish TRONA after the Crown had passed the 'Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Awa Act 1988'. As well as providing the avenue for its Claim, the legislation also specifically defined important references for Ngāti Awa such as 'TRONA acts for and on behalf of ngā uri o ngā hapū o Ngāti Awa, being the members of the Ngāti Awa tribe in the Eastern Bay of Plenty'. It also appended that definition to include every individual who is descended from a Ngāti Awa tipuna as well as all members of any hapū, group or family or whānau descended from Ngāti Awa (Part 1 section 3). The legislation also referred to descendants through birth, legal adoption or Māori customary adoption in accordance with the custom of Ngāti Awa. This Act was a clear example of Ngāti Awatanga being incorporated into legislation, through its numerous references to aspects of cultural importance, amidst its wider purpose of progessing the claims process.

On 14 September 1983, at an early stage of the Treaty claim process, the key grievances of Ngāti Awa were included in a publication entitled *'The Bed, the Blanket and the Pillow'* produced by the Ngāti Awa Trust Board and written by Aniheta Ratene (Mead & Gardiner, 1994). The 'Bed' symbolised the lands confiscated from Ngāti Awa, the 'Blanket' referred to the Ngāti Awa station and the 'Pillow' encapsulated the overall claims of the tribe (New Zealand

Government, 2003a). This publication was important as it articulated the grievances of the iwi from a Ngāti Awa perspective and solidified wider tribal support for the Claims process.

On 4 July 1994, 14 years after Ngāti Awa had commenced its Claim, it finally had the opportunity to present its case to Waitangi Tribunal members at several Ngāti Awa marae. These presentations by various hapū representatives were eventually concluded on 1 December 1995. After a further three years of discussions and negotiations, TRONA and the Crown entered into a Heads of Agreement on 21 December 1998 which recorded the matters that were agreed in principle to settle the historical claims of Ngāti Awa. This agreement was then followed by the Waitangi Tribunal completing their report 'The Ngāti Awa Raupatu Report' on 8 October 1999 which concluded that 'the confiscation of the lands of Ngāti Awa was contrary to the Treaty of Waitangi (Te Tiriti o Waitangi), that there was no rebellion to justify confiscation, and that confiscation as effected against Ngāti Awa appears to have been beyond the authority of the New Zealand Settlements Act 1863' (New Zealand Government, 2005).

Ngāti Awa and the Crown finally reached agreement and ratified a full and final settlement for all historical claims of Ngāti Awa on 27 March 2003 which consisted of cash and assets valued at $42.39 million. This agreement was formalised with the passing of the Ngāti Awa Claims Settlement Act 2005 (the

Act). Given the importance of the Act in relation to Ngāti Awa development, its key provisions and principles are summarised in Appendix I.

A review of the closing submissions of the hapū of Ngāti Awa reveals some common themes and expectations that a successful Treaty claim was expected to redress (Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Awa, 1995). A clear pattern emerged in the majority of submissions in that claims were divided into compensatory elements and remedial components. Compensation for loss of land, income and mana (associated with language and cultural erosion) were highlighted in almost all submissions. Whilst many claimants also noted that there were some losses which simply could not be resolved through financial compensation, and in such cases an eventual return of confiscated land and resources to Ngāti Awa was the only viable solution to effect full and lasting settlement. The return of the ancestral mountain 'Putauaki' was highlighted as a clear example of that underlying sentiment that often financial compensation alone was completely inadequate.

Although, unsurprisingly, the Claim submissions had a strong emphasis on redress and remedies, there were also many references made about the remedial opportunities that a settlement agreement with the Crown could provide. A key Ngāti Awa researcher, lawyer and later Māori Land Court Judge, Layne Harvey concluded: 'The hapū see the need for high priority to be given to the allocation of Crown resources to accelerate the recovery of the hapū and indeed all of Ngāti Awa to the standards of health, welfare and

general well-being that is enjoyed by the wider community of Aotearoa' (ibid, p. 24). Similarly, John Mahiti Wilson on behalf of the hapū of Ngai Te Rangihouhiri, required 'the Crown to award both financial compensation and land, so that its marae can be restored, its inhabitants can have access to medical care without the worry of not knowing how they are going to pay for it, that educational benefits can be provided for all its people, but especially for its youth, and that employment opportunities can become available through the establishment of proper and appropriate initiatives in work related avenues' (ibid, p. 4). Business opportunities, education, general good health and the well-being of the people of Ngāti Awa, were other specific areas of remedial emphasis.

The Treaty settlement agreement also provided for the return of the Mataatua wharenui which had been offered to the Crown in 1879 as an act of appeasement to a Government request that it be deconstructed and sent to an inter-colonial exhibition in Sydney. It was subsequently sent to Melbourne in 1880, then London and finally returned to Aotearoa in 1924 where it was used at the South Seas Exhibition in Dunedin. Mataatua was then given to the Museum of the University of Otago on a permanent loan basis to exhibit, where it remained until its eventual return to Ngāti Awa in 1996. Based on its significant neglect over the preceding 116 years, a major restoration effort was undertaken over 15 years to restore the meeting house to its original condition. Originally built as a unifying symbol of strength and resilience at the height of the raupatu, it was finally reopened 130 years after being

originally dismantled and removed from Whakatane in 1879. At the reopening ceremony on 17 September 2011 it was proclaimed that the Mataatua wharenui represented the enduring resilience of Ngāti Awa which was supported by the symbolism of its long absence and eventual return and restoration.

The Claim is crucial to this research as it reveals what the people of Ngāti Awa were actually hoping to achieve from the settlement process, and in doing so provides reference points upon which to measure later progress by the tribe. Although no level of compensation could ever provide redress for loss of land and resources, the compensatory components of the Claim were effectively fulfilled by acceptance of the settlement offer made by the Crown.

The settlement with Ngāti Awa raises a series of questions that are central to this thesis, namely: what progress has been made in relation to the remedial aspects of the Treaty claim? Has the Treaty settlement and subsequent management of the tribal assets by TRONA resulted in progress in key areas such as employment, education, health and general well-being? Have there been tangible improvements in other key areas of focus for the tribe in relation to the strengthening of Ngāti Awatanga through language and cultural reclamation strategies? Although the 'Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Awa Act 1988' in section 11 legislatively restored the 'character, mana and reputation of the persons of Ngāti Awa descent who were arrested, tried and labelled as rebels in or about 1865' through provision of a full pardon, its tangible value in other

key areas to Ngāti Awa generally is to be further explored. This will be undertaken specifically in the fieldwork research as part of the process of assessing actual progress made in areas of fundamental concern for those who initiated, contributed and finalised the Claim.

CHAPTER 4 – THE CONTEXT OF MĀORI DEVELOPMENT

4.1 Introduction

When this research began it was underpinned by a focus on 'Māori Economic Development' as if this term was based on a common understanding. It was consistent with the researcher's employment experience in working with economic development agencies in Auckland where the focus was on local or endogenous development.

As the research has progressed other interpretations have emerged. It is frequently used as a term explaining the economic advancement of Māori as the indigenous people of New Zealand and more recently reference is made to the 'Māori economy'. Within Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Awa it appears to be equated with the advancement of tribal assets and investments, although this will be examined in greater detail during the fieldwork interviews.

In the meantime the next phase of the research programme is aimed at connecting the cultural characteristics of Māori (Chapter 2) with the growth and development of Ngāti Awa (Chapter 3) and with New Zealand's history and its political economy. In order to do this in a systematic way a *development patterns* approach will be employed by linking diverse cultural traditions and practices with political, economic and social realities (Shirley & Neill, 2013). This will entail building a comprehensive genealogy of historical

events by tracking economic and social trends as well as the way in which these trends can be understood as patterns or phases of development, shaped by human populations over time.

Before embarking on a review of development patterns it is important to acknowledge a number of researchers who have consistently referred to Māori development as an integrated concept encompassing economic, social, and cultural elements. The interconnected nature of Māori development has been widely covered in existing literature. The relationship between the cultural, economic and social domains has been referred to as the 'three arms of development' (Davies, Lattimore, & Ikin, 2005, p. 108) and as core components of Māori development (Durie, 1998). These distinctive elements of Māori development have also been linked 'with the economic development of New Zealand' (Love, 1984, p. 9) and as facets of what Walker refers to as a 'Māori renaissance' (Walker, 2004, p. 255). Recognition of the developing convergence of Māori economic, social and cultural development with wider New Zealand society was further highlighted by the staging of the first Hui Taumata (Māori Economic Summit Conference) in 1984, which was followed by a second Hui Taumata in 2005.

The first Hui Taumata was organised in response to what was perceived at the time to be a stagnation of Māori development with concerns expressed about the socio-economic gaps developing between Māori and other sections of New Zealand society (Moon, 2010). However, by the time the second Hui

Taumata was convened in 2005, the previous deficit-based approach was essentially replaced by a wider acceptance that 'economic development for Māori will benefit the whole of New Zealand' (Hui Taumata Trust, 2005). In many respects the Hui Taumata emphasised the growing political importance of Māori development and its underlying cultural, social and economic components.

The responses to the key conclusions of the 2005 Hui Taumata were mixed. In particular the concept of a separate Māori economy was strenuously questioned given the high degree of integration between Māori economic activities and mainstream New Zealand (Coleman, Dixon, & Mare, 2005). This area of concern was highlighted in a Motu Economic Public Policy and Research paper which stated: 'Māori are participants in the New Zealand economy, working chiefly within organisations and businesses that are not organised along ethnic lines' (Coleman *et al*., 2005, p. 4). Although distinct Māori business entities existed, their activities primarily occurred within the broader context of the national economic environment. The debate about 'a separate Māori economy' was initiated by the findings of research commissioned by the Ministry of Māori Development (Te Puni Kōkiri).

Prior to the second Hui Taumata, Te Puni Kōkiri (TPK) commissioned the New Zealand Institute of Economic Research (NZIER) in 2003 to undertake a comprehensive analytical stocktake of the so called 'Māori economy'. The TPK Chief Executive, Leith Comer, explained that the purpose of the

research was to 'demonstrate the positive contribution of Māori to the wider New Zealand economy, and show the commercial opportunities that exist within the Māori asset base' (Te Puni Kōkiri & New Zealand Institute of Economic Research, 2003,). It was the first time that the modern Māori economy had been treated as a distinct economic entity and analysed within a framework that was similar to models employed in traditional assessments of the national economy. The NZIER report subsequently defined the Māori economy as 'all those businesses and transactions where *Māoriness* matters'. It included activities based on collectively-owned Māori assets, Māori owned businesses, commercial transactions involving Māori culture, services oriented to specific Māori needs, and housing owned by Māori. The calculations performed by the NZIER valued Māori owned assets at $9.0 billion in 2001, increasing to $16.5 billion in 2005 and $36.9 billion in 2010 (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2008b).

Although the response at the second Hui Taumata to the concept of a separate 'Māori economy' and related NZIER research was inconclusive, there was general positivity about the research results beyond Māoridom. This positive response to the research was highlighted by political journalist, Colin James, who encouraged readers to: 'stop thinking about Maori in the economy, which can be depressing. Start thinking about the Maori economy, which has been doing well and has lots of potential' (James, 2003). James further commented: 'even more unexpected is the finding that Maori households are not a drag on the national budget'. These positive

interpretations were further tempered by the fact that Māori business activity represented only 1.4 per cent of the gross domestic product of the New Zealand economy at that time. Moreover, those businesses were 'highly exposed to international trends, as they (were) concentrated in export sectors, particularly fishing, forestry, agriculture and tourism' (New Zealand Institute of Economic Research, 2007).

References to the two Hui Taumata and the NZIER Māori economic research report illustrate the way in which 'Māori economic development' has been subject to changing perceptions and interpretations. To explore these interpretations in greater depth whilst at the same time applying a critical appreciation of development, this chapter examines the context and characteristics of different periods in the history of New Zealand by identifying distinctive development patterns. The philosophical and theoretical assumptions associated with, or arising from, these development patterns will also be explored in this chapter.

4.2 A development patterns approach to Māori Development

In order to analyse the political economy of New Zealand society over time and the context out of which Māori development has evolved over the past two centuries, an interpretative framework has been employed capable of capturing the dynamics of development and making what Sen refers to as economic, political and social connections (Sen, 1999). Having considered

the cultural traditions and belief systems that underpin Māori development, a broader overview is now required in order to identify those forces and events that have shaped New Zealand society and led to clearly identifiable 'development patterns' (Shirley, 2010a).

The development patterns framework places emphasis on an integrated approach to our understanding of different social formations by linking different cultural traditions and practices with political, economic and social realities. It means building a comprehensive genealogy of historical events by tracking economic and social trends as well as the way in which these trends can be understood as patterns or phases of development that are simultaneously historical, empirical and critical. It is an approach to development that rejects the pedestrian concepts of Rostow who viewed development as cumulative stages of economic growth (Rostow, 1960) and it eschews the 'single-minded' approach that was criticised by Stiglitz for the way in which it effectively treated human beings as by-products of a process in which development was viewed through the prism of economics and economics alone (Stiglitz, 2006). Similar criticisms might also be levelled at other disciplinary traditions that on their own seem incapable of capturing the key components of development.

The origins of the 'development patterns' approach that has been utilised in this research stems from development studies in Third World Countries and from the path-breaking research programme of the German philosopher

Jurgen Habermas (1975). These philosophical and empirical foundations are summarised in a recent book on economic and social development in Asian and Pacific Cities (Shirley & Neill, 2013, pp. 11 - 19). The particular section of the research programme that is of primary interest in the context of the developments patterns framework centres on the writings of Habermas and his meticulous examination of a systems approach to social enquiry. His historical analysis of society is focussed on the way in which cultural traditions and practices, including the changing parameters of our social and political lives, can be understood through an examination of different 'social formations' (Habermas, 1975).

'If we want to capture the dynamic relationships between human beings, the institutions that they have established and the broader systems or structures of society, then only a framework that is simultaneously historical, empirical and critical can address these changing relationships over time' (ibid, p. 18)

In order to build a framework capable of tracking the genealogy of development in New Zealand the examination has centred on identifying different social formations and the way in which these distinctive 'patterns' have been shaped by internal and external forces over time. This has meant tracking economic and social trends as well as the way in which these trends have been influenced by state and market forces, by the cultural composition of the population, by the physical characteristics of the country encompassing geography and location, and by a series of economic imperatives from the

country's pastoral economy to the financial base in terms of finance and trade.

The social formations as identified in this research demonstrate how different elements have come together at different stages in New Zealand's development, thereby providing a powerful explanation of the shape and characteristics of the country today. The emphasis is on identifying distinctive patterns of development not according to any prescribed formula or theory, but rather as social formations shaped by human populations as they engaged and mediated the political and economic conditions prevailing at particular periods of historical time.

If applied to the whakapapa (genealogy) of New Zealand's written and oral histories then it is feasible to identify different patterns of development that distinguish one phase or social formation from another. These distinctions can be made by:

1. Analysing the actual conditions of the time that gave rise to a particular period of development.
2. Examining the external and internal forces (political, social, cultural and economic factors) that have shaped development.
3. Exploring the underlying beliefs and assumptions which played a role in development policies and practices.
4. Interpreting the transition between one social formation and another.

The development patterns approach goes well beyond a consideration of key events, which has been a hallmark of past attempts to describe Māori development. The Te Puni Kōkiri analyst, Bernadine Consedine, in her report *'Historical Influences - Māori and the Economy'* (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2007) outlined three critical historical events that had major economic impacts for Māori; the pre and early contact economy, land loss, and urbanisation. Whilst it is agreed that all three sets of events were important milestones for Māori, these and other issues cannot be considered in isolation and need to be reviewed in the context of other key developments that were occurring in wider New Zealand society at the time of those events. Māori economic development was, and continues to be, significantly influenced by events occurring at the local, regional and national levels.

In addition to Consendine's three key historical events, some other specific catalysts of change for Maori were the Great Depression of the 1930s, the welfare-oriented policies of the first Labour Government from 1935 to 1949, the 'Think Big' era of capital intensive development projects in the 1970s and the subsequent rapid deregulation of the New Zealand economy by the fourth Labour Government in the 1980s. Furthermore, the Treaty of Waitangi claims process can also be regarded as a major driver of Māori development as covered previously in section 3.8. However, all of these events emanate from a range of political, social, cultural and economic factors that can be broadly

categorised as distinct yet related patterns of economic and social development.

The development patterns approach recognises that events which have occurred in different social formations can also be linked and remain connected through different historical periods. An example of this is the approach of successive Governments that pursued the assimilation of Māori from one development phase to another. For the purposes of this research programme, five distinctive formations or periods of development have been identified. These formations cover the period of initial contact and subsequent European settlement in the 1840's through to the economic fundamentalism of the 1980's to the present time. The patterns of development explored in this research are identified in Table 4.1.

Table 4.1

Development Phase	**Period**
European Settlement	1840 to 1880s
Liberal Formation	1880s to 1930s
Command Economy	1930s to 1970s
Vulnerable Economy	1970s to 1984
Economic Liberalisation	1984 to 2000s

European Settlement (1840s to 1880s)

Two major settlement patterns have occurred in the history of New Zealand with the first being Māori settlement as examined in chapter 3.2, followed by the subsequent mass arrival of European immigrants in the 1840's. Although Māori settlement encompassed a period of almost 700 years, it is not treated as a distinct and separate 'development phase' in the context of the development patterns approach, but rather positioned as the pre-contact 'status quo' which was significantly altered by *'European Settlement'*. It is the far-reaching impact of *'European Settlement'* on contemporary Māori society that emerges as one of the critical factors that has confronted Māori development over the past 150 years - namely the confiscation of land and the assimilation of the indigenous population.

The mass *'European Settlement'* of New Zealand commenced soon after the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840. Whilst there was not an immediate transformation from the independent Māori nation and the emergence of a British settler society, population 'swamping' inevitably ensued over the next 40 years. Irish, Scottish and British immigrants were the predominant new settlers intent on establishing a 'new society' unencumbered by class divisions, poverty and destitution (Shirley, 2010). This period of mass settlement continued unabated until the 1880's with Māori becoming a minority in their own country between 1857 and 1858. Moreover, it was also the historical period when policies of mass appropriation of Māori owned land

and resources were most prevalent in order to meet the ever increasing demands of settlers intent on acquiring their own stake in the 'new Britain of the South'.

The European settlers encountered a complex set of indigenous structures and traditions, based on the whānau, hapū and iwi and the central principle of whakapapa (genealogy) as discussed in chapter 2.2. These cultural practices were reinforced by complex patterns of inheritance, adoption and kinship details which were registered through highly formalised oral traditions. This form of societal organisation did not wither under the impact of colonialism, a high level of inter-marriage and the imposition of a completely alien system of formal organisations, structures, norms and public policies. It was also extraordinary that in spite of the bewildering array of changes, Māori engaged effectively with the new colonial economy introduced by the European settlers. It has been recorded that Māori became proficient international traders who developed specific expertise in the provision of products such as potatoes, timber, flax, fish and meat (Easton, 1994). Interestingly, Easton also refers to the first European political economy as not a being a 'settlement economy', but rather a 'quarry economy' focused on the unsustainable harvesting of resources throughout much of the nineteenth century.

The social system that emerged from Māori and European engagement (a system that was to become the dominant form for much of New Zealand's

legislation and policy) was based upon the values and structures of British society at that time. However, perhaps reflecting the changing views towards colonised indigenous people encouraged by groups such as the influential Aborigines Protection Society based in England (Heartfield, 2011), it was apparent that a different approach to colonisation was being applied to Māori as opposed to other indigenous peoples within the British empire (Ballantyne, 2012). Pragmatic factors such as the martial culture and the disposition of Māori to warlike responses, as well as the sheer size of the Māori population (who remained the majority until 1857) are likely to have contributed to a more enlightened recognition of Māori as the first settlers of New Zealand.

This different approach to Māori by the European settlers was evident in the early colonial period with examples such as Māori having access to services such as colonial hospitals (Thompson, 1859) and in legislative terms Māori being granted the full rights of citizenship. In 1867 Māori men received the full franchise before Pākehā males, thus being the first indigenous men to achieve this right within countries under British control, with Māori women in 1893 joining Pākehā women in gaining universal suffrage. Setting these enlightened acts of European settlement aside, the tenets of Marsden's 'colonist policies' were still evident in the form of pacification by treaty, military or legislative means, followed by dispossession of land and resources.

From the outset of New Zealand's colonial history a persistent element of public policy was the recruitment and settlement of waves of immigrants with

inflows reaching their highest levels in the Vogel Ministry of the 1870s when the settlement of land acquired from Māori and 'public works' such as road construction and forest clearance were key policy instruments (McAloon, 2009). Favoured migrants were respectable working class and middle class families or marriageable single persons. Their Victorian and Protestant values, mainly of British origin (infused by Northern Europeans during the Vogel period) affected both popular attitudes in public policy over much of the period. European migrants established small rural settlements modelled on the nineteenth century English village and based on the colony's natural resources of coal, timber, kauri gum and gold. As native bush was cleared from the land, grassland farming was established and the foundations were laid for New Zealand's highly productive and scientific approach to pastoral farming (Shirley, 1982). As a result, for much of its post-colonial history, New Zealand has been dependent on pastoral sector exports, yet paradoxically it is an urban culture based around low density suburbs, even today composed of detached single family homes on large allotments.

Liberal Formation (1880s to 1930s)

The second distinctive pattern to emerge through the 1880s to the 1930s can best be described as the *'Liberal Formation'*. This period of development was characterised by progressive policies and legislation contributing to the creation of an innovative economic and social agenda that saw New Zealand consistently referred to as a 'laboratory for the world' (Shirley, 2010b). As a

'new society' New Zealand historically had no established aristocracy or landless peasantry, and as a result new social patterns developed, such as the working class seeking tangible benefits from the state in the form of wage and employment security. Similarly, small business interests such as farmers and manufacturers relied on the state for economic security which took the form of protection from overseas competition and regular adjustments to the labour market by means of controlled immigration.

In the nineteenth century the radical policy initiatives centred on legislation such as the 1893 Electoral Act, which granted universal suffrage to women, and the Industrial Conciliation and Arbitration Act (1894) which arguably established the most progressive labour legislation in the industrialised world. Four years later the New Zealand Parliament passed the world's first Old Age Pensions Act and in 1900, spurred on by the threat of bubonic plague in neighbouring Australia, it passed the Public Health Act which introduced a comprehensive health system that was to endure until the late 1980s. Such impressive public policies were underpinned by consistently strong export earnings based primarily on wool, timber and gold, alongside refrigerated lamb, mutton and other agricultural products destined for British markets (Bertram, 2009).

By 1933 New Zealand provided approximately 50 per cent of Britain's imports of lamb, mutton, cheese and butter combined (Belich, 2001b). The country became internationally renowned as the 'British Farm' in the South Pacific.

The advent of refrigeration, which led to large-scale agricultural exports to Britain, was a significant factor in the development of a vast European-styled agricultural farming model in New Zealand. This subsequently drove settlement throughout the country, with the North Island in particular being specifically based on dairy farming and the ability to export butter and cheese. A key impact of these drivers pushing the European agricultural base was the disempowering effect on Māori. However, with the pending dramatic price decreases for agricultural exports, the remainder of the 1930s and beyond were expected to be 'a period of special hardship and social turmoil' (Easton, 2004).

The *'Liberal Formation'* is notable for continued disconnection of Māori interaction with the wider New Zealand economy traced back to a 'sudden and severe decline in Māori economic predominance' that had occurred in the 1850s (Petrie, 2006, p. 234). Although high levels of Māori economic engagement had previously been a notable feature of the *'European Settlement'* with particular emphasis applied to wheat growing, flour milling and ship ownership for trading purposes, this progress did not continue. Factors such as the advent of capital-intensive steamships and other technological changes, aligned with events such as the collapse of the wheat and flour market in 1856, were precursors to a long period of economic disengagement which remained the norm throughout the *'Liberal Formation'*.

The situation of Māori at the onset of the 'Liberal Formation' phase was characterised as 'mounting debt and land loss in the 1870s; and subsistence agriculture, with increasing reliance on wage labour by 1880' (Monin, 1994, p. 197). These characteristics also aligned with what Marsden referred to as 'dispossession and disenfranchisement' policies relating to appropriation of land and resources and the subsequent sense of alienation. Therefore, paradoxically, the *'Liberation Formation'* period was the phase where the assimilation of Māori accelerated. Influenced greatly by the on-going 'swamping' of New Zealand with Pākehā settlers and the dramatic changes in the population's 'balance of power', Māori were simply overwhelmed by the powerful forces of assimilation. Other contributing factors such as Government supported elimination of the Māori language, the higher status attributed to Pākehā society and education, non-engagement by Māori in commerce, and the perceptions of Māori as a 'dying race' are likely to have reinforced the validity of the assimilation polices of that period.

For Ngāti Awa the *'Liberal Formation'* was manifested in wholesale land confiscation (as covered in chapter 3.6) and associated disruption of ancestral social structures and the land tenure system. It also heralded the commencement of land related grievances to Government to seek redress and the restoration of mana whenua. Those petitions and submissions were ultimately unsuccessful and with Ngāti Awatanga being closely aligned to ancestral land holdings, the deterioration of Ngāti Awa development was intensified.

Command Economy (1930s to 1970s)

In the wake of the Great Depression and the associated high levels of financial hardship and insecurity that accompanied the Depression, the New Zealand Government adopted a strongly interventionist role – a role that was subsequently referred to in development terms as the *'Command Economy'* (Condliffe, 1959). The development of the New Zealand economy at this time was based almost exclusively on agricultural exports to its core British market, with the risks associated with over dependence on Britain clearly exposed by the 'Wall Street Crash' in October 1929 precipitating the onset of the Great Depression. The impact upon New Zealand was not immediate; however when England started placing comprehensive restrictions on imports it was evident that exports would eventually plummet. By 1933 export receipts had nose-dived dramatically by 44 per cent compared to 1929, precipitating unprecedented levels of unemployment, estimates of which ranged from 10 to 32 per cent of the workforce (Belich, 2001b).

The response of the coalition Government, consisting of the Reform and United parties, was led by Gordon Coates, who had been Prime Minister in 1925 and then subsequently the Minister of Finance at the start of the depression. Coates introduced a range of fiscal and employment related measures which included work-schemes for the unemployed, prevention of bank foreclosures on farm mortgages, devaluation of the New Zealand pound, and the establishment of the Reserve Bank which assumed

responsibility for the currency and money supply from the six trading banks of that time. All of which, according to Belich, had limited success aside from the establishment of the Reserve Bank (ibid). These predominantly unsuccessful measures ultimately led to the eventual demise of the Coalition Government in 1935.

Upon assuming power in 1935 the first Labour Government introduced a series of protective measures such as tariffs and in their second term in 1938 introduced import licences. This was part of a strategy aimed at insulating the New Zealand economy from the recessionary events occurring overseas, events that had initially led to the Great Depression. The Government also linked wage levels to the local economic conditions and endeavoured to maintain the viability of the local manufacturing industry and small scale farming sector through price stabilisation mechanisms. Tighter regulatory control over immigration was a further key measure imposed by the Government during this period to ensure jobs were reserved for New Zealanders, which in turn was strongly aligned to the 'family wage' philosophy.

At the height of the Great Depression the 'family or social wage' was extended by the Labour Government during the late 1930s (Shirley, Koopman-Boyden, Pool, & St.John, 1997). The 'family wage' was both a philosophical and actual benchmark which reflected the nominal wage required to support a wife and two or three children, and it was later

underpinned by the Social Security Act of 1938. It was also subsequently extended to include 'free primary and secondary education, a community-based preventative health scheme, a salaried medical service, a free public hospital system and a state housing programme for those who could not afford a home of their own' (Shirley, 2010b). The 'family wage', combined with historical full employment levels and high levels of home ownership, continued to be a key cornerstone of the New Zealand welfare state almost 50 years after its introduction.

During the '*Command Economy'* period the transition of Māori from a rural to a predominantly urban population in the second half of the twentieth century had significant implications for the indigenous people. From colonisation until the Second World War, the Māori population was clustered mainly in remote rural areas in the North Island of New Zealand. The economic base during this time shifted gradually from semi-subsistence and unskilled or seasonal jobs to pastoral farming upon which the country's exports depended. The situation for Māori further changed rapidly with accelerated Māori migration to urban areas occurring predominantly in the 1950s and 1960s, representing one of the most significant movements of people recorded in New Zealand history (Pool, 1991).

According to Meredith the Second World War was the major catalyst for Māori urban migration, with young Māori not eligible for military service being 'manpowered' into the industries supporting the war effort and remaining in

the cities after the war had ended (Meredith, 2009). Post World War II, the urban migration increased unabated with firstly young Māori searching for 'work, money and pleasure', followed by family groups seeking greater opportunities in the 1960s. The Hunn Report of 1961 outlined some revolutionary proposals for that time, which included the 'need for doubling or even trebling the Māori housing programme' (Te Ao Hou, 1961). Written by Mr J. K. Hunn, Deputy Chairman of the Public Service Commission and Acting Secretary for Māori Affairs, the report effectively formalised the urbanisation of Māori as official Government policy. Meredith described how 'rural Māori families were encouraged to move to the cities with the provision of accommodation, employment and general assistance in adjusting to a new life' (Meredith, 2009). The resultant policies were clearly effective with the proportion of urban Māori rising from 35 per cent in 1956 to 62 per cent in 1966 through to almost 85 per cent in 2006.

It is interesting to note that the early Pākehā attitude toward Māori migration to the cities was distinctly unsupportive (ibid). The general consensus was that Māori could be corrupted by exposure to an unfamiliar Pākehā lifestyle in cities and towns, and they were best served by remaining in their rural communities. However, early dissent was apparently set aside with the recognition that the urbanisation of Māori was inevitable and proposals emanating from the Hunn Report and other Government policies of that era reflected a focus on the integration of the two races. With greater levels of contact and social interaction, a high level of intermarriage ensued, albeit not

only between Māori and Pākehā, but also between Māori of various tribal affiliations.

Vulnerable Economy (1970s to 1984)

The vulnerability of New Zealanders, and Māori in particular, was reflected in the next major period of development referred to in this research as the *'Vulnerable Economy'* encompassing the period from 1970 to 1984. This period was aptly named given the historical dependency of the New Zealand economy on exports to the United Kingdom, which was graphically highlighted by the establishment of the European Community in 1957 and the resultant dramatic decrease in agricultural exports by New Zealand to Great Britain.

Recognising the tenuous state of New Zealand's economy due to its over reliance on agricultural exports to Britain, alongside a perceived need to develop resource sustainability in response to the oil shocks of that period, both National Governments of the 1970's sought to reconfigure the New Zealand economy. A capital intensive development programme with a specific focus on energy related industries was initiated and referred to as 'Think Big'. Unfortunately the private public partnership approach adopted by 'Think Big' proponents was unsuccessful as, amongst many weaknesses, it had a disproportionate level of underwriting being provided by the New Zealand tax payer. This influenced the private companies involved in 'Think

Big' projects to make decisions that would not normally be undertaken in a regular business environment and accordingly commercial failure ensued. Aside from some limited employment generation and foreign exchange earnings, the legacy of the 'Think Big' era was effectively a significant increase in New Zealand's indebtedness (Shirley, 2010b, p. 6). The impact of the 'Think Big' programme at the centre of National's command economy had minimal positive effect on the stagnant New Zealand economy as it headed into the 1980s. The resultant negativity was further compounded by the austere wage and price freezes introduced by the National Government of that period.

Disenchantment with the Government's handling of the economy stemmed from the country's vulnerability as recorded in the falling relative prices for New Zealand's pastoral exports and the increasing indebtedness of both the household and national economies. It was further exacerbated by an authoritarian Prime Minister who imposed a wage and price freeze and an *ad hoc* assortment of controls that alienated significant sectors of the population. When this disenchantment was combined with the emergence of New Right governments in Britain *('Thatcherism'*) and America ('*Reganomics'*), as well as various interest groups within New Zealand advancing alternative prescriptions for controlling inflation and reducing fiscal deficits, the scene was set for a radical change in the management of the New Zealand economy (Jesson, 1987). The subsequent implementation of *'Rogernomics'* commenced the transition to a new social formation alternatively described as

the advent of economic liberalisation, economic rationalisation, or the advance of the New Right (Easton, 1989). It was an approach that was aligned with structural adjustment derived from opening economies to the world through trade and currency liberalisation, whilst liberalising domestic economies through privatisation and deregulation.

The urbanisation of Māori during the 1960s and 1970s was of great significance because it was not only a mass migration of Māori from rural to urban centres, but also a catalyst for major changes within the cultural foundations of Māori development (Coleman *et al.*, 2005). 'The transformation of Māori from members of a tribal based, communal culture at the beginning of the nineteenth century to members of an individualistic capitalistic culture at the end of the twentieth century is the fundamental story of the change that took place in the Māori economy' (ibid, 2005, p. 20). Inevitably mass urban migration by Māori and the new challenges they faced through their work and living conditions in towns and cities would for some lead to a sense of dislocation and alienation. This state of uncertainty and insecurity was intensified by the predominance of Māori employed in manufacturing, factories, freezing works, railway yards and other manual work, all of which were highly susceptible to economic downturns and changes in Government economic policies. With many Māori being impacted by the harsh realities of urban life, there was a flourish of activity in the 1960s to establish Māori networks, groups, and alliances to provide mutual support based on Māori cultural values, identity and aspirations.

Planning for the construction of urban based marae also occurred in this period. This was an important development as it recognised that no longer were the traditional, rural based marae able to exclusively meet the spiritual, cultural and community related requirements of urban Māori. Also introduced at this time was the concept of the pan-tribal marae whereby tribal ancestry was no longer the primary reason for affiliation to a particular marae. The establishment in 1980 of marae such as Hoani Waititi Marae in West Auckland, Ngā Hau e Whā Marae in 1982 in Christchurch, and Kirikiriroa Marae in 1984 in Hamilton, are all early examples of Māori pan-tribalism arising from urbanisation and the inherent desire by Māori to coalesce around the notion of *kotahitanga*.

During this period of rapid urbanisation challenges that arose from a numerous array of changes, and the subsequent impact upon Māori, were also identified. According to the 1971 Census 74 per cent of young Māori men and 36 per cent of young Māori women left the education system with no formal qualifications; 25.9 per cent of Māori went into unskilled occupations, compared to 6.5 per cent of the general population. Based on the generally low educational attainment levels by Māori during this period, there was a corresponding over-representation of Māori working in low skilled occupations and sunset industries such as railways, freezing works, and manufacturing. This situation had arisen, in part, from post-second world war urbanisation which 'created strong incentives to remain in low skilled occupations and not

acquire education' (Chapple, 2000b, p. 22). As a sector of the New Zealand population which did not have high levels of educational attainment, or representation in the professions or business sector, Māori were particularly vulnerable to the volatility inherent in the New Zealand economy at that time.

Economic Liberalisation (1984 to 2000s)

As the country's indebtedness increased under the 'Think Big' economic strategy, there was some support for a gradual shift to economic liberalisation during the late 1970s and early 1980s. Most transitions from one social formation to another are gradual but in the mid-1980s economic policy in New Zealand swung dramatically to the right. The Government (spearheaded by Treasury) introduced an extreme form of market liberalisation with a major emphasis on 'fighting inflation' (New Zealand Treasury, 1984).

The election of the fourth Labour Government in 1984 heralded the floating of the New Zealand dollar to align with the actions of major trading partners as well as the dismantling of the regulatory framework that had previously been a feature of New Zealand's post World War II economy. Within a decade the New Zealand economy had been transformed from the OECD's most regulated economy to the least regulated. The focus of the new Government was on economic reform similar to the *'Thatcherism'* and *'Reganomics'* rationalisation programmes undertaken in the United Kingdom and United

States respectively, although New Zealand chose to venture far beyond any other jurisdiction (Bollard & Buckle, 1987).

The dollar was floated in 1985 and the regulatory structure that was in place when Government took office was almost completely dismantled. Interest rate controls were removed; the financial system was deregulated; restrictions were lifted on the flow of money in and out of New Zealand. Agricultural subsidies were terminated; the protective shield was removed from manufacturing; State departments were organised along commercial lines and then selectively privatised. At the same time monetary and fiscal policies were tightened in order to eliminate inflation.

Notwithstanding the importance of global development agencies and the process of globalisation, in the context of the New Zealand economy, the role of the New Zealand Treasury and a relatively small cabal of politicians was particularly significant (McKinnon, 2003). After the 1984 General Election a series of briefing papers by the Treasury were provided to the then incoming Minister of Finance, Roger Douglas. These papers focused on the management of the New Zealand economy (New Zealand Treasury, 1984, 1987) advocating a programme of economic liberalisation and outlining what was subsequently referred to as the prescriptions of the New Right (Jesson, 1989).

The cumulative impact of these policies resulted in severe damage to the trading sector. Profits, employment and investment were all affected. Export growth sharply diminished. The volatility of exchange and interest rates, of historically high levels, directed spending flows away from production and into speculation. This was the case in New Zealand from 1985 to 1987 as the paper wealth, generated by the world share market boom and augmented by debt within, conveyed an impression of prosperity and wealth. Investors spent some of their paper gains on housing, property and luxury goods, and young urban dwellers in particular became infatuated with conspicuous consumption.

The major legacy of this social formation was the way in which it exposed the vulnerability of the New Zealand economy, its reliance on pastoral farming and the need to expand its trading partnerships. Although some economists suggest that the wider New Zealand economy transformed itself between 1966 and 1984 (Easton, 1997), the country continued to suffer from the effects of disproportionate dependence on its exports to the United Kingdom.

It was in the sphere of unemployment that the social effects of economic liberalisation became most evident (Shirley, Easton, & Chatterjee, 1989). In the 12 months to March 1989, unemployment in New Zealand increased by 50 per cent. One out of every nine in the labour force was unemployed (March 1990) and in some areas of the country, such as Whangarei, the ratio was one in five. Employment in manufacturing industries declined from

between 18 and 20 per cent (measured against 1984 figures) and in the retail, hotel and social service sectors more than 40,000 jobs were lost in a period of 12 months. From being a 'low unemployment' nation in 1978, with a registered unemployment rate of only one per cent, ten years later (December 1988) New Zealand had become a nation of high unemployment with 13.7 per cent of the workforce registered as unemployed or on special training and work programmes (ibid).

The impact of 'economic liberalisation' was disproportionately negative for Māori. This was evident by the estimated 20 per cent of the Māori working population who lost their jobs between March 1987 and March 1989, and two years later for Māori 15 to 24 years of age, the rate was almost 40 per cent compared to only 20 per cent for other New Zealanders (Shirley *et al*., 1989). As noted by the Council of Trade Unions: 'The privatisation and restructuring of state sector organisations, the effect of tariff cuts on employment in clothing factories and car assembly plants, major meat company restructuring and the abandonment of trade training all impacted severely on Māori workers' (New Zealand Council of Trade Unions, 2005). Along with these measures, the effective dismantling of the welfare state and the 'family wage' that had been introduced almost 50 years previously, was supported and implemented by subsequent National and Labour Governments. The overarching result has been long-term Māori unemployment, with high levels of inter-generational Māori dependant on social welfare benefits, that continues to the present day.

By 2006 the Māori population had reached 565,329 people with 84.4 per cent living in urban areas (Statistics New Zealand, 2006). The unprecedented level of mass urbanisation had significantly contributed to the de-tribalisation and subsequent homogenisation of those Māori who elected to live in urban centres (Coleman *et al*., 2005, p. 20). Aligned with the high level of Māori urbanisation and intermarriage between Māori and non-Māori, the role of the rural-based, legislatively mandated iwi organisations such as Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Awa, had also greatly diminished due to the huge exodus of Māori to New Zealand cities and regional centres (Sautet, 2008) and more latterly Australia.

4.3 Theoretical Assumptions

The distinctive social formations examined in this chapter provide an overview of New Zealand's political economy. Through identifying a series of development patterns that have been significant at different periods, it has been possible to explore the way in which Māori development has been linked to different economic and social realities. Some of these stemmed from external forces such as immigration and trade. Others from domestic factors, such as the urbanisation of Māori and a series of contrasting public policies such as the capital intensive economic programmes of the 1970s and the economic fundamentalism of the New Right that dominated the 1980s and 1990s.

While the distinctive social formations, as outlined, highlight the major forces and conditions that dominated different periods of New Zealand's history, some continuities are also evident as New Zealand moved from one phase of development to another. The significance of land ownership and the continuing reliance on the pastoral economy are two examples.

Two themes that deserve further investigation relate to the different theoretical traditions that have been significant in New Zealand's development, and the interpretation of 'development' which is the core of this research. If the different social formations are accepted as a basis for distinguishing the different patterns of development, then it is feasible to associate particular theoretical traditions to the different periods of development.

In broad terms the first two periods (*'European Settlement'* and *'Liberal Formation'*) can be associated with classical economic theories as articulated by Adam Smith, Thomas Robert Malthus and Thomas Carlyle (see Appendix II) whereas the formation of the *'Command Economy'* reflects the influence of John Maynard Keynes and what has been termed Keynesian Economics (Appendix II). The more recent emphasis on *'Economic Liberalisation*' can be associated with the Chicago School of Economics, the monetarist Milton Friedman and the economic theories of Friedrich von Hayek (Appendix II).

Although these contrasting theoretical traditions provide insights into the values and beliefs that have been influential at different periods during New Zealand's history a cautionary note is appropriate lest too much emphasis is placed on theoretical constructs as 'drivers' of development. For example, although classical economics may explain, in part, the assumptions and beliefs that were influential factors in *'European Settlement'* Shirley (1991), among others, has suggested that the economic and social policies implemented during this period were fashioned less by ideology than by pragmatism and serendipity. As a 'new' society New Zealand had no established aristocracy or landless peasantry and as a result the working class sought tangible benefits from the State in the form of wage and employment security. Similarly, small business interests such as farmers and manufacturers relied on the State for economic security which took the form of protection from overseas competition and regular adjustments to the labour market by means of controlled immigration.

Although the influence of competitive individualism and faith in the market economy were influential factors in both the Settlement and Liberal periods, certain elements in the implementation of social legislation, such as the Industrial Conciliation and Arbitration Act, were interpreted from abroad as socialist prescriptions that differed radically from classical economics.

Likewise the emphasis on Keynesian theory in the aftermath of the Great Depression has been subject to alternative interpretations such as the

definition of 'Applied Christianity' as articulated by Prime Minister Michael Joseph Savage to describe the first Labour Government's policy direction during the 1930s. In other words, while it is possible to identify major theoretical traditions that can be associated with particular phases of development, these traditions are limited explanatory factors especially when identifying the 'drivers' of development. The concept of development itself is another story.

4.4 Defining Māori development and its relationship with wider New Zealand development

It is evident from the examination of development, as outlined in this chapter, that the social, economic and political upheavals for Māori in the twentieth century have been closely linked with events occurring in wider New Zealand society. This reinforces that there are inextricable links between Māori and wider New Zealand society and endorses the view of senior research analyst Simon Chapple, author of the 'Maori Socio-Economic Disparity' report. Chapple cautioned against the notion of 'bi-culturalism that views Maori and non-Maori populations as though they run on separate parallel train tracks' (Chapple, 2000a). That said, it becomes apparent when examining the various development phases, or formations, that there are different interpretations of 'development' and, even given the range of literature on the topic, it remains an elusive concept.

Economic development has been defined in a multitude of ways from: 'a science based on the collection and examination of the actual facts of the economic world' (Clark, 1957); a process that requires examination of 'the entire structure of society and not just some (micro) part' (Peach, 2008); to an evolutionary process focused on continual development (Myrdal, 1974). As this research has progressed the emphasis has gradually shifted from a singular focus on 'economic development' to a much broader and holistic 'development' philosophy. This subtle but important change is due to the realisation that an economic approach is simply one element of the many that are required for any wide-ranging 'development' progress to be achieved. Ultimately 'development' requires requisite social, cultural, political and economic changes to effect improvement in material and social well-being (Okun & Richardson, 1961, p. 230).

In terms of differentiating between 'economic development' and 'development' in the context of the development patterns approach, the former was referred to by Stiglitz (2006) as a 'single-minded' approach 'viewed through the prism of economics, and economics alone' (Shirley & Neill, 2013). However, given the constrained nature of an economics-based approach, an analytical framework that reflects the structural, social and human aspects of development was required and initially posited by (Wolfensohn, 1999). His framework emphasises the need to avoid a linear and static interpretation of 'development'. Accordingly, the underlying development patterns approach applied in this thesis acknowledges that and

also reflects the need for the research to have a wider multi-dimensional 'development' focus.

This chapter has identified the way in which Māori development is differentiated from general development not only by its specific application to Māori, but also by the application of an holistic approach that is underpinned by key cultural concepts as discussed in chapter 2.2. The development patterns approach further highlights specific historical differences between Māori and general New Zealand development. The period of *'European Settlement'* through to the *'Economic Liberalisation'* has primarily been an account of a colonised indigenous people who have been buffeted by the changing winds of interconnected social, cultural, economic and political factors. Given that Māori have historically had limited capacity to influence these external factors it is not unsurprising that, for the most part, Māori development has been characterised by reactive responses to the prevailing circumstances of any given period.

With many Māori tribes moving into the post-Treaty settlement phase and acquiring resources and expertise to become proactive and influential players within the wider New Zealand economy, a new phase for Māori development may be at hand. Aligned with the $36.9 billion valuation of the so called 'Māori economy', a period of more assertive Māori development could transpire and that would have positive implications not only for Māori but also wider New Zealand. This period could consist of iwi organisations and other

Māori entities adopting a proactive stance rather than being subsumed by the external factors unfolding around them. A current example of Maori determining change is the strategy of Tainui Group Holdings Limited to establish an inland port (freight container distribution hub) at Ruakura, which could create 9,000 new jobs and attract 3 billion dollars of investment to the Waikato region (Nicholson, 2013).

For a renaissance of Māori development to occur, reminiscent of the economic leadership role of Māori at the beginning of the *'European Settlement'* phase, there would need to be significant improvements within individual rūnanga entities and wider collaboration amongst tribes. Therefore, in concluding this chapter, it is intended that the field research component of this work will explore these issues in depth and produce key findings that will help re-orient Māori development from a 'receptive' to a 'proactive' set of coordinated activities. In addition, as the fieldwork will have a specific Ngāti Awa focus, it is possible that interpretations of 'development' in an iwi-centric context can be further refined and made applicable to other iwi and their respective tribal entities.

CHAPTER 5 – THE PRESENT SITUATION OF NGATI AWA

5.1 Introduction

Ngāti Awa is an iwi that consists of a confederation of 22 hapū (sub-tribes) and two urban based hapū, Ngāti Awa-ki-Tamaki at Auckland and Ngāti Awa-ki-Poneke at Wellington as specifically defined under section 13 of the Act. At the 2006 census 15,258 people registered their affiliation with Ngāti Awa, making it the tenth largest tribe in New Zealand (Statistics New Zealand, 2006). However, Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Awa estimated that there were approximately 19,000 tribal descendants in 2010 (Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Awa, 2010) and according to its Chief Executive, Enid Ratahi-Pryor, that figure was likely to be closer to 22,000 in 2013.

The principal authority of Ngāti Awa is its rūnanga, or tribal council, which oversees all political, cultural, social and economic matters of importance to the tribe. Established as a charitable trust in 1980, its original intent as a collective group was to pursue the return of ownership of Putauaki Maunga (the ancestral mountain of Putauaki) from the Crown. This intent was further developed to include responsibility for progressing Ngāti Awa Treaty based grievance claims against the Crown. It was later re-constituted as Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Awa (TRONA), a body corporate, with the passing of the Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Awa Act 2005 which coincided with the settlement of its Claim (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2005).

At present Ngāti Awa is a tribe in recovery and rebuilding mode. This situation is noted in the Department of Labour *Understanding Regional Labour Markets - Ngāti Awa Case Study* report, which stated that 'the Eastern Bay of Plenty is an area of significant disadvantage with poor outcomes as widely recognised in terms of employment, education, health, housing and crime' (Leighton E, van Seventer D, Haig R, & Hall S, 2006). The report also noted that 'the availability of employment opportunities at the local level are imperative as Ngāti Awa and other Maori are less likely to remain and prosper in a lagging area'. These concerns were further highlighted by Maori representing 73 per cent of all unemployed youth in the Bay of Plenty region. Unfortunately, it is even more alarming when specific centres within the region are analysed and their respective rates of Maori youth unemployment are: Kawerau 91 per cent, Opotiki 86 per cent and Whakatane 76 per cent (Ministry of Social Development, 2006).

An earlier survey that covered the Bay of Plenty local body region was conducted by the Employment Task Force in 1994 and identified that these negative socio-economic statistics were widely entrenched. The survey found that Māori not only had the highest level of unemployment but also overcrowding in homes, incarceration levels, substance and alcohol abuse, domestic abuse, single parent families, suicide levels, and overall dependency on the welfare state. Clearly the 'journey' of Ngāti Awa from the widespread land confiscations of the 1860s through to its Treaty of Waitangi

settlement in 2005 was arduous and contributed to the range of negative effects and the socio-economic challenges faced by the tribe today. However, the subsequent re-constitution of TRONA as a body corporate aligned with the settlement of its Treaty claim has established (in policy terms) a framework for managing and advancing the development of Ngāti Awa.

5.2 The TRONA leadership perspective on the key objectives and priorities for Ngāti Awa

In November 2010 Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi in partnership with Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Awa hosted a symposium to 'draw breath and reflect on where we have been, where we are and more importantly, where we are heading in the post Treaty settlement era'. The Ngāti Awa centric symposium entitled '*Te Pourewa Arotahi – The Elevated Platform for Resolution'* (the Symposium) provided an opportunity for the researcher to engage with leaders of TRONA and assess their opinions in relation to the key objectives and priorities for Ngāti Awa. This pre-cursor to the formal aspect of the field research was deemed vital so that insight into the views of the tribal leadership could be used in the development of each of the stages of the research.

It is the view of Sir Hirini Mead, former Chairman of TRONA, that the 'number one priority for Ngāti Awa is tribal unity'. Mead contends that 'Ngāti

Awatanga', which includes having a strong sense of connection with Ngāti Awa and a desire to contribute to the iwi, is absolutely paramount. In his words 'if you are Ngāti Awa, you are Ngāti Awa', with the implication being that tribal membership carries with it specific responsibilities and obligations to contribute to its on-going development. Moreover, Mead argues that along with tribal passion and commitment, 'corporate development of the rūnanga is necessary as good plans need to be developed, agreed and then enacted'. However, Mead warns that this corporate focus must recognise that 'Ngāti Awa protocols and perspective must be maintained'. He emphasises the importance of corporate planning through regular reference to the recently completed TRONA strategic plan covering the period 2010 to 2015. (The 'Strategic Pathways to the Future' document or 'Te Ara Poutama o Ngāti Awa' is covered in further detail in chapter 7).

In terms of some of the key challenges facing Ngāti Awa, Mead believes that a 'wider contribution needs to be made by the Rūnanga in relation to economic development'. He specifically refers to the need for the provision and development of employment opportunities, citing the role of the tribal tertiary educational institution, Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi (TWWoA) as being a critical link between the aspirations of a tribe and achievement of its economic development activities. Education is viewed by the tribal leadership as one of the most potent development activities Ngāti Awa can engage in, evidenced by a key aspiration which led to the establishment of TWWoA in 1991 which was:

'To provide opportunities for Ngāti Awa, Mātaatua, other iwi, all New Zealanders and international students to participate in education that contributes to the prosperity of whānau, hapū and iwi, and to economic, social, cultural, community and environmental development' (BERL, 2013, p. 20).

This aspiration led to the direct employment by TWWoA of 104 full-time staff in 2012. However, with an approximate output of $90 million to the New Zealand economy and $60 million to the Gross Domestic Product in 2012, it was estimated by economic research consultancy, BERL Economics, that the direct and indirect employment of a total of 515 full-time equivalent positions was the result (BERL, 2013). Aside from the economic contribution of the institution, 6,722 students were enrolled in 2012 with 1,340 students completing a qualification the preceding year (ibid). Of the students enrolled in 2012 34% were previously not in the workforce, i.e. they were either at home or receiving a benefit, which attests to the important impact being made by TWWoA at the community level.

After emphasising the important role TWWoA in relation to Ngāti Awa development, Mead further highlighted that connecting the tribe with iwi members who live beyond the traditional boundaries in regional centres, major cities and overseas was another key challenge. During this discussion, Mead introduced the necessity to develop a specific Ngāti Awa development model based on the rūnanga contributing to positive outcomes in the areas of

cultural, commercial and community development. He believes that there is a crucial interrelationship between these three areas of tribal aspiration, which is further explored and developed under the *'3 Cs'* headings in the *'Kahikatea Development Framework'* section of the key research findings (Chapter 7.4). Interestingly those three key areas of interrelated development were also independently referred to by several of the interview participants.

At the Symposium the current Chairman of the tribe's commercial arm, Ngāti Awa Group Holdings Limited (NAGHL), and former Chief Executive of TRONA, Sir Harawira (Wira) Gardiner, who has been at the forefront of both the successful Treaty claim settlement and subsequent growth of that settlement to a tribal asset base of $111 million (primarily based on the appreciation in the value of land-based holdings), provided several critical indicators of the future plans of the Rūnanga. Although Gardiner acknowledges that the commercial development of TRONA has been positive, he also recognises that with approximately 22,000 tribal members, the capacity of the Rūnanga to independently effect widespread social and economic development is rather limited. He suggests that the wider focus of the tribe needs to be centred on economic development supported by Government. As a former Chief Executive of Te Puni Kōkiri (The Ministry of Māori Development) and a former candidate for the presidency of the National Party, Gardiner has in-depth understanding of both the capacity of tribal entities and central Government to contribute to economic development, as well as the associated political processes. He also acknowledges the

relevance of international indigenous economic development models, given the limited ability of domestic tribal entities to influence or bring about major economic development change.

Gardiner considers that the governance structure of TRONA is 'primarily hapū based' with a strong emphasis on cultural development and retention of Ngāti Awatanga. It is his view that additional professional and commercial skill sets are required at the governance level to maintain dividend payments to TRONA to achieve its cultural objectives. Furthermore, those same skills are necessary to achieve greater economic development outcomes for the tribe.

Gardiner's position is that the key issue facing the tribe is maintaining the relevance of TRONA. He made specific references to tribal members who live beyond the traditional Ngāti Awa boundaries. Gardiner stated that educational scholarships and regular tribal communications are particularly important in retaining a connection between the tribe and its widely dispersed membership. However, it is also his view that new internet-based technologies, including social media, will become even more important in maintaining a strong bond and sense of 'community' associated with Ngāti Awatanga.

Long-time Deputy Chairman of TRONA, Pouroto Ngaropo, endorses the comments made by both Mead and Gardiner. However he expresses concern about the impact of western governance structures on tribal

development. In his words the tribe 'needs to ensure that the people of Ngāti Awa are not re-colonised by our own governance structures and processes'. The inference being that Ngāti Awatanga could be compromised by slavish adherence to governance structures and processes that do not fully account for the cultural aspects of tribal development.

The potential for non-alignment of the cultural and governance aspects of tribal development was further acknowledged by the Chief Executive at that time of TRONA, Jeremy Gardiner. He considers those challenges as being inherent in TRONA fulfilling its role which, in his words, are simply 'to effectively manage the Treaty settlement and assets for the collective benefit and welfare of the people of Ngāti Awa'. As the son of Sir Harawira Gardiner and a former researcher who assisted Sir Hirini Moko Mead with development of the Ngāti Awa Treaty claim, Jeremy Gardiner has committed a significant amount of his professional career to the development of TRONA. It is his view that TRONA must maintain a strategic role for the tribe that focuses on 'policy development and liaison with Government'.

Although the collective benefit and welfare of the people of Ngāti Awa remains paramount, Gardiner's position is that it is 'unrealistic for TRONA to provide social services and employment related opportunities'. This view aligns with the roles and functions TRONA espouses on its website (Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Awa, 2013) which states that its principal responsibilities are to: provide effective governance and leadership, work with Government and

other institutions to safeguard the interests of Ngāti Awa, support the well-being of whānau, marae and hapū whilst upholding Ngāti Awatanga. While Gardiner acknowledges that TRONA is supportive of social service delivery activities, he does not believe it is 'appropriate' for TRONA to become involved in 'front line' service delivery. He cited an example of the Chairman of TRONA being contacted to solve an issue with beds at a social services facility and maintains that TRONA can better serve its tribal constituents by operating at a strategic level.

In endeavouring to define who the 'people of Ngāti Awa' actually are, Gardiner provides a clear insight into three broad categories of Ngāti Awa constituents. He considers the first category as being those tribal members who are 'fully engaged' and as a result are active in TRONA and hapū related events. These constituents are typically strongly connected to Māori language and culture, reside within the traditional boundaries of the tribe and in Gardiner's view 'have high expectations of the rūnanga'. The second category are tribal stakeholders who are 'engaged as required'. They have specific expectations of TRONA and engage with the rūnanga to fulfill a clear objective or to garner support for a tribal related project or initiative. The third, and largest, category are 'disengaged' constituents. According to Gardiner, and based upon TRONA registration records, this group consists of approximately 85 per cent of tribal members who reside outside the traditional boundaries of Ngāti Awa, and also includes those who are local constituents who do not see any benefit in the activities of TRONA.

Within in each of the three categories the expectations of tribal members varies significantly. However, according to Gardiner, those fully engaged with TRONA and hapū affairs have a strong sense of ownership towards rūnanga activities. For example, annual disbursements (approximately $5,000) made by the rūnanga to various marae were widely considered to be 'guaranteed' dividends with a key role of TRONA perceived to be the provision of on-going funding. Although this can create a level of dependence on TRONA, it also reflects the situation of maintenance of Ngāti Awatanga occurring at the hapū and marae level which, according to Gardiner, is an area of high importance for TRONA.

In terms of the overarching strategic role of TRONA, Gardiner considers that the ideal situation is for TRONA to provide guidance and support to Government agencies and ministries regarding effective development and implementation of tribal socio-economic development policies. This view is supported by the pragmatic recognition that with an asset base of only $111 million, the capacity of TRONA to directly influence socio-economic development activities to benefit an iwi of approximately 22,000 members is limited.

Based on these discussions, it became clear that the Ngāti Awa leadership perspective on economic development and the present situation of the tribe has some common themes. Economic development is considered to be a

'means to an end' in that to achieve the desired objectives of a prosperous and successful iwi, actual economic development outcomes have to be achieved. However, that focus on economic development is qualified by a consensus amongst the Ngāti Awa leaders that TRONA should not be a service delivery agency, but rather a facilitator between Government, the public and private sectors, and other Māori organisations. It is an approach that contradicts the viewpoint that aligning Māori development with mainstream strategies is unlikely to be beneficial (Durie, 1998). Furthermore, this de facto 'facilitator' role for TRONA appears to be closely aligned with a strong focus on a guardianship role over Ngāti Awatanga and the associated maintenance of cultural and language aspects of the tribe.

The cultural guardianship role of TRONA is linked to the relatively limited financial resources of Ngāti Awa. As previously conveyed by Jeremy Gardiner the role of TRONA is considered to be effective management of its asset base and the distribution of benefits to tribal members. Accordingly, it appears that TRONA leadership is resigned to a role of cultural guardianship and facilitation, as opposed to direct economic development activities.

Another key theme is the issue of TRONA remaining relevant to its constituents. It was suggested by Jeremy Gardiner that TRONA is only relevant to a relatively small constituency of the 'fully engaged' tribal members and that it does not have direct relevance for the vast majority of Ngāti Awa descendants in an economic sense. However, this is deemed to

be a pragmatic strategy based on the preference for the tribe to maintain a strategic focus as opposed to an operational service delivery philosophy.

Having discussed the future plans of Ngāti Awa with the aforementioned key leaders of TRONA at the Symposium, the conclusion reached is that the organisation is not committed to a progressive economic development strategy, but more a cultural guardianship role supported by prudent asset management and investment activities. This position does not completely align with the overall expectations of many who made claims submissions and is thus specifically addressed in the field research chapters.

CHAPTER 6 – OTHER APPROACHES TO INDIGENOUS ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

6.1 Introduction

This chapter considers alternative non-iwi based approaches to Māori economic development. The concept of rural based traditional rūnanga led Māori development is critically analysed and contrasted with non-tribal Māori development options. Emphasis is also placed on a critique of the tribal collectivist economic development model and its relevance to Māori who are predominantly dispersed and disconnected from their traditional iwi affiliations. This area of focus then led to an examination of urban Māori authorities and their contribution to Māori development, without consideration of iwi affiliations.

The historical and contemporary socio-economic challenges and opportunities faced by Māori are clearly not exclusive to the indigenous people of New Zealand. Marsden's method of colonisation incorporating pacification, loss of land and resources, erosion of language and culture, urban migration, assimilation and socio-economic underperformance, are all remarkably similar to those patterns that have been incurred by other indigenous people throughout the world. Accordingly, a comparative study of other international approaches is considered to be of relevance as it provides the opportunity to explore beyond the Māori experience, structures and

paradigms so that there is a higher level of objectivity about Māori economic development.

The international indigenous component of this research is based on the economic development strategies of the Aboriginal Australians and the First Nations people of Canada. These two countries have been selected because they have similar historical backgrounds to New Zealand whereby the indigenous peoples have been subjected to British colonisation, comparable societies have developed, and similar forms of government exist in all three countries. However, it is significant that both Australia and Canada have followed different approaches to that of New Zealand in relation to indigenous economic development. In Australia the *'closing the gap'* indigenous development framework is predominantly government led, whilst the Canadian model is primarily a government supported tribal approach. Both approaches are considered to be relevant to this thesis and, in particular, the construction of the specific Māori economic development framework.

6.2 The non-iwi based approach to Māori economic development

Is the Iwi based economic development model the best option for Māoridom? Or is economist Gareth Morgan correct in his assessment that 'the worst enemy Māori face is clinging to the tribal collective model of economic development – it cannot possibly deliver economic emancipation' (Morgan, 2004).

Morgan argues that iwi led economic development has failed, based on social and economic underperformance of Māori, and that tribalism has no place in a secular market economy. He contends that the 'rural marae societal model has become separated from where the economic activity and jobs are', concluding with the statement that 'Māori tribal hierarchies need to adapt or fade'. Furthermore, the emphasis on a tribal collectivist economic development model needs to change to empowering Māori as individuals to achieve economic success with a focus on education, savings and investment.

The views of Morgan were strongly supported by the New Zealand Business Roundtable sponsored report 'Once Were Iwi? A Brief Institutional Analysis of Māori Tribal Organisations Through Time' (Sautet, 2008). Sautet further argued that, with the high level of Māori urbanisation and intermarriage between Māori and non-Māori, the role of rural-based, traditional iwi organisations is greatly diminished. Furthermore, as previously mentioned Coleman *et al.* (2005) contend that the change within Māori society, from being exclusively rural and tribally based at the beginning of the nineteenth century to a predominantly city dwelling people at the end of the twentieth century, is the key critical factor in the changes that have occurred within Māoridom (Coleman *et al*., 2005, p. 20). It is claimed that the mass urbanisation of Māori since the Second World War has primarily resulted in

the de-tribalisation and subsequent homogenisation of Māori who have elected to live in urban centres.

With 85 per cent of Māori living in urban areas away from their tribal affiliations, the logical prognosis is that over time the relevance of iwi organisations is likely to diminish. Historical erosion of traditional cultural, language and familial ties amongst urban Māori are all indicators of this process. As a consequence, this means that those tribal members living in traditional *rohe* are more likely to be active in rūnanga affairs and activities with the seemingly undemocratic scenario of the rūnanga decision-making processes being primarily driven by various hapū (sub-tribe) elected officials, who are predominantly representatives of rurally based tribal members.

To their credit, many rūnanga recognise this dilemma and endeavour to engage with urban based constituents in their election processes, albeit with minimal success. Urban based tribal members have also been recognised by some iwi through the establishment and recognition of urban hapū, such as Ngāti Awa-ki-Tamaki in Auckland and Ngāti Awa-ki-Poneke in Wellington. These urban hapū generally incorporate *'taura here'* tribal members who are typically connected by whakapapa (genealogical links) and wish to maintain their tribal affiliations (Farrell, 2005). However, the developing disengagement between rūnanga and tribal members living outside of their traditional rohe who do not wish to proactively maintain their tribal affiliations remains one of the key challenges facing organisations such as Te Rūnanga

o Ngāti Awa. This challenge is likely to be exacerbated by subsequent generations of urban born and bred Māori who may have no connections to or understanding of their iwi origins. It is also a mandatory challenge for TRONA that it supports the rights of all tribal members of Ngāti Awa as that requirement is reinforced by legislation. This quandary for iwi organisations was highlighted by the Census 2006 results which revealed that 'a total of 102,366 people of Māori descent did not know their iwi' (Statistics New Zealand, 2006).

Sautet (2008) argues that successful iwi organisations, that can best deliver benefits to their tribal members, will be those that conduct their activities as corporations with clear business strategies and goals, yet still retain tikanga Māori and inherent Māori values as a cultural foundation. 'Maori development needs to embrace modernity and the open society, rather than retreat towards the closed society of the past. This can be done while preserving some aspects of the cultural heritage of the past (tikanga and matauranga Māori) but not all aspects, and this is the lesson of the modern world' (ibid, p. 29).

However, Sir Tipene O'Regan refutes the view that iwi organisations need to slavishly adopt the Western corporate and governance models. According to O'Regan 'the governance that really matters is the development of governance within indigenous communities – between their leadership, the accountability of that leadership to the constituents of the tribal community'

(O'Regan, 2002). Thus, O'Regan maintains that the focus of the activities associated with Māori economic development should ultimately be viewed in terms of accountability to tribal members. Paradoxically, the tribal authority Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu, of which O'Regan was previously the long-standing Chairman (under its previous structure as the Ngāi Tahu Māori Trust Board), is often cited as a successful model of iwi corporate imperatives being successfully merged with Western governance practices.

To this point, discussion about iwi led economic development has focused primarily on individual rūnanga interacting with their own tribal constituents in the context of their respective tribal social, cultural, economic and political affairs. That said, a potentially influential and powerful force for Māori economic development has been the formation of the Iwi Leaders Group (ILG) representing economic and political collaboration between iwi organisations. In an interview on the TVNZ current affairs television programme 'Q and A' (TVNZ, 2010). The ILG Chairman, Mark Solomon, in response to the interviewer's question 'who are they, who do they represent and how transparent is this process?' explained about the background to the iwi collective.

The formation of the ILG began as an Iwi Chair's Forum, which in response to major political issues, such as the National Party calling for the abolition of the Māori parliamentary seats prior to the election of 2005, and the Foreshore and Seabed Act 2004, gave rise to an invitation being extended to Iwi Chairs

to establish a collaborative approach. As summarised by Solomon, 'it seemed pretty simple to me, that every tribe in the country's doing exactly the same thing, they're trying to look after the social needs of their people, the environmental issues that confront them, their economy. That's the genesis' (ibid).

The underlying rationale of the *'Iwi kātoa'* (all Iwi together) approach championed by Solomon, is to allow Iwi to consolidate their capital bases to facilitate diversified investment in areas of reliable long-term return, undertake larger scale investments and to have the capacity to attract other potential lenders and equity partners. Long-term infrastructural investments are also reflective of a philosophy advocated by the ILG, with the Government and Iwi being co-investors and guardians of key infrastructure as an extension of the partnership prescribed in the Treaty of Waitangi.

The iwi economic development model typified by the organisational structure and purpose of Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Awa, and the consolidated iwi approach advocated by the ILG, represent the current status quo of the collectivist tribal models. Notwithstanding pan-tribal statutory organisations such as Te Ohu Kaimoana (The Māori Fisheries Trust), established to advance the interests of iwi organisations in the administration of post-settlement fisheries assets, the tribal rūnanga model remains the predominant socio-economic vehicle for most Iwi. Yet the question remains - is retention of the status quo the best option for Māoridom? Materoa Dodd, senior lecturer at Waikato University,

argues that the critical issues for Māori social and economic development are not solely about appropriate tribal models, but also effective leadership and the execution of strategies. Ultimately success will 'lie in the way we might organise ourselves for the future, the types of organisations we build, what strategies we pursue, and how we are led' (Dodd, 2004). This point emphasises that successful Māori economic development at the tribal, regional or national levels, will not be driven solely by governance models, funding, resourcing and strategies, but most critically through effective transformative leadership.

6.3 The pan-tribal urban Māori authorities approach

The primary Māori alternative to the traditional iwi based economic development model has been the advent of urban based pan-tribal Māori authorities. The post- World War II period of rapid Māori urbanisation was a key driver in the establishment of urban Māori authorities and collectives such as the National Urban Māori Authority. As described by Farrell 'their *raison d'etre* is to address the needs of the urban members rather than any specific relationship with Māori history other than their being tāngata whenua' (Farrell, 2005, p. 48). Keiha and Moon further contend that Urban Māori Authorities are simply a Māori response to urbanisation. It was also emphasised that the establishment of urban Māori authorities was not simply a reaction by Māori to difficult circumstances arising from urbanisation, but more a concerted effort to adjust to the impact of social, cultural and economic conditions

associated with life in New Zealand's towns and cities (Keiha & Moon, 2008). Furthermore, urban Māori leaders were also coming to terms with the political ramifications of potentially being representatives of the largest concentrations of Maōri in the history of Aotearoa New Zealand. Conversely, Barcham refers to the rise of urban Māori authorities as recognition that 'many Maori individuals no longer have strong ties with traditional Iwi structures. There is therefore need to adopt mechanisms to allow for this social reality – to ground the issues and problems of today in the contemporary social context' (Barcham, 1998).

Whilst Barcham's views challenge the primacy of whānau and hapū, the traditional view of tribal iwi governance and its ability to meet the needs and expectations of its urban constituents was previously challenged by Maaka. His assessment concluded that 'the strictly descent - or kinship - centered tribe will continue to exist, but should be increasingly confined to managing and receiving the benefits of communally owned assets, and akin to a relationship between shareholders as opposed to a community relationship' (Maaka, 1994). This conclusion was drawn by Maaka based on the impracticality of a distant iwi being able to deliver social services and support to its tribal members in towns and cities which also included large numbers of members of other tribes. Maaka suggests that expecting the 'host tribe' to deliver support to urban-based Māori is also equally impractical because of the sheer volume of 'immigrant Māori' and the inevitable adverse impact upon the resources of the tāngata whenua or local tribe.

One of the early urban Māori authorities that was established was Te Whānau o Waipareira Trust which was formally incorporated in 1984. A review of the historical development, current structure, and strategic objectives of Te Whānau o Waipareira provides an important contrast between a traditional tribal authority, such as Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Awa and an urban Māori authority that has been operating for over 25 years. Te Whānau o Waipareira based in Henderson, Auckland, literally translates as 'The Family of Waipareira', with 'Waipareira' being a traditional Māori name for the area now known as West Auckland. The whakataukī or guiding proverb of the organisation since its inception has been *'kokiritia i roto i te kotahitanga'* ('progressively act in unity) which encapsulates the early founding philosophies of Te Whānau o Waipareira and pre-dates the incorporation of the Trust by many years.' Its origin dates from conditions and events that occurred between 30 and 40 years ago, when Māori urbanisation was rapidly taking place and West Auckland, which until the end of the Second World War consisted of small, isolated, rural communities, was itself emerging as a new major urban settlement' (Waitangi Tribunal, 1998).

During that period a range of cultural and social support activities for Māori were undertaken by various community leaders in West Auckland, many of whom were aligned through the establishment of the Hoani Waititi marae in 1980. The majority of those community leaders had worked both individually and collectively and developed specific expertise in the delivery of social services which were being devolved from the Department of Māori Affairs at

that time. A specific catalyst for Māori urban development occurred in 1978, when the Department of Māori Affairs developed a community project called 'Tu Tangata' ('Stance of the People'). This programme resulted in the establishment of local 'Kokiri Units' designed to stimulate community involvement in a wide range of initiatives targeted at urban Māori. The Waipareira Kokiri Unit eventually evolved into the Waipareira Community Management Group and was constituted as a charitable trust in 1982 to more effectively co-ordinate their activities. The incorporation process also had the critical benefit of consolidating the fragmentation that had developed from the various community initiatives and, in so doing, made their activities more attractive to potential funding agencies. At that time, the newly formed Trust had a total financial pool of $733, was primarily staffed by volunteers and operated from modest rented premises which it had acquired through its Kokiri contract (Waitangi Tribunal, 1998).

From those humble beginnings Te Whānau o Waipareira Trust evolved into a progressive socio-economic development organisation as outlined in its 2009 Annual Report. At that time it employed 206 full time staff, and had an additional workforce of approximately 300 people, with the inclusion of volunteers, elders and others associated with the organisation. In the 2009 financial year it achieved a 'Group' net profit of $1.0 million from total group revenue of $13.6 million. Te Whānau o Waipareira also developed a range of strategic relationships, primarily with local and central Government agencies and ministries, which funded a diverse variety of health, education, early

intervention and youth support services, alongside business development and investment activities. Its organisational structure indicates that it is a Māori organisation based on delivery of social support services, with an underlying economic development foundation.

In the strategic plan for the period 2009 to 2012, the vision of the organisation was articulated as developing 'positive Māori people we can all be proud of'. Aligned with this aspirational people-oriented focus, the Trust has a mission of being 'nationally recognised as the lead provider of services to Māori' with an overarching purpose 'to provide integrated services to our whānau' (Te Whānau o Waipareira Trust, 2009). Clearly, the long-standing intent of the Trust remains very strongly focused on the delivery of support services predominantly to those Maōri residing within the boundaries of Waipareira.

In contrast to Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Awa and many other traditional tribal rūnanga, Te Whānau o Waipareira has a different range of key characteristics. Its core funding is primarily from Government social service delivery contracts aligned with alternative funding streams it has proactively developed from non-Government business related activities. Underlying this is an organisational structure configured to provide a wide range of social, health and educational services to urban-based constituents. Most significantly it behaves as an iwi, albeit a modern one, and accordingly has a lower emphasis on policy development, research and tribal regeneration.

This emphasises its major differences with rūnanga in that it is non-tribal in its governance, management and operational activities.

Associated with these core differences between tribal (whakapapa based) and non-tribal (non-whakapapa based) Māori entities, has been the issue regarding recognition of urban Māori organisations. An on-going feature of the development of Te Whānau o Waipareira has been the 'classification' of its status under the Treaty of Waitangi, as well as its standing in a cultural perspective, particularly amongst traditional Māori organisations. Similar to other urban Māori authorities its legitimacy as a 'Māori tribal entity' has been challenged by both iwi Māori organisations and the Crown as evidenced by the Fisheries Claim issue.

A major issue that emphasised the growing political confidence and stature of urban Māori organisations such as Te Whānau o Waipareira, as well as conflicting philosophies between urban and iwi authorities, was the Treaty of Waitangi (Fisheries Claims) Settlement Act of 1992. This matter brought to the fore the political and legal legitimacy, as well as recognition, of urban Māori authorities. For $150 million the Crown purchased half-ownership of 26 percent of the fisheries quota for Māori and undertook to establish a 'Treaty of Waitangi Fisheries Commission to oversee the assets and formulate a plan for their eventual distribution' (Kersey Jr, 2002). This gave rise to a coalition of urban Māori authorities, including Te Whānau o Waipareira and the Manukau Urban Māori Authority, enacting legal proceedings in 1996 for

inclusion in the distribution of proceeds from the fisheries deal, based on the premise of the 1992 Act clearly stating that the assets were for the 'benefit of all Māori'.

The urban Māori coalition argued that traditional iwi were not representative of all Māori and accordingly the overriding purpose of the agreement could not be upheld by limiting distribution to traditional iwi only. Moreover, the urban Māori groups also sued to be recognised as iwi for the purposes of the fisheries settlement. The legal case was taken all the way to the Privy Council in London, which upheld the position of the New Zealand courts. The ruling of the Privy Council was that in relation to the 1992 Act, iwi were considered to be only traditional Māori tribes, with the final appeal being dismissed on 2 July 2001 (ibid, p 4).

The strategy of the tribal iwi leadership of that time was to simply state that only tribes that were signatories to the Treaty of Waitangi, and according to then Ngāi Tahu Chairman, Sir Tipene O'Regan, that meant only 'traditional iwi' groups, were entitled to participate in the distribution of settlement funds (O'Regan, 1992). Thus, it was maintained that the contested fisheries assets arose from a Treaty-based property right which only traditional hapū were entitled to retain. Unfortunately, the issue also highlighted some significant differences between traditional iwi and urban Māori leadership in relation to socio-economic development for Māori. O'Regan who was also Chairman of Te Ohu Kaimoana, provocatively challenged urban Māori that if they wanted

to participate in the settlement process they should trace their whakapapa back to their traditional iwi and, should they choose not to do so, they were effectively 'giving up their claim to be Maōri at all' (Webster, 2002, p. 359). However, urban Māori authorities continued to maintain that their organisations had a stronger social development and support agenda for their constituents than that of tribal iwi organisations. They argued that the proceeds from the fisheries settlement should have made a significant contribution to supporting Māori in both urban and rural New Zealand.

Aside from the issue about recognition of urban Māori organisations as tested by the fisheries settlement case, the matter also gave rise to defining what an 'iwi' actually is , i.e. whether they are actually bodies representative of a collective of Māori people, or more a traditional social, cultural and economic institution. A highly respected Tūhoe elder, John Turei, commented to the New Zealand Herald (cited in Barcham, 1998, p. 7) that "he had always understood iwi to mean 'people … or people of', and that to exclude those who did not identify with a particular iwi was not in accord with Tikanga Māori" (New Zealand Herald, 1998). This view was supported, for different reasons, by John Tamihere during his maiden speech when elected to Parliament in 1999: 'Let's get real. 44 per cent of Maori households are solo-parent driven. There is no exclusive Maori way forward. Te Whānau o Waipareira and Manukau Urban Maori Authority are as legitimate in the hearts, minds and souls of young urban Maori as any iwi' (Sissons, 2004).

Although Jackson later acknowledged that urban Māori authorities are not tribes in the traditional sense of the meaning (as confirmed during the interview process for this research), the Fisheries Claim did highlight that urban Māori entities did not require iwi status to confirm their legitimacy, as claimed by Tamihere. So whilst the urban Māori initiated legal action was ultimately unsuccessful in terms of receiving legal recognition as 'Iwi', it clearly signalled the emerging influence and relevance of those urban Māori groups.

6.4 International indigenous economic development models

The historical and contemporary socio-economic challenges and opportunities faced by Māori are not exclusive to the indigenous people of New Zealand. The patterns of colonisation, conflict, loss of land and resources, assimilation, erosion of language and culture, urban migration and socio-economic underperformance, are all remarkably similar occurrences that have been faced by indigenous peoples throughout the world. Based on that premise, it is important that an international indigenous context is considered in order to provide alternative economic development options and strategies beyond those which have been tried, tested and dispelled by Māori to date.

In attempting to define economic development in the indigenous context, Professor John Altman noted in the 2007 Canadian Senate report 'Sharing

Canada's Prosperity – A Hand Up, Not A Handout', that it is a 'highly contested term' which included notions of economic growth, employment and independence from welfare (St. Germain & Sibbeston, 2007). Altman states that 'Aboriginal economic development aspirations range widely from a desire to engage in traditional activities or participate in the market economy through businesses and jobs' (ibid, p. 2).

To provide an international indigenous context to this research the specific histories and economic development strategies of the indigenous Australians and the First Nations people of Canada are analysed. It is also critically important to think beyond the Māori experience, structures and paradigms to develop a stronger sense of objectivity about indigenous economic development. In doing so, it is expected that there will be many salient issues that can be considered in the context of identifying alternative options for Ngāti Awa and wider Māoridom.

6.4.1 The Indigenous Australian Economic Development Strategy

As New Zealand's closest neighbouring country, Australia has long been identified as the standard bearer for regional economic development and aspiration. In 2008 Australia had a total population of 21.4 million people compared to New Zealand's population of 4.3 million people, and a corresponding gross domestic product (GDP) of US$1.02 trillion in relation to the GDP of New Zealand of US$130 billion (The World Bank, 2010).

Although New Zealand has tended to follow its much larger neighbour, in an economic sense, it is interesting to note that the Australian Government is presently committed to developing an indigenous development model over a decade after it was first introduced in New Zealand, albeit in a different form. In 1999 the incoming Labour Government introduced its 'closing the gaps' policy to reduce a broad range of inequalities between Māori and other New Zealanders, with the Prime Minister Helen Clark stating at that time: 'There has been a growing disparity between the life chances of Maori and other New Zealanders, and Pacific peoples and other New Zealanders. It is simply not tolerable to this government to see tāngata whenua consigned permanently to the status of disadvantaged citizens in their own land. It is not acceptable'. (The Jobs Research Trust, 2000)

However, history has shown that the New Zealand socio-economic 'Closing the Gaps' policy was ultimately unsuccessful. It became highly politicised as a tide of public opinion viewed it as a race-based initiative, even though it had been subsequently re-branded to a 'more general approach of reducing social inequalities' (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2008a). According to the former Chief Executive of Te Puni Kōkiri, Leith Comer, the policy was formulated on a deficit-based approach which unfortunately generated 'negative public perceptions about the value of the population group to the population'. Most importantly, as Comer noted, the 'gaps didn't close' with a definitive lack of sustained political commitment on the part of the New Zealand Government being a significant contributing factor and the pragmatic reality that 'changes in outcome

indicators occur over a longer timeframe than politics!' (ibid). It is against this backdrop of failure of the New Zealand version of 'closing the gaps' that the Australian approach to the socio-economic underperformance of its own indigenous population is considered to be highly relevant.

The population of Australia comprises 517,200 Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders as at 2006, representing 2.5 per cent of the total Australian population (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2008). The indigenous population is projected to increase to 721,100 by 2021. Based on the discovery and archaeological dating of human remains, it is estimated that the earliest indigenous inhabitants of Australia arrived between 40,000 and up to 125,000 years prior to European contact (University of Wollongong, 2004) and accordingly the indigenous Australian culture is arguably the world's oldest on-going living culture. Although first European contact occurred in 1606, it was not until 1770 when Captain James Cook charted the Australian east coast in the *HMS Endeavour* that full scale colonisation of Australia by Britain was considered. That duly commenced in 1788 with the arrival of the First Fleet in Botany Bay. This was to herald an era of degradation and displacement of the aboriginal population and culture that has continued through to the present time.

Ultimately the Australian Government considered an apology to the indigenous peoples of Australia was an important part of the reconciliation process to commence rectification of the wrongs made since the colonisation

period. 'The Apology' was duly delivered by former Prime Minister Kevin Rudd on behalf of the Parliament of Australia on 13 February 2008. It was a poignant endeavour to 'apologise for the laws and policies of successive Parliaments and governments that have inflicted profound grief, suffering and loss on these our fellow Australians' (Rudd, 2008). 'The Apology' specifically referred to the 'Stolen Generations' who suffered from the policy of enforced removal of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander children from their families and communities during the 100-year period 1869 to 1969. According to Read it was "an attempt to 'breed out' the Aboriginal Race" (Read, 2006) with the 1926 report of the Aborigines Welfare Board stating that the relocation of the children to institutional facilities was to 'pave the way for the absorption of these people into the general population' (ibid, p. 3).

Whilst 'The Apology' acknowledged unequivocally the 'indignity and degradation thus inflicted on a proud people and a proud culture' it also recognised that it needed to represent more than just a 'moment of mere sentimental reflection' (Rudd, 2008, p. 4). Accordingly, Rudd further emphasised that for real progress to be made in terms of 'closing the gap' of social and economic disparities between indigenous and non-indigenous Australians, a non-partisan political approach had to be developed to formulate the broad range of policies and strategies needed to enact wide-scale change. This subsequently led to the Council of Australian Governments (COAG) committing in 2008 to achieve six targets related to indigenous life expectancy, health, education and employment under its

'Closing the Gap' socio-economic development strategy with an associated overall budget of $4.6 billion (Australian Government, 2009a).

The six key targets of the Australian Government's 'Closing the Gap' policy framework to address indigenous disadvantage were:

(a) close the life expectancy gap within a generation,

(b) halve the gap in mortality rates for indigenous children under five within a decade,

(c) ensure access to early childhood education for all indigenous four year olds in remote communities within five years,

(d) halve the gap in reading, writing and numeracy achievements for children within a decade,

(e) halve the gap for indigenous students in year 12 attainment or equivalent attainment rates by 2020, and

(f) halve the gap in employment outcomes between indigenous and non-indigenous Australians within a decade.

These 'closing the gap' targets were developed based on historically entrenched disparities between indigenous and non-indigenous Australians.

The magnitude of the challenges facing the Australian Government in successfully implementing its 'Closing the Gap' strategy is highlighted by the scale of the actual gaps that presently exist. To ensure that the strategy was not negatively politicised and also appropriately positioned as a non-partisan

socio-economic imperative for Australia, it was entrusted to the COAG to oversee its implementation. COAG is the peak intergovernmental forum in Australia, comprising the Prime Minister, State Premiers, Territory Chief Ministers and the President of the Australian Local Government Association. Accordingly, COAG is expected to co-ordinate and implement the necessary strategies to significantly reduce indigenous disparity and specifically achieve the aforementioned six key objectives. It is also recognised that for the strategy to succeed there must be a 'new partnership with indigenous Australians, based on mutual respect, mutual resolve, and mutual responsibility' (ibid, p. 4) as well as a set of clear, measurable targets. Furthermore, the Australian Government also committed to establishing a national Aboriginal and Torres Straits Islander representative body to ensure that the indigenous viewpoint and voice was heard at all stages of strategy formulation and delivery.

In the preliminary planning, the actual Indigenous Economic Development Strategy (IEDS) component of the overall 'Closing the Gap' framework was strongly oriented towards improving employment opportunities and assisting indigenous Australians to either join or remain in the workforce. An emphasis was also placed on reforming existing community employment programmes such as the Community Development Employment Program and the Indigenous Employment Program, resulting in approximately 3,500 full time jobs, with a further 400 traineeships established across the Government sector. Furthermore, in 2009 the Australian Government released a follow-up

report outlining the progress that had occurred and its planned actions for the following two years to establish the foundation for launching a longer-term 2010 – 2018 Indigenous Development Strategy (Australian Government, 2009b).

As to be expected of such a ubiquitous, socio-economic indigenous strategy, there was also criticism of the broader 'Closing the Gap' concept and the planned implementation. Although it has been positioned as a new and different approach to 'indigenous disadvantage', observers noted that there were similarities to the failed 'practical reconciliation' policies of the Howard Government. For example, in 2007, Gary Banks, the Chairman of the steering committee responsible for the 'Overcoming Indigenous Disadvantage' report, referred to a commitment 'at the highest political level, not only to address indigenous disadvantage in new ways, but also to monitor and evaluate the outcomes' as well as the need to forge 'whole-of-government' approaches' (Banks, 2007). It was also posited that the policy framework of the Howard Government was subsequently maintained by the incoming Rudd Government and simply reinstituted as the 'Closing the Gap' strategy (Altman, Biddle, & Hunter, 2008). This position was further supported by Pholi *et al.* (2009) who highlighted that setting aside the rhetoric, 'the pursuit of statistical equality for indigenous Australians is not a novel or particularly promising approach' (Pholi, Black, & Richards, 2009). And like the 'practical reconciliation' strategy, Closing the Gap also adopts a deficit-based approach which 'reduces indigenous Australians to a range of

indicators of deficit, to be monitored and rectified towards government-set targets' (ibid, p. 1).

Pholi and colleagues also argue that, although the Closing the Gap goal of statistical equality and its supporting evidence-based methods are refreshingly clear, and the shared vision between governments, indigenous organisations and communities is 'novel', it is basically 'business as usual'. They supported that viewpoint by stating that the 'Closing the Gap' approach measures what is wrong with indigenous Australian society and correspondingly what needs to be undertaken to achieve the non-indigenous ideals. In doing so, the approach of the Australian Government remains one of mandating and imposing solutions which are predominantly individually focused, and thereby further reinforcing the disempowered status of indigenous Australians as a statistical problem. In their view an alternative approach to measurement of indigenous socio-economic progress would be 'to measure and monitor progress in the delivery of power and control over the indigenous affairs agenda into the hands of indigenous Australians' (ibid, p. 11), and in doing so change the relationship between indigenous and non-indigenous Australians.

Altman and colleagues of the Centre for Aboriginal Economic Policy Research, are similarly critical of the Closing the Gap strategy and the proposed methodological processes to measure progress (Altman *et al*., 2008). They also caution that the 'ability of indigenous outcomes to reach

such benchmarks will also change with variations in social and economic conditions' (ibid, p. 18). Their conclusion that it may be more realistic for the Australian Government to commit to 'reducing disparities' may ultimately prove to be prophetic.

Given that the body of literature relating to 'Closing the Gap' focuses predominantly on policies, programmes and politics, it is worthwhile to also consider the people element in the indigenous disparity debate. In a 2008 presentation to the Communities in Control Conference, Pat Turner rhetorically asked how after 60,000 years of harmonious Aboriginal settlement prior to the arrival of the British in 1788, could circumstances change so dramatically for the indigenous people? 'So how come in 220 years we have been utterly dispossessed, utterly denigrated, utterly discriminated against, utterly marginalised, and we are now among the poorest, the least educated, the unhealthiest, the most unemployed, the most imprisoned in pro rata terms – and the list goes on' (Turner, 2008). An indigenous woman with a long record of meritorious work in the Australian Public Service, for which she was awarded the Order of Australia in 1990, Turner is also a former Chief Executive of the Aboriginal and Torres Straits Islander Commission (ATSIC) from 1994 to 1998. As well as being a prominent indigenous Australian, she is also a daughter of a member of the 'Stolen Generation' with her mother forcibly removed from her family at the age of eight in 1933. Clearly Turner has first-hand experience of the plight of the indigenous Australians, which is quite dissimilar to the clinically detached

and academic viewpoints of many others associated with the 'Closing the Gap' strategy.

Turner is understandably cynical of the track record of successive Australian Governments, and asks: 'why does every new government that gets elected come up with a new way that they want to deal with the Aboriginal problem?' (ibid, p. 5). Furthermore she highlighted major recent events that make reconciliation difficult, such as the Howard Government slashing $480 million out of the ATSIC budget when it came to power in 1996, money in Turner's view that was going directly into Aboriginal communities. Or as Turner bluntly stated (ibid, p. 8): 'why did they do that? Because they were cost cutting across the service and blacks weren't going to be exempt – it didn't matter about the need'. Turner also cites the 'national emergency response' policy which resulted in direct Government and police intervention in 72 Aboriginal communities in the Northern Territory in 2007 as 'the most abhorrent public policy for Aboriginal people over the last few years' (ibid, p. 8). However, surprisingly, Turner is optimistic about the future for indigenous Australians and remains committed to the principle of engagement. 'It's not our blight. It's everyone's blight. We're the victims – don't blame us. Take a good hard look at yourselves and what you can do to make a difference' (ibid, p. 10). Fittingly her conclusion sets out a challenge for not only the Australian Government, but also the Australian people.

6.4.2 Canadian First Nations economic development strategies

'As Canadians, surely we can no longer settle for two Canadas, one for the affluent and one for the impoverished; one the envy of the world and one more closely resembling the Third World; one Canada bringing us hope and one battling despair. Whether we are federal, national, provincial or Aboriginal leaders, we must do more, we must do it better and we must do it now, and we must do it together' (St. Germain & Sibbeston, 2007, p. 15).

- *Premier Lorne Calvert, Government of Saskatchewan*

This section of the thesis focuses on the economic development strategies of the First Nations people of the Aboriginal population of Canada, based on many similarities to the Māori situation in terms of historical experiences, cultural philosophies, widespread loss of traditional lands, levels of urbanisation, and widespread socio-economic underperformance. Moreover, the process of cultural reclamation and economic self-sufficiency being undertaken by First Nations people strongly resembles that of Māori tribal and urban authorities. This view is supported by Slowey who drew on field research from indigenous groups in both Canada and New Zealand to conclude (Slowey, 2005):

'Although substantive differences exist between the political structures in Canada and New Zealand as well as the constitutional protections assigned to indigenous peoples and resource opportunities, similarities between the indigenous path to development in Canada and New Zealand are striking'.

At the last census in 2006 the Aboriginal population of Canada totalled 1,172,790 representing 3.75 per cent of the total Canadian population of 31,241,030. Most noteworthy is the fact that between 1996 and 2006 the Aboriginal population grew by 45 per cent compared to 8 per cent for the non-Aboriginal population. The Aboriginal population consisted of 50,485 Inuit, 389,785 Métis and 698,025 First Nations people, with the balance primarily being registered Indians and / or band members who did not identify with one of the three main Aboriginal groups (Statistics Canada, 2006).

The term 'First Nations' refers to the indigenous peoples of Canada, who are not Inuit or Métis (descendants of mixed marriages between European and First Nations people) and who were historically commonly referred to as 'Indians'. Although the term 'Indian' is now considered inappropriate and potentially offensive, it has been retained as the legal term for First Nations people in the Canadian Constitution. With a history of occupation of Canada for 10,000 years prior to European colonisation, the First Nations had established independent 'nation states' with their own distinctive cultures, social and economic frameworks, as well as governance structures, which had constantly evolved to meet the requirements of their people. The First Nations comprise over 630 communities in Canada (Assembly of First Nations, 2010).

Initial contact between First Nations and European explorers is not clearly defined, although Norwegian Bjarni Herjólfsson, is credited with the first

sighting of Canada after being blown off-course during a storm in 985 CE *en route* to Greenland. His reports of the sighting of a new land were followed through ten years later by Leif Ericson, possibly resulting in the Viking settlement at L'Anse aux Meadows in Newfoundland (where the remains of a Norse village were discovered in 1960). Prolonged European contact did not actually commence until several centuries after the arrival of Christopher Columbus in 1492 in the Americas, and included the ubiquitous Captain Cook exploring the British Columbia coast and claiming sovereignty for Britain in 1778. The preceding 'Seven Years War' from 1756 to 1763, which included the 'French and Indian War', resulted in the eventual conquest of Canada by Britain over the Franco-Indian alliance. The cessation of hostilities ultimately led to the Royal Proclamation of 1763 issued by King George III following annexation of French territories in North America by Britain.

The Royal Proclamation of 1763 remains a critically important legal document for First Nations people. Although it was originally designed to maintain peace with First Nations who had been historically aligned with the French, it was also configured as a means for the British to regulate trade, settlement and land purchases on the western frontier. An artificial boundary line was created (referred to as the 'proclamation line') between the British colonies on the Atlantic coast and the American Indian lands (the 'Indian Reserve') west of the Appalachian Mountains. This effectively outlawed sales of Indian lands to any party other than the Crown. The unintended long-term consequences for the Crown were that the proclamation recognised 'native title' to lands

occupied by indigenous peoples and has been the foundation for subsequent claims for Aboriginal self-determination.

As noted by Borrows, the spirit and intent of the Proclamation was effectively ratified at the Treaty of Niagra in 1764 whereby a 'nation-to-nation relationship between settler and First Nation peoples was renewed and extended' (Borrows, 1997). The Treaty was duly consummated through the First Nation protocol of the giving and receiving of wampum belts between Sir William Johnson, Superintendent of Indian Affairs, and attending First Nation leaders. It was also contemporaneously recorded as 'the most widely representative gathering of American Indians ever assembled as approximately two thousand chiefs attended the negotiations', (ibid, p. 9). Copies of the Treaty of Niagra were retained by First Nations people to affirm their rights of sovereignty of their lands and the protection to be provided to them. It was also consistently referred to during several later treaties and subsequent representations to the Crown.

The similarities and circumstances of the Treaty of Niagra and the Treaty of Waitangi, are reflective of the many parallels in British colonisation of indigenous peoples. The post-colonial history of the First Nations people of Canada also strongly resembles the experiences of the First Australians as well as Māori. An extremely unfortunate, yet highly consistent set of similarities, are the wide range of social and economic issues that are prevalent in all three indigenous cultures. These socio-economic disparities

in the Canadian context were highlighted in a 1996 Canadian Government Report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples.

After reviewing the four thousand page, $58 million report, John Gray of the Globe and Mail (cited in Kendall, 2001) highlighted the Commission's conclusions on the state of Canada's Aboriginal population as being 'an endless circle of disadvantage - family violence, educational failure, poverty, ill health, violence' (Kendall, 2001). The 'circle of disadvantage' viewpoint was based on the Aboriginal socio-economic statistics included in the report covering: higher infant mortality rates, lower life expectancy, social assistance dependency (28 per cent of those over fifteen years of age), high rates of suicide, incarceration levels five times higher than the non-Aboriginal population, higher substance abuse, and average unemployment levels of 25 per cent during the 1990's (ibid, p. 1). Kendall further stated that although the causal factors for indigenous under-development are numerous and complex, it is not simply the complexity associated with a plethora of contributing factors, but also the reality that First Nations are not identical homogenous groups. 'One Nation's problems are not necessarily the same as another's, and one Nation's solution, even to the same problem, might not work for or be acceptable to another' (ibid, p. 1).

The impact of colonisation and the resulting detrimental effects on Aboriginal peoples were formally recognised by the Canadian Federal Government the year after the release of the report of the Royal Commission. After assessing

its position, in January 1998 the Government presented the 'Statement of Reconciliation' to the Aboriginal peoples of Canada which included the following acknowledgements:

'Sadly, our history with respect to the treatment of Aboriginal people is not something in which we can take pride. Attitudes of racial and cultural superiority led to a suppression of Aboriginal culture and values. As a country, we are burdened by past actions that resulted in weakening the identity of Aboriginal peoples, suppressing their languages and cultures, and outlawing spiritual practices. We must recognize the impact of these actions on the once self-sustaining nations that were disaggregated, disrupted, limited or even destroyed by the dispossession of traditional territory, by the relocation of Aboriginal people, and by some provisions of the Indian Act. We must acknowledge that the result of these actions was the erosion of the political, economic and social systems of Aboriginal people and nations'.

A further major feature of the Statement of Reconciliation was the apology made to those Aboriginal people who had been compulsorily required to attend Indian Residential Schools, many of whom were forcibly removed from their families as part of the enforced doctrine of assimilation. The intent of the residential schools was 'killing the Indian in the child' with attendance mandatory for all Indian children aged from six to fifteen years, from 1850 through to 1948. The parallels with the 'Stolen Generations' of Indigenous

Australians are tragically familiar, albeit that the First Nations children were in most cases able to return to the families at the end of each school year.

The response of the Canadian Government to the Report of the Royal Commission (1996) was to formally acknowledge that the 'mistakes which marked our past relationship are not repeated' and to tender the Statement of Reconciliation, and to agree with the conclusion of the Royal Commission that fundamental change was required in the relationship between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people in Canada (Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, 1997). This led to a broad-based policy approach being developed and an integrated socio-economic strategy proposed called 'Gathering Strength – Canada's Aboriginal Action Plan'.

The preliminary 'Gathering Strength' strategy report was reviewed in 2000 and details provided as to how its stated high-level objectives would be achieved (Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, 2000). The objectives included:

(a) A new partnership among Aboriginal people and other Canadians that reflects our mutual interdependence and enables us to work together to build a better future.
(b) Financially viable Aboriginal governments able to generate their own revenues and able to operate with secure, predictable government transfers.

(c) Aboriginal governments reflective of, and responsive to, their communities' needs and values.

(d) A quality of life for Aboriginal people like other Canadians.

New Zealand historian O'Malley considered the response of the Government of Canada with its 'Gathering Strength' strategy to be inconclusive and noted that it 'did not systematically address each of the 440 recommendations made in the Commission's Report, but instead included a number of generalised statements under different headings' (O'Malley, 2000). The lack of specific budgetary information, apart from notification of a $350 million fund set aside to support community based healing initiatives targeted at victims of the residential schools system, was also of significant concern. However, O'Malley did concede that both the Royal Commission and 'Gathering Strength' reports would bolster the on-going struggle of Aboriginal leaders to work with the Government to effect long-term positive change for the Aboriginal people of Canada (ibid).

The role of economic development was specifically highlighted in the 'Gathering Strength' strategy with jobs and wealth creation identified as the foundations of future Aboriginal success. A high level of emphasis was placed on improving access to investment capital, markets for indigenous products and services, lands and resources, as well as capability improvements in work skills and innovation in the workplace. To progress those objectives the government committed to 'work in partnership with

Aboriginal leaders, business people and communities, the National Aboriginal Economic Development Board, the private sector, the provinces and territories, and the voluntary sector to expand opportunities for economic development and reduce obstacles' (Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, 1997, p. 18).

In comparison to the Australian Government's 'Closing the Gap' strategy, the lack of specificity with 'Gathering Strength' was apparent. An underlying question that remained was how were the high-level economic development objectives actually going to be achieved? The lack of detail in the 'Gathering Strength' reports in response to this question was glaringly obvious and was also recognised by the Government of Canada. It subsequently appointed a special Senate Committee in 2004 to comprehensively study the issue of Aboriginal economic development. In March 2007, after two and a half years of research, discussions and public hearings, the Chair of the Senate Committee Gerry St. Germain, reported back through a report entitled 'Sharing Canada's Prosperity – A Hand Up, Not A Hand Out'. Upon its release it was referred to by the Globe and Mail reporter, Patricia Robertson, as a report that 'may hold the key to a revitalisation program to address our shared national embarrassment' (Robertson, 2007).

During the two-year period of development of the report, the Senate Committee held 31 meetings and heard from 155 witnesses at a range of public hearings throughout Canada. From those deliberations the Committee

concluded that there were six key factors that would contribute to the socio-economic success of Aboriginal communities (St. Germain & Sibbeston, 2007):

(a) Leadership and vision,

(b) Understanding the complementary roles of politics and business,

(c) Legitimacy of economic development activities,

(d) Identifying your best features,

(e) Qualified labour force, and

(f) Partnerships with industry.

The report suggested that the time had come for the federal government to stop treating Aboriginal economic development as 'discretionary'. Moreover, the federal government needed to also make meaningful investments in Aboriginal economic development, which ideally should be anchored by a newly formulated Canadian Aboriginal Economic Development Strategy designed to meet Aboriginal economic development aspirations and achieve measurable results. The Senate Committee also recognised that in dozens of communities across Canada, Aboriginal involvement in economic development activities had done more to change the lives of Aboriginal people in the last decade than any number of government programs (ibid, p. vii). As noted by the Chair, Gerry St. Germain, 'they want a hand up, we were told, not a handout', (ibid, p. viii). The need for a 'new approach' to Aboriginal economic development was strongly recommended by the committee. This

position was based on the overwhelming collective evidence, provided by those who made submissions during the public hearings, that successive federal governments had not made economic development a priority nor applied the requisite level of substantive investments required. The underlying conclusion reached by the Committee was that 'improved economic outcomes inevitably shape social outcomes' (ibid, p. 15).

Based on the current $8 billion annual federal government expenditure on services and programs targeted at Aboriginal peoples, with 92 per cent being primarily allocated to welfare support activities and the remaining 8 per cent on economic development, a key recommendation was that 'meaningful investments' should be prioritised. Whilst it was acknowledged that 8 per cent of $8 billion per annum was a significant level of funding for economic development, widespread concern was voiced about the short-term application of that funding in relation to labour force skills, small business development and on-reserve economic infrastructure. It was recommended that such programs be set aside with a new focus on long-term infrastructural initiatives and other substantive types of investments.

In response to the consensus that a new approach to Aboriginal economic development was required, an overhaul of the '1989 Canadian Aboriginal Economic Development Strategy' was deemed essential. It was forcefully articulated that the economic development policy framework developed in 1989 was woefully outdated, fragmented and did not reflect the changed

dynamics and aspirations of the Aboriginal peoples of modern Canada. The Senate Committee duly recommended that a completely new economic development strategy should be developed based on: 'a coordinated and integrated approach across sectors, connecting to education, skills development and training, infrastructure development, institutional and governance capacity, capital development and access to lands and resources. To achieve this, governments at all levels, Aboriginal organisations, and the private sector must work together' (ibid, p. 21). Furthermore, the committee recognised the requirement for the establishment of a dedicated central economic development agency. It subsequently recommended that a new, stand-alone, non-government aligned, central Aboriginal economic development agency be established to foster, coordinate and implement the proposed new economic development strategy.

Finally, the committee noted the repeated and strong viewpoints regarding the Indian Act of 1867, which was described by Chief Sophie Pierre of the St. Mary's Indian Band as 'the anchor of this system of structural poverty' (ibid, p. 31). The Indian Act effectively established the regulatory framework for all First Nations lands and governed all economic activities. It also had the historical impact of removing all First Nations lands and property from the Canadian economic realm and setting them aside in reserves, over which banks and creditors could not exercise any rights of reclamation in the event of loan or business defaults. Accordingly, bank loans and trading terms were difficult for on-reserve First Nation businesses and entrepreneurs to access.

The committee noted that although the entrenched anachronistic issue was outside its terms of reference, it was of such significance that it should be reviewed by Government as a matter of priority.

So what was the actual impact of the Senate Committee's comprehensive engagement and consultation with Aboriginal peoples and other stakeholders, and the resultant actions? The response of the Government of Canada, through the Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, was to publish a discussion guide in 2008 called 'Toward A New Federal Framework For Aboriginal Economic Development'. In that document Minister Strahl acknowledged that a new approach needed to be developed for indigenous economic development (Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, 2008):

'The time has come, however, to adopt a comprehensive new framework for Aboriginal economic development that will guide federal policy making and program development in the years to come. The framework should reflect today's realities, opportunities and the growing capacity and self-reliance of Aboriginal peoples, business leaders, institutions and entrepreneurs'.

Interestingly the purpose of the discussion guide was to call for even more submissions from indigenous peoples and organisations, as well as other Canadian stakeholders, as to the shape and form of the proposed Aboriginal economic development framework. Although the report noted that, over a 10

year period, in excess of 120 studies had been conducted on Aboriginal economic development, the paradoxical position of the Government was that 'it must take into account not only this Committee's report but the many other important reports and studies in this field over the past number of years' (ibid, p. 10). Ultimately the overall recommendations of the Senate Committee were agreed 'in general terms' by the Minister, notwithstanding there were some proposals that required further 'thorough assessments'.

This overview of the history of Aboriginal economic development in Canada and its current status emphasises a propensity for high-level research, consultation and strategising. At the political and macro-environmental level there appeared to be only moderate progress in what the Government described as 'economic activation'. That said it was apparent that numerous economic development successes had occurred at the tribal level. According to Anderson the First Nations of Canada have adopted a collective approach to economic development 'that is closely tied to each First Nation's traditional lands, its identity as a Nation, and its peoples' desire to be self-sufficient and self-governing' (Anderson, 1997).

A key conclusion drawn from this review of the indigenous development strategies of Australia, Canada and New Zealand is that there were strikingly similar themes of 'endless circles of disadvantage' based on similar patterns of colonisation and development in each country. The comparative analysis also provides two alternative approaches to indigenous development that

have been adopted and implemented by Commonwealth countries with many similarities to New Zealand. Whilst providing a set of reference points for Māori development that traverse beyond existing paradigms, it reveals that the development objectives of the idigenous peoples of all three countries are consistently similar. They comprise common aspirations primarily in the areas of improved economic advancement, socio-economic conditions and the strengthening of traditional language, culture and values.

CHAPTER 7 - FIELDWORK INTERVIEWS
MĀORI DEVELOPMENT AND TE RŪNANGA O NGĀTI AWA

7.1 Introduction

The fieldwork component of this research programme focuses more specifically on Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Awa. Building on the development patterns framework, which was utilised in a critical examination of Māori economic development within the context of New Zealand's political economy, the focus now shifts to Ngāti Awa. The first phase of the research on Ngāti Awa centred on a documentary analysis of the Waitangi submission and settlement. The second phase, which is at the heart of this chapter, is about the fieldwork component of the research and the series of interviews with key informants (Appendix III).

The interviewing of key informants contained two significant methodological issues which need to be acknowledged. The first concerns the selection of key informants, and the second is that the interviewer is also a participant / observer. The selection of key informants centred on striking a balance between TRONA leaders, and informed 'outsiders' capable of providing a comprehensive overview of TRONA's interpretation of economic development. The interviews are critical, therefore, in distinguishing between the stated direction of TRONA's development strategy and its policies in actual practice.

Although the researcher could be described as an 'insider' by virtue of his affiliation as a tribal member of Ngāti Awa, he lives outside the traditional *rohe* or home area of the iwi and would therefore be regarded by many tribal members as an 'outsider'. However, the researcher was able to draw upon his involvement with his whānau and hapū, as well as TRONA, over the preceding years to more fully understand many of the tribal dynamics associated with the field research. Based on professional relationships developed with key tribal leaders, primarily arising from his leadership roles in economic development and pan-tribal Māori roles, the researcher was also able to gain access to high-level support both inside TRONA and the wider iwi. In order to further facilitate the research role as participant observer, the researcher additionally received support from Ngāti Awa kaumātua, Sir Hirini Mead, a former Chairman of TRONA and Emeritus Professor of Māori at Victoria University.

7.2 Interviews of Key Informants

Thirteen participants were interviewed, all of whom were at varying levels, and had different connections and experiences with Māori development. Given that TRONA is the legally constituted and democratically mandated (based on hapū representation) leadership entity for Ngāti Awa it was considered appropriate to seek participant representation from the Boards of both tribal and commercial arms, as well as senior management and various

hapū. Independent participation was also sought from representatives of the *haukāinga* or people who live locally and are actively involved in tribal affairs, albeit not directly associated with TRONA. The other interview participants included the Minister of Māori Affairs, leaders of other tribal entities, urban Māori leaders and independent business experts so that the important elements of independence, objectivity and different thinking could be incorporated into the findings.

In-depth interviews were conducted with the participants over a three month period. The semi-structured interviews involved a series of open-ended questions designed to elicit the views of participants with a discovery focused orientation and without limitation. The overarching goal of the interviews was to seek perspectives, insights and informed opinions in relation to Māori development and, specifically, the role and progress of Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Awa. The responses provide substantive empirical evidence based on the direct experiences, observations and views formed by each of the interview participants.

With the permission of participants, all the interviews were recorded and then transcribed. The transcriptions provided the opportunity for detailed review and analysis of the information recorded.

7.3 Analysis of Interviews

The objective of the data analysis was to provide a critical assessment of Ngāti Awa's approach to economic development and how it contributes to Māori development in terms of both policy and practice. As the entity legislatively mandated to manage the Treaty settlement, it was expected that TRONA would constantly be referred to throughout the interview process. Accordingly, the outcome of this phase of the research programme is intended to articulate a kaupapa Māori framework relevant to an organisation such as TRONA, and focused on tribal socio-economic development. To achieve this objective the data compiled from the interview process was coded, categorised and clustered. This was achieved by identifying key themes, common statements and conclusions provided by the participants to the range of semi-structured questions. Qualitative narratives were then developed based on how the interview participants interpreted the historical, social or cultural contexts in their answers.

A key feature of narratives is that there must be an actual definitive point arising from the information shared. The final stage of the analysis process was to develop findings based on the qualitative narratives and an emphasis both on *'how things are'* and *'how things should be'*.

7.3.1 'Māori Development' – What does that mean?

The title of this thesis indicates the strong orientation toward economic development in a Ngāti Awa context, set against the backdrop of wider Māori development. All interview participants were reluctant to specifically discuss economic development in isolation as it was deemed to simply be an element, albeit a significant sub-set, of wider Māori development. This sentiment affects and reflects the change in direction of the research which began with a specific focus on Māori economic development, before the researcher gradually recognised and understood the interconnectedness of the economic aspect of Maori development with cultural, community, historical and wider environmental factors.

Participants were not asked to provide a definition of Māori development, but instead were encouraged to provide a response that encapsulated what the term *'Māori development'* meant to them. It was intended that this approach would elicit responses that would incorporate insights based not only on their knowledge but also their personal views, values and experiences. Accordingly, the responses provided a range of lenses through which Māori development was viewed which, unsurprisingly, also reflected the types of engagement that each of the participants had experienced, or were currently involved in.

The Chief Executive of TRONA, Enid Ratahi-Pryor, considered Māori development to be very broad, which *'in essence focuses on true participation as Māori to be able to make decisions that affect them, their whānau, their hapū and iwi and again ways in which they can improve either their capacity or capability to participate'*. The 'broad' aspect of Māori development was also emphasised by several other participants who referred to *'multiple levels, multiple layers'* and a *'very wide framework'* which could often *'mean many things to many people'*. Notwithstanding the broad interpretation of Māori development, several participants did endeavour to articulate some specific aspects in their responses.

Professional director and Māori business woman, June McCabe, considered Māori development to be a transformational term focused on *'taking Māori from one state to another state and so the development is about that moving state … which is a movement of a people, transformation of a people into a true economic wellbeing'.* McCabe further articulated some specific components of Māori development: *'it's not just economics, it's about the four wellbeings: economic, social, cultural and environmental. I call those the four 'pou'*. The *'four pou'* or *'four pillars'* concept further highlighted the proposition that any credible examination of Māori development required a comprehensive understanding of other important components beyond simply commercial or economic development strategies.

Māori broadcaster, former Member of Parliament and urban Māori leader, Willie Jackson, also focused on the transformative characteristics of Māori development. *'For me it's about embracing and fulfilling Māori potential. Improving the wellbeing of Māori, the Māori socio economic status, Māori health. It's pretty simple really. We try to take Māori, whatever position they're in, and give them another opportunity'.* An interesting aspect of Jackson's response was that his focus was less about the actual components or process of Māori development – his interpretation focused on outcomes. These sentiments highlighted another common theme which cast Māori development as aspirational and focused on improvement, specifically in the areas of capacity, capability, and enhancing opportunities. TRONA hapū representative, Joe Harawira, reiterated this point with his comment that *'Māori development to me is about first and foremost opportunities and the opportunity for us to develop as Ngāti Awa has come about through settlement which has given us a basis to develop ourselves as people economically, spiritually and socially'.*

A key theme of Māori development inherent in all of the responses provided was the underlying importance of cultural reclamation and revitalisation. Deputy Chairman of TRONA, Pouroto Ngarapō, referred to that issue by stating that *'everything that exists in terms of our Ngāti Awa perspective on who we are is intrinsically tied to our spiritual connection. That's part of our development'*. Similarly, Ngāti Awa hapū representative and Māori Land Court Judge, Layne Harvey, noted the importance of *'cultural capital'* as a key

metric of Māori development. Harvey also expressed concern about the erosion of *'cultural capital'* in the Ngāti Awa context as well as the on-going need to uphold appropriate recognition of the spiritual and cultural aspects of development. *'It is all well and fine to make a lot of money and to have land that produces revenue for all sorts of projects, but if in doing so we neglect our tribal identity, and in tribal I mean both in terms of the iwi and hapū, then it is a bit pointless'.*

Several issues arose from analysis of the responses with a range of clear themes becoming apparent. There were many similarities in what Māori development meant to each of the participants which included a broad framework encompassing a range of competing macro issues, alongside the consensus that it was an opportunity to improve the overall well-being of Māori. With social, cultural, and economic matters being consistently emphasised, a core theme that evolved was related to identifying the right balance between the competing priorities. To that end, a prerequisite to identifying the appropriate level of balance was the issue of confirmation of the actual key priorities. This matter is further examined in Chapter 7.3.5 *'What should the key objective of rūnanga organisations be?'*

Returning to the question '*Māori development – what does that mean?'* it was important from a research perspective to ensure that all participants at the outset of the interview were provided with the opportunity to outline their

respective frames of reference and the specific spheres of interest that they were keen to discuss. This *'scene setting'* exercise also signalled the approaches that participants were likely to be emphasising during their interview. This process also provided assurance that the overall data collection process was *'multi-dimensional'* and that a range of perspectives would be received. Moreover, it allowed for analysis of answers initially from a macro perspective leading to a policy development focus, and the actual operational *'on the ground'* type of outcomes. It further permitted a *'bottom-up'* perspective to be considered, in that if an initiative or approach was actually delivering tangible benefits at the *'grass roots level'* how did that fit into the wider strategy being developed or supported by organisations such as TRONA?

Whilst the discussions around Māori development did identify several general themes from the participants, it also raised further questions. An obvious omission was the lack of specific references made about some key external environmental factors, such as political objectives and technological influences. Why were external influences not deemed to be an integral element of Māori development? The answer may be related to the participants considering Māori development to be a 'Māori issue' not dependent on external forces such as political factors, as noted by Harawira: *'Māori development is about whānau, about the individual, it's about me and then my whānau and then it's about the hapū and then about the iwi'*. Or it

may have simply been because the participants approached the question with a Māori perspective that is based upon not being reliant upon non-Māori support or approval. This was highlighted by Māori broadcaster, former Member of Parliament and urban Māori leader, John Tamihere, when discussing Māori engagement with the Auckland City Council: *'Is it any wonder that we're sitting on the bones of our ass outside when there's the most polished and sophisticated form of institutional racism in operation which is we're not allowed in. Why aren't we allowed in? Because we're not part of the in crowd, never have been'.*

Most participants also chose to provide only partial answers to the issues associated with Māori development, i.e. responses were either focused on high-level definitions, esoteric cultural aspects or 'grass roots' level initiatives. This emphasises that participants tended to approach the wider issues of Māori development from their respective areas of expertise or experience and reinforced the prudence of having a participant group that have diverse backgrounds and experiences.

Based on the responses from interview participants it was concluded that Māori development was considered to be *'a kaupapa Māori framework of interconnected social, cultural, and commercial objectives designed to achieve transformative change resulting in benefits for all stakeholders'*. This

concept of Māori development provides the additional benefit of considering and supporting different types of approaches that include *'top-down'* and *'bottom-up'* perspectives.

7.3.2 What types of Māori development activities have the interview participants been involved in?

The range of activities that the participants have collectively contributed to for over 40 years represents a wide spectrum of key events in Māori development. The purpose of this section is not only to examine the credentials of the participants (as covered in Appendix III) and the breadth of their experience and expertise, but to also consider some specific elements of Māori development they had been involved with as individuals. Prior to the interview process it was anticipated that the opening question of what 'Māori development' meant to participants was likely to elicit broad generalised statements as opposed to specific examples of Māori development. Therefore, the line of questioning was focused on moving the participants from philosophical considerations relating to Māori development to what the term actually translated into when implemented 'on the ground'.

The Minister of Māori Affairs, the Honourable Dr Pita Sharples, referred to his early work in Auckland at the height of Māori urbanisation during the 1950s and 1960s. This led to a leadership role with the establishment of Kōhanga Reo in 1981, the Māori language immersion preschool initiative, followed by

development of the urban Hoani Waititi Marae and the Kura Kaupapa Māori language alternative education option. Amongst many other Māori community focused activities, Sharples continued his contribution to Māori development in the political domain after being elected to Parliament in 2005 and then appointed Minister of Māori Affairs in 2008. At the outset, Sharples stated that he had *'trouble with the term 'development' (in) that it implies that we need developing, it means that we are lesser than normal'.* He then went on to describe Māori development as simply *'taking Māori forward in every which way we can'*.

All interview participants involved with TRONA were able to recount a range of specific Māori development activities or initiatives associated with the rūnanga. Harvey referred to his operational and governance related activities with the Ngāti Awa tribal radio station, the Ngāti Awa Social and Health Services Trust (NASH), Ngāti Awa Research & Archives Trust, the establishment committee for the tribal tertiary institution (Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi) and as a board member of TRONA itself. In his own words he said that his contribution to specific Ngāti Awa development has been *'almost like a zealot, in a fevered way'*. He has also been actively involved in development of his own marae (Rangihouhiri) and their hapū land trust.

The current TRONA Chief Executive, Enid Ratahi-Pryor, emphasised a range of specific activities of the rūnanga including education grants, tourism support, as well as the various NAGHL business activities. Her summary of

those development activities was '*in our iwi we're very fortunate that we cover every spectrum of what you would consider to be a Māori environment'.*

Another participant, deeply involved with Ngāti Awa related activities, was TRONA Deputy Chairman Pouroto Ngaropō who referred to similar activities as Harvey and Ratahi-Pryor, as well as specific tribal involvement in local farms, forestries, different properties and schools. Ngaropō also spoke about his work as a trustee for NASH, Ngāti Awa Research & Archives Trust, Ngāti Awa Whakapapa Committee, as well as a range of media representation activities for the tribe in terms of radio, print media and Māori Television. *'Those are the activities I've been involved with. I was 22 when I came on to the Board and I'm now 45 this year. I've been involved with all the levels from the grass roots as a Board member on all the various committees, and the Treaty negotiator second-in-command and the senior cultural advisor for the whole Rūnanga now'.*

The participants not connected to TRONA spoke about a wide range of different Māori development activities that included: specific tribal initiatives, urban Māori development, general consultancy and governance support. Manukau Urban Māori Authority (MUMA) Chief Executive, Willie Jackson, discussed his involvement with Māori radio and specifically the Urban Māori Waatea radio station based in Māngere. He emphasised his collaboration with the *'Whānau Ora'* initiative (a Government interagency approach to the provision of health and social services) which he considers to be a very strong Māori development initiative*. 'How is that Māori development?*

Because we change people's lives. We get fathers to act like fathers. We get families to act like families'.

Similarly, Te Whānau o Waipareira Chief Executive, John Tamihere, emphasised the social issues associated with Māori development: *'(We have got) nothing to be proud of given the fact that half the prison population is Māori. No Māori leader can be proud when half the Māori boys that take NCEA don't get there'.*

At an early stage in the interviewing process it was noticeable that whilst the Ngāti Awa tribal participants had a definite emphasis on cultural and hapū activities, the urban Māori leaders were strongly focused on the actual delivery of social services and related support activities. In the case of the TRONA representatives they consistently referred to NASH as a distinctly separate and independent entity delivering social support services to tribal constituents within the *rohe* of Ngāti Awa. This *'add-on'* treatment of the delivery of social services by TRONA will be explored further in Chapter 7.3.5 as the inference is that TRONA has prioritised commercial activities over the delivery of social support services, or it could be that TRONA is not structured to provide such services. As previously mentioned, the urban Māori entities do not have specific tribal cultural imperatives or associated hapū responsibilities. This characteristic of urban Māori groups was affirmed by Jackson and Tamihere as minimal reference was made about tribal, or even

general cultural issues, which could be a reflection of the pan-tribal nature of such organisations.

As well as the participants associated with either tribal or urban Māori development was another group of interviewees who are associated with activities at the strategic governance level. McCabe reflected on the range of the activities that she had personally been involved with. *'So when you think about a whole raft of Māori activities, you play along that continuum. I guess for me, I've played along that continuum at some point in time. More latterly that's health and education but more formerly it's about the true economic levers and that's to do with capital markets'.* It was interesting to note her use of the term *'continuum'* which is often used to refer to gradual transitioning from one state to another without abrupt deviations, as part of an overall process or journey. This may be an apt reflection of Māori development in that it follows an evolutionary process that comprises a series of core components. In the case of McCabe she defined some of the key activities as improvements in health, education and economic factors.

In terms of the primary research process, the mix of participants represented a wide range of experiences and levels of expertise associated with Māori development. This range of development knowledge included: specific iwi activities, rūnanga governorship and management, urban Māori development, politics, policy-development, hapū and marae kaitiakitanga (guardianship), as

well as local media and commercial activities. A key conclusion drawn from this stage of the interviewing process is that the views and perspectives of participants are strongly shaped by personal work and life experiences, or perhaps more aptly described by McCabe as the stages of the Māori development continuum they have actively participated in.

7.3.3 What Māori development achievements have the interview participants contributed to?

The purpose of this question was to critically examine Māori development results rather than activities. The intention was to identify the effectiveness of the various entities and individuals in successfully implementing plans and initiatives, rather than simply overseeing a range of peripheral activities. It also provided an opportunity for the participants to expand and reflect not only on the Māori development activities they have been involved in, but more importantly what they, or the organisations they represented, have actually achieved.

The TRONA related development activities have been comprehensively covered in the preceding sections. Although a range of initiatives, specifically farming and tourism, were referred to by Ratahi-Pryor, it was clear that both were still works-in-progress and were far from fulfilling their expected potential. However, Harvey was emphatic that positive results had been

achieved for Ngāti Awa through tribal radio station Sun FM and Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi, and that securing the Claim settlement was the most important achievement in terms of Ngāti Awa development: *'that was a collective group effort and I was honoured to be one of the elected negotiators'.* Harvey was also prepared to grade the progress of TRONA to date and offered the following assessment: *'overall I would think the Ngāti Awa report card, if you average it out is hovering in the B to B+ area. Still a lot of work to go'.* The specifics of this 'report card' are covered further in Chapter 7.3.6.

On the periphery of the rūnanga, looking in, was journalist and blogger Karla Akuhata who, although residing in the rohe of Ngāti Awa, remains independent of TRONA. Akuhata has risen to prominence within Ngāti Awa with her blog *'Tu Mai Te Toki'* which in this context translates as *'be upstanding the leadership of Ngāti Awa'* and is a direct reference to the whakataukī or proverb of TRONA *'Ko Ngāti Awa Te Toki'* or *'Ngāti Awa is the Adze'*. In her opinion the actual contribution she makes to Ngāti Awa development is independent accountability and scrutiny of the activities of TRONA. *'My focus is information. I will share whatever information I can get that I can prove, it's up to you to make your own decisions based on that information'* stated Akuhata. However, as a professional journalist she also acknowledges the shortcomings of a medium which is predominantly driven by anonymous contributors. *'It's one-sided though, well not one-sided, but it can be biased because that's how it is'*.

Akuhata considers that the objective of Māori development should be strongly people oriented. *'I think it's the people's responsibility to look after the people and if we can, as Māori tribal organisations, create a situation where they can develop economic funds to pump through to develop the iwi or people, I think that's what most Māori would agree would be the goal'*. Furthermore, Akuhata believes that the people of Ngāti Awa also need to be involved in the development process with TRONA and not absent or excluded from proceedings. She explains the current situation as being *'just a lack of understanding of how the political structure works. Often those sorts of organisations are governed by constitutions or charters and the language is very formal and hard to understand and based on a lot of legal principles. Breaking down the political structures so an everyday person can understand it is often the challenge. Who has got power?'*

With regards to that rhetorical question posed by Akuhata, Sir Mark Solomon, the Kaiwhakahaere (Chairman) of Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu, in order to explain that their tribal constituents have the proverbial power, emphasised the consensus-based approach of his iwi. *'We did a pretty simple thing, we simply went out to the people and asked them to draw a picture of what they wanted us to look like in 25 years, but also asked what were the priorities'*. In terms of specific development results, Solomon was able to refer to a range of tangible outcomes achieved by Ngā Tahu. *'For the last 15 years what we've concentrated on is consolidating the capital base at the centre. Now we*

finished last financial year at around $809 million. We're pretty confident that we'll hit the billion dollars by 2015'.

In the interview process Solomon referred to the absolute requirement to build a solid financial base which then provided a multitude of opportunities in the cultural and people development areas. This includes an annual investment of approximately $1 million into educational grants, internships and scholarships. Solomon also highlighted the iwi supported savings scheme called *'Whai Rawa mō Ngāi Tahu Fund'* to create a savings culture within the tribe. Specifically targeted at Ngāi Tahu children it is based on the Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu matching every $50 saved by a child each year with a $200 contribution from the tribe. *'On top of that, based on the performance of Holdings Corporation, every account holder has a dividend paid directly into their bank account. We also, under the system, pay their fees. In the last four and a half years our kids have saved something like $20 million'*.

At the hapū level the Rūnanga also funded the operational activities of every single marae of Ngāi Tahu with annual contributions of $240,000 presently being made to each marae via the 18 subsidiary rūnanga. It is also planned that those contributions will rise to $400,000 for each marae by the end of the 2015 / 16 financial year, at which time annual disbursements thereafter will only be inflation adjusted. Solomon explained that, in addition, Ngāi Tahu had given each of their marae approximately $2 million in contributions to establish their own capital bases to enable them to undertake their own local

business activities and other ventures that they deem appropriate. This approach by Ngāi Tahu to tribal development is based on the philosophy of self-development or, as Solomon stated: *'it is those types of delivery that we give, not a direct (transfer) into your hand'.*

Unfortunately, the level of confidence displayed by Solomon was not replicated by another interview participant (who elected not to be identified) when responding to the question about identifying specific development results. Interestingly that person did not refer to TRONA, but instead other Māori organisations and various objectives that had been successfully completed. When the discussion was brought back to the Ngāti Awa context, the participant then expressed a high level of concern about the tangible results that were being achieved and made specific reference to the weak external influence of the tribe. *'We see various iwi contributing to high level discussions, but I don't necessarily hear Ngāti Awa's voice. I think from that perspective it doesn't surprise me, because I don't think our Rūnanga is that effective at the moment. I'm kind of sceptical'.* Although it could be argued that the 'tangible results' of TRONA are positive given that net equity has increased from the 2005 settlement amount of $42.39m to $98.75m, as reported in the 2012 Annual Report, the interview participant clearly believes that the tribe's less quantifiable 'external influence' could be improved.

This section of the interviews highlighted a range of development activities but, in general, there was a lack of specificity about the results that had been

achieved. Once again it demonstrated that participants tended to focus on areas of individual expertise and personal interests. However, it is noted that those from larger organisations who were interviewed e.g. Sir Mark Solomon of Ngāi Tahu, seemed to have a wider, more structured approach to identifying key development outcomes with the participants from smaller entities having a stronger project-based orientation.

7.3.4 How effective is the iwi based development model and associated rūnanga organisations?

A challenge in this part of the research was defining the term *'effectiveness'* in the context of Māori development. Ratahi-Pryor highlighted that there were several ways to think about effectiveness : *'Whether we're effective in terms of growing our people? Are we effective in terms of growing our value base, asset base? You're cut down to what is our belief system, how do we measure effectiveness and wealth? Currently interestingly enough, many of our people are commenting on the effectiveness of Te Rūnanga to spend the money of the iwi well'.* After the initial discourse on what the term *'effectiveness'* actually meant and an implied consensus that *'the capability to achieve a desired result'* was appropriate, the focus of the discussion was less about key performance measurements and more about the capability of rūnanga to actually achieve desired objectives. It highlighted the way that some rūnanga set low level objectives and could paradoxically be deemed to be highly effective if they consistently achieve easily attainable goals. As a

result, a widely agreed set of challenging expectations need to be incorporated into the overall approach to measuring rūnanga effectiveness in terms of tribal development.

Using the aforementioned approach it could be argued that the effectiveness of TRONA could be measured by reviewing the organisational strategic plan and simply asking were the desired results being achieved? However, the flaw in that simplistic approach is that many of the strategic outcomes for the rūnanga are long-term and, in most cases, inter-generational, as evidenced by the TRONA *'Te Ara Poutama o Ngāti Awa / Strategic Pathways to the Future 2050 Plan'.* Therefore, for those particular strategic objectives to be evaluated as to their effectiveness they would need to be reviewed and refined into a series of time-bound intermediate steps to form a continuum of interconnected stages of development. As *'Te Ara Poutama o Ngāti Awa'* was not designed to be a short-term detailed strategic planning document, it was unsurprising that the initial response from the recently appointed Chief Executive was that there are a myriad of ways that effectiveness can be evaluated. What is interesting is that Ratahi-Pryor emphasised that an important measurement of effectiveness is related to *'our ability to communicate with our whānau and have them participating in the Te Rūnanga environment'*. This is not that different to the position Akuhata takes with her *'Tu Mai te Toki'* blog. In terms of assessing the effectiveness of rūnanga, Akuhata's view is: *'I think the everyday person would struggle beyond education grants to realise what … Te Rūnanga O Ngāti Awa does'.*

Tamihere notes the lack of short-term, integrated plans and mentioned how that impacts on the effectiveness of rūnanga and the wider tribal development model '… *what I don't get is how that is connected and how the dots connect all the way down to the rawakore (poor)'*. He expanded on this point by saying: *'what I do know is that I don't see any of them (rūnanga) with a socio economic plan. They might have a social plan over here and might have an economic plan over there but you don't see any connected, cohesive programme from micro to meso to macro there is a synergy that you can all get and understand'*. However, *'Te Ara Poutama o Ngāti Awa'* could be considered as an integrated long-term socio economic plan, albeit lacking in any short-term, specific planning details.

Notwithstanding the importance of planning '*to achieve a desired result',* robust strategy implementation is also a necessary pre-requisite to improving the effectiveness of rūnanga. This area is considered by interviewees, to varying degrees, where improvement is required. Jackson believes that most rūnanga are not very effective, but for different reasons. *'When you stand up and talk about the Māori economy being worth $34 billion, some people who are living in third world housing in the north or in Ngāti Awa find that offensive. You can't just sit idly while your people are going hungry, that's the point. That's what I would change, I'd change their priorities. I'd ask them are they really on track?'* Jackson's point is that the welfare of tribal members must be a key consideration when measuring the effectiveness of

an iwi development model. His concern is that many rūnanga give high priority to commercial outcomes, and as he further explained:

'I just think it's almost embarrassing that they (Māori leaders) can waffle on about the Māori economy while their people are struggling in Ngāti Porou, in Ngāti Awa, in Tūhoe. I just think it's wrong. My view is that the tribe's priorities in general are wrong which has too much emphasis on capital investment. It's all about properties and they're saying that that will build the future for people - people are suffering now … I tire of hearing from the iwi leadership about how rich they are while their people are struggling in the streets'.

Whilst Jackson has empathy for the stance of many rūnanga in that they are not quasi-government social service agencies and that the Government has social obligations to Māori as New Zealand citizens, he emphasised that the ultimate obligation upon tribal entities is to ensure the well-being of their constituents. His suggested solution is simple: *'if some of the tribes have built their wealth, maybe a percentage of what the tribes are doing should be set aside for the social ills of their people. I really do think that that should be the way to go'.*

Similarly, another interview participant was blunt in his assessment of the effectiveness of the tribal development model and TRONA: *'if I think about the effectiveness of our Rūnanga there hasn't been much there that excites*

me'. He said that the rūnanga model has, in effect, been forced on various iwi as part of the post Treaty settlement process and the legislative requirement for specific tribal governance structures to be established. *'In that respect it is kind of tainted and I have reservations about that in terms of a structure that is imposed on us, in order to receive an asset'.* That said, rūnanga entities such as TRONA do have the freedom to refine their organisational structures and activities, as they deem appropriate, in order to achieve their stated objectives within legislative parameters and respective constitutions (as covered in Appendix I).

Although the effectiveness of the TRONA was also questioned by Harvey, he considered the rūnanga an essential component of the tribal identity. *'The Rūnanga is not the Iwi, but it speaks for and on behalf of the Iwi often. It acts as a coordinating mechanism of Hapū'* according to Harvey. *'It is just simply a question of how best can it be deployed to benefit Ngāti hapū and the beneficiaries of those hapū. To me that should be its focus – not going on all sorts of frolics into pastures that it has no clue about …'*

The hapū focus was an area of development also mentioned by Harawira, who raised concerns about having 22 hapū representatives on the TRONA Board and the difficulties in reaching a consensus with such a large group of governors and how that has an impact on effective decision-making. Harawira proposes that hapū should consider clustering their rūnanga representation based on three or more hapū agreeing to having a joint

representative appointed to the TRONA Board. Yet this is a matter that cannot be easily carried out as the Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Awa Act 2005 recognises the primacy of the hapū, which is further emphasised in the TRONA Charter.

McCabe, for similar reasons to Harvey and Harawira, also considers rūnanga to be critical entities, but expressed concern that the effectiveness of tribal entities is being impaired by the typical governance and structure model where the tribal and commercial elements are separate bodies. In her opinion it is not only unnecessary but also counter-productive because it undermines the long-term inter-generational approach that is an inherent aspect of tribal and wider Māori development. McCabe explained that : *'separating out the economic from the social – which is the starting point for many – is actually not necessary for the longer term benefit, it doesn't support that intergenerational four 'pou' concept. It only makes money'*. This is an interesting analysis from someone with a strong corporate background, that includes investment banking, as it raises questions about the appropriateness of applying standard western business models, and their relevance to tribal entities that have a multi-generational timeline, rather than annual or even five year, business planning cycles. McCabe further elaborated: *'money in itself, for itself, is not good enough for us. It's about us setting our standards a lot higher than commercial entities currently set their standards which is purely about EBITDA (earnings before interest, taxes, depreciation and*

amortisation). Actually we can't set out standards like that because this is intergenerational and this is 1,000 years, not five years'.

Whilst the standard business model of separating tribal and commercial activities may not be the most effective means for tribes such as Ngāti Awa to achieve their objectives, such an approach may be ideal for large tribal organisations such as Ngā Tahu and Tainui. This also raises the point that there may not be a standard *'best practice'* for all tribal entities as many are at different stages on the development continuum, with the size of the various rūnanga and their scale of operations being important considerations. It was obvious that Solomon was an ardent advocate of the effectiveness of the governance model implemented by Ngāi Tahu, and was able to refer to a range of specific tangible results to support his belief. However, he introduced another factor into the effectiveness debate and that was the quality of tribal leadership. Without identifying specific individual qualities, Solomon referred to the process that was undertaken by Ngāi Tahu to ensure they had the right types of leaders with the appropriate skill sets for the different stages on the development continuum.

The Trust Board of Ngāi Tahu, led by Sir Tīpene O'Regan, decided when they lodged their Treaty of Waitangi claim in 1986, that the Trust Board and its associated group of leaders would relinquish their positions as soon as the settlement was finalised. Solomon said that this decision was based on the view that *'basically the argument was you cannot have the war leaders*

leading the peace'. The role of effective leadership is an important element in terms of the success or otherwise of iwi entities and will be explored further in Chapter 7.3.7.

A range of key issues were identified during this part of the research in relation to the effectiveness of the tribal development model and rūnanga such as TRONA. Several participants referred to the lack of clarity not only about specific objectives but also how they could most effectively be achieved. The uncertainty about appropriate measures of effectiveness also came to the fore, which was identified as a hallmark of the wider issue of a lack of cohesive socio-economic planning by many rūnanga. It is also apparent that the multi-generational nature of tribal entities and the expectations placed upon them require a different approach to iwi development.

A key theme that became apparent is that there is no strong argument about setting aside the tribal collective model of development and recognition needs to be given that most Ngāti Awa take responsibility for their individual development and so are not reliant upon TRONA. The emphasis was centred more on how rūnanga could be better focused and deployed. As part of that theme, several participants referred to the role of TRONA as not being the iwi, but rather a central leadership and co-ordinating body for the various hapū of Ngāti Awa. Furthermore, the clustering of hapū on a localised basis

to improve coordination and governance representation was considered to be a viable option.

A critical element from the interviews centred on ways the effectiveness of tribal entities could be improved. It was noted that rūnanga entities are based on imposed post-settlement structures and that those structures need to be reviewed to ensure they are still relevant. General improvements were also deemed to be required by TRONA in terms of its communications with tribal constituents. A major risk for rūnanga, as identified during the fieldwork interviews, was the way in which they tend to become removed from their tribal membership and that the perceived wealth of the 'Māori economy' was not reflected in the socio-economic position of the majority of Māori. Finally, effective leadership, with improved succession planning, and the transition of leadership from one development phase to the next was considered to be another important criterion for the effectiveness of rūnanga entities. However, as stated by Ngaropō, the effectiveness of TRONA would ultimately be based on its ability to be able to deliver results. *'In the end we're only custodians for and on behalf of the iwi. The assets, the money, the economic development as an iwi belongs to Ngāti Awa, those of before today and of course the future generations after us'.*

7.3.5. What should be the key objectives for organisations such as Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Awa?

Continuing the theme of presenting the views of those actively engaged in TRONA activities and then those with a wider perspective, Ratahi-Pryor outlined three key objectives. Following on from the comments made by Solomon, Ratahi-Pryor stated her first objective as being: *'we want strong leadership, we want leadership who are connected, understanding of their people. We want leadership that is representative of their people'*. This view was further supported with her additional comment that *'we're talking about leadership at all levels but more importantly at my level and at board level, when you're leading 22,000 people, leadership is critical'*. Ratahi-Pryor's second key objective related to *'participating in the right circles'* which alludes to leveraging the influence of the tribe, and its statutory legislative status as a rūnanga, to achieve improved collaboration with central government, local government, other iwi and potentially the private sector. Her view is that the wealth of the iwi is critical to enhanced influence and provides an effective response to her rhetorical question: *'how do we grow the economic base of the iwi to ensure that we are actually relevant in the future?'* The third objective relates to improving the relevance of TRONA given her acknowledgement that there are longstanding issues in that regard. *'We need a shared vision and passion for who we are and where we're going and we're not quite there, we haven't got that'.*

Fellow hapū representative and TRONA Board member Harvey continued to emphasise the strengthening of Ngāti Awatanga as being the most important objective for TRONA. *'To me number one, and it is one of those intangible esoteric things, is to be the custodian or the guardian for Ngāti Awa, the tribal mauri'*. He stated that in order to achieve the overriding cultural objective, TRONA should establish places of traditional Ngāti Awa learning, or wānanga, and to financially support those promising exponents of Ngāti Awa language and culture to be able to attend and be developed so they aspire to cultural leadership roles. Aside from his obvious cultural leanings, Harvey also recognises the importance of the asset development and revenue generation goals of TRONA and stated that the second key objective should be related to strengthening the commercial side of the rūnanga. He is emphatic about that objective: *'the role of the commercial side is to make money, not give excuses, and definitely not to lose money. It's function is to make money. Full stop.'*

The key objective promoted by Harawira is for TRONA to be more strategic and to overhaul its governance structure to achieve that aim. *'We're actually on the dance floor all the time and you have to get up on the balcony and look down to get a real good feel on how things are happening and re-strategise'*. He considers that with 22 hapū representatives, the rūnanga is unwieldy and stated that *'my sense is that we need to at some stage look at how we're going to downsize – not because of the financial stuff and the savings, it's not about that at all, it's about being more efficient'*.

Another participant raised objectives associated with not only improving the governance structure of TRONA, but also the *'abilities and the capabilities of our people who are sitting on the Rūnanga'*. Whilst he views the Rūnanga as an important interface between the hapū and the wider tribe he has concerns about the effectiveness of TRONA in that role. He considers that having an Executive Chairman for TRONA should be another key objective as *'it is no good doing these things part time if we really want to make a difference and make an impact'*. This point aligns with the issues that were raised about the requirement for more effective leadership and improved communication. And similar to Ratahi-Pryor, he believes other key objectives are to be an *'effective voice'* for the iwi and to strengthen the external influence of Ngāti Awa. His concluding comments were that the cultural objectives of TRONA also require attention. '*A concern that I have, is that there is too much emphasis being placed on the commercial aspects. So I think that we need to explore that and try to determine how we can bring the cultural side of things more to the fore, and the economic stuff sits in underneath that. As I said before, there is no use having all this money if we haven't got the iwi there and if we haven't got our reo and if we lose our tikanga, then what's the point?'*

According to Akuhata the key objective for TRONA can be distilled down to one core issue: *'the focus should always be the wellbeing of the people and providing for that in a modern age is the challenge'*. As a tribal member and blogger maintaining a close overview of events within TRONA, Akuhata also

has an expectation that the tribal leadership will provide a sense of certainty about the key priorities of the rūnanga. *'I don't have the answers but if you're going to stand up and want to lead us then I would hope that you have a very clear goal and vision on how to get there'* stated Akuhata.

The maintenance of Ngāti Awatanga also featured high in the priorities of external participants such as Sharples. In his view the key objective for TRONA 'would be fostering the Ngāti Awa, which is in both the traditional sense of the land and firming whakapapa and including them'. However, cultural objectives were again not seen as the highest priority by the urban Māori leaders, with both Jackson and Tamihere emphasising the need for rūnanga entities to improve their relationships with organisations such as the Manukau Urban Māori Authority and Te Whānau o Waipareira. Jackson's view is that the rūnanga have '*got to have a proper strategy in terms of whatever the tribe is … they need to form proper partnerships with organisations like ours'*. Jackson was also dismissive of the concept of rūnanga establishing *taurahere* in the major urban centres. *'They have taurahere set up but a lot of those are a bit mickey mouse because it's just a few people doing it on the smell of an oily rag, get a few of the cuzzies, whanaunga together and it's really hard'.* However, not only does Jackson advocate strongly for greater connectivity between traditional rūnanga and urban Māori groups, he also referred to the disconnect between groups such as TRONA and its tribal constituents. *'I think there's a give up attitude that pervades amongst most of the tribes. They won't say that, but there's a view*

that, well, if they (tribal members) don't come home that's their problem. I think they should be doing the same as us, advancing Māori development, unlocking Māori potential but not just for the people who are at home … the 5 per cent'.

Tamihere's views on what the key objectives should be for rūnanga aligned very closely with his fellow urban Māori authority colleague, Jackson. He believes that the key objective for TRONA is related to providing support to all tribal constituents and not just those living in the traditional rohe: *'The real question is how do I advance my people outside? Do I start a multiplicity of Ngāti Awa hubs up and down the country in different places? That would be senseless'*. As an urban Māori authority leader, it is unsurprising that Tamihere thinks that the solution to the relevance issue for rūnanga is establishing working relationships with urban authorities. *'So why don't they do business with Urban Māori groups to fulfil our obligations to our people here? We'll work with you in this area'.* An interesting aspect of Tamihere's views about the objectives of rūnanga is his direct challenge to them: *'If the settlement is about growing the haukāinga (traditional home area), that's OK. Why not be honest about that so everyone else that lives outside the haukāinga gets nothing'*.

Based on the viewpoints of participants directly associated with TRONA, delivery of social support services to those living outside the boundaries of Ngāti Awa are definitely not considered a high priority, which is a reasonable

position to adopt given the limited financial resources of the tribe. However, this view prompted Tamihere to outline his own position on the rights of tribal members: *'We've got rights now, they walk with me. My Treaty entitlements walk with me, they don't crystallise by me having to go to Whakatane. How do they assess that through their everyday living environment both geographically and socially, politically and economically? Well they can't do it through a mob in Whakatane or Ruatoria. It's unsustainable'*.

As identified in this section of the interviews, that TRONA should not become directly involved in the delivery of social support services, the theme was continued and supported by McCabe and Solomon. Based on their personal experiences and insights, both espoused some of the potential pitfalls for rūnanga. McCabe referred to her strategic support work with her own iwi, Te Rarawa, and associated strategic workshops. Despite a strong emphasis on the provision of educational support there has been a definitive rejection by tribal representatives to having any role in the delivery of social support services. Solomon also referred to the longstanding position of Ngāi Tahu in rejection of the notion of his rūnanga being a *'brown social welfare'*. According to Solomon, the common refrain to Ngāi Tahu leadership is *'your job is not to give a hand out, it is to give a hand up'* and, accordingly, their focus has been on educational and financial planning support.

Although there were diverse views among participants, some common themes still emerged from this part of the research. All participants acknowledged the requirement for a strong, tribally connected leadership that engaged with, and represented the views of, its people. A key objective that was emphasised is the need for Ngāti Awa to, not only be, more relevant to its own constituents, but to central and local government stakeholders, with other iwi and, potentially, the private sector. Another key objective is that of the guardianship role of TRONA, to maintain and promote Ngāti Awatanga. Some participants consider this objective as the absolute *raison d'etre* for existence of TRONA.

It is very clear that there are a range of expectations of the rūnanga and that a prioritisation exercise is needed to rank competing objectives. However, a key objective that should be high priority is for TRONA to create a long-term multi-generational vision, complemented by realistic strategies to work towards achievement of the overall mission of the tribe. Based on the participant responses, the strategic planning would need to include milestones associated with: development of sustainable revenue streams, promotion of educational opportunities and, most importantly, identification of, the right balance between cultural, commercial and community elements. Should these matters be effectively addressed then the possibility remains that the solution to the vexing issue of relevance between TRONA and the

vast majority of its constituents, 85 per cent of whom are considered to be completely disengaged from Ngāti Awa, could then be resolved.

7.3.6 Is Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Awa achieving its key objectives?

'We haven't got there. We are still trying to figure out what we are and that's the hard part' was the blunt assessment of Ratahi-Pryor in terms of the progress of TRONA in achieving its key objectives. '*We are the result of a Treaty settlement. At the moment we look like every other iwi out there who has achieved Treaty settlement because we are learning off each other in this new environment'*.

In recognising that the Ngāti Awa Treaty of Waitangi settlement was signed off in 2005, Ratahi-Pryor proceeded to recount some key milestones with the settlement being the most momentous to date. She then discussed other milestones: *'I think the second milestone for us is our ability to establish structures that are capable of taking our iwi forward into a whole new century. Those structures need to be structures capable of managing $111 million of iwi assets'*. However, Ratahi-Pryor also acknowledged the major challenge *'which is actually about the development of our whānau, hapū and iwi and making sure that we've got the right strategies that can clearly take us forward'*. An interesting recent development to ensure progress was the appointment of Ratahi-Pryor as the Chief Executive over both TRONA and NAGHL '*because that's a huge move to take away that siloed approach to*

commercial and social development'. Furthermore, it was clear that Ratahi-Pryor believed that the achievement of key TRONA objectives was being impaired by the governance structure, as highlighted by her comment that *'we're in a difficult situation with 22 members who should be proactively contributing to the future plans of the iwi. I would have to say, in terms of our development, we're not quite there. We'd be lucky if we get a quarter of the board participating'*. This made it clear, according to Ratahi-Pryor, that TRONA was not currently able to state that key objectives were being achieved. It was also apparent that in addition to the high-level goals, there was also a degree of uncertainty about specific priorities for the rūnanga. To her immense credit Ratahi-Pryor spoke openly about the challenges ahead and some difficult decisions the rūnanga will need to make to be able to effect the necessary substantive changes that will ensure the organisation can effectively attain its objectives. Her summation of progress to date was: '*I'd like to say we're more than that, I'd like to say we're dynamic, I'd like to say that we're out there forging strong relationships with government that are going to change the social position of our people, but I don't think we're there'.*

Harvey gave a more positive assessment than Ratahi-Pryor of the performance of TRONA in achieving its key objectives, summarising his hypothetical report card with a grade *'hovering in the B to B+ area. Still a lot of work to go'.* His personal assessment and report card was as follows:

'Commercial I would give a B+ over the period. It is easy to focus on 2 or 3 years of failure and ignore the years of success. In terms of social services I would give an 'A', in terms of the reach and effectiveness of NASH. In terms of cultural capital I would give a 'C' – that is generous. In terms of our political capital I would give us a 'B'. A 'B' because once Wira (Sir Harawira Gardiner) and Hirini (Sir Hirini Mead) are not there we're pretty exposed. We haven't built in place those apprentices to tap into the networks we need. I think that is an exposure and a risk. In terms of our educational elements through Awanuiārangi I would give us a 'B' – a long way to go yet.

Harvey's positivity was also apparent in Harawira's responses, although there was some trepidation about TRONA's on-going ability to implement strategy. '*I believe that the strategy that they've (TRONA) got in place is actually an achievable strategy, it's a simple strategy … (and) is actually a well thought out strategy. It begun when they had capacity and they had certain people in charge of the different things to strengthen and how they go about achieving those objectives with the dropping of staff and restructuring means a number of those things have been put aside for now. We've lost that continuity in terms of that'*. Harawira also commented further about the communication aspect of TRONA's key objectives. He provided the following example of ineffective communication: *'one of the problems is that the iwi don't actually know about it and they'll hear there's a reo wānanga coming up and don't actually understand that that's part of a wider strategy to grow Ngāti Awa reo*

within the iwi'. His concluding statement on that matter was ominous: *'we've lost the capacity to be able to link'.*

Another participant also raised concerns about the capacity and capability of TRONA to actually develop strategies, and then effectively implement them. '*I think we're very good with coming up with strategies and with ideas, but I think where we really fall down is implementation'.* He went on to explain his concerns: *'Implementation is something will be launched, it will be OK for a few months and then all of a sudden it just fizzles out. I think the important part is the implementation and the monitoring of those particular kinds of strategies. We spend a lot of money on coming up with these ideas and plans and we've got to be able to resource these things properly. Even if you pick one or two things and run with those, rather than having 3, 4 or 5 things and we don't do anything well'*. These concerns led into a wider discussion about the overall capacity of TRONA to methodically strive towards the delivery of key objectives. His other comments related to the human resource challenges facing TRONA: 'a*s an organisation we have limited pūtea (money) and so I think it is important to look at developing and getting the best people that we can. So often in the past it has been a tap on the shoulder, as opposed to getting the best people for the job'.*

Based on the range of expectations placed upon rūnanga entities it is appropriate to acknowledge the challenges they face. Akuhata highlighted some of the social ills that exist within Ngāti Awa: *'If you take a walk down*

Kope on a Thursday afternoon and you see the people there and their gang patches and the babies that are being fed Coke and pies for breakfast or lunch or whatever, I don't know if the Rūnanga is doing their job because how do you help those people'. Aside from the reminder that there are serious social problems within Ngāti Awa, a key issue in terms of this research is that TRONA does not clearly communicate what it stands for and what it actually does. Although TRONA leadership is emphatic that it is not a social services provider (as opposed to the affiliated organisation NASH), Akuhata has highlighted that the rūnanga do have a role in that social service sphere. However, Akuhata does also acknowledge that the key objectives of TRONA are reflected strongly in the cultural maintenance activities of the iwi. *'I think Ngāti Awa still have strong paepae, I think Ngāti Awa kawa and tikanga is still alive, the reo is still here although not as strong as other areas and from what I understand the Rūnanga's goal is always to be to the well-being of people. If you measure in that way we are doing OK'.*

The high expectations placed upon rūnanga entities are also reflected in the comments made by McCabe. '*Is there any rūnanga that you actually see executing that concept ('four pou') well or any that have adopted it? No I haven't personally'*. This refers to the outcomes of McCabe's interconnected 'well-being' objectives of economic, social, cultural and environmental. It, emphasises that there are a myriad of challenges with identifying key objectives, prioritising those goals, and then successfully activating and implementing the plans to achieve the goals. Given that many rūnanga

entities have been in a post Treaty settlement phase for several years and in some cases decades, is it realistic to expect that TRONA can deliver on its key objectives? Or was economist Gareth Morgan correct in his assessment that *'the worst enemy Māori face is clinging to the tribal collective model of economic development – it cannot possibly deliver economic emancipation'?* (Morgan, 2004). However, all participants agree that a critical objective for TRONA is the maintenance of Ngāti Awatanga and the associated cultural imperatives. Ngaropō's assessment of TRONA's progress in that aspect is positive. *'Our approach with Ngāti Awa has always been culture and spiritual identity first and foremost. To instil pride about being who we are, where we come from and affiliating to being Ngāti Awa'*.

This phase of the research critically examines the performance of TRONA in terms of achieving its key objectives and has identified some interesting issues. The surprising revelation is that there is lack of clarity from participants about what TRONA's key objectives actually are. Only one person could refer to an actual strategic plan and state with confidence that the objectives were clearly articulated. However, the general tenet is that tribal development is a multi-generational journey and fulfilment of the key objectives is a *'work-in-progress'*. Some of the perceived difficulties in being able to achieve tangible outcomes are issues relating to the governance structure of TRONA, the appropriateness of the skill sets of those in senior decision-making and governance roles, as well as lack of collaboration with external entities. These points are encapsulated in the anecdote provided by

Harawira regarding the non-strategic *'dance floor'* approach as opposed to being on the *'balcony'*. As a consequence, some key questions relate to how to identify the best structure to manage $111 million of iwi-owned assets, the right people to manage that process, and whether outsourcing options, such as using professional investment organisations, should be considered to optimise commercial returns.

7.3.7 What are key areas where improvements can be made by TRONA (or rūnanga organisations)?

The perennial questions asked by many organisational leaders are also relevant to TRONA: *'is this it?'* and *'is this where we truly see ourselves'*. Both questions were raised by Ratahi-Pryor before giving her response which was an emphatic *'no'*. Her key areas of improvement were related to *'having a leadership team that is truly understanding and empathetic to the people but still capable enough to lead the iwi financially'* alongside substantial restructuring of the organisation.

According to Ratahi-Pryor *'what we actually need is a better way of doing business, a better way of just looking at the whole way we deliver and how we're structured. There's only two ways you can actually look at a real structural change and it's what we currently have versus outsource'*. It was an interesting situation to have the TRONA Chief Executive proposing devolvement of the functions of the rūnanga to the individual hapū. *'Outsourcing starts to become quite exciting if I'm honest. The whole idea of outsourcing the entire organisation so that hapū can be strengthened to participate in the on-going development is an area that we should look more closely at'*. Under this option to outsource Ratahi-Pryor's envisages a TRONA structure that coordinates the affairs of the tribe and undertakes external representation on behalf of all hapū of Ngāti Awa. In a very candid statement, she acknowledges the limitations of TRONA. *'We can't do*

everything and to suggest that we should continue thinking we can do everything is a real misnomer. I'm not here to build castles, I philosophically am the opposite'. Devolvement options aside, she also had salutary views about the current status of the rūnanga and the required improvements: *'the next big milestone is when we can actually say we've got the right structure and the right leadership and the jury is out'*.

Following on from Ratahi-Pryor's comments about leadership and necessary structural changes, Harvey stated: *'we've got to bite the bullet and improve the quality of our board members by imposing minimum qualifications and experience. The other thing is our board members just aren't accountable'*. Harvey suggests that to improve the effectiveness of TRONA is to *'make the Rūnanga a Marae based structure, not hapū based. Then you straight away cut it down from 22 to 18. Anyone can go to a minute book and dream up a hapū name. But the marae are the backbone of the iwi'*. In contrast to Ratahi-Pryor, Harvey's view is that TRONA plays a paramount role in the overall leadership of the tribe and his proposal is rationalisation rather than devolvement.

Another participant emphasised the need for improvements within TRONA and expressed concern about its structure, in particular the lack of governance separation between TRONA and NAGHL. *'I think that when you're managing tens of millions, and it will soon become hundreds of millions of dollars, it is really important to have the right structure. And not just the*

right structure but the right people'. However, he considers that the rūnanga is in its infancy and that TRONA will *'over time we will evolve and structures will evolve and devolve from where we are at the moment, to something which is more appropriate and more relevant for us as a people'.* Interestingly, he mentioned the organisational values of TRONA are another area requiring improvement. *'For me that is an important part of ensuring that those values in there will help drive some of our behaviours in terms of the ways that we interact with one another, with our other Iwi, and also in terms of thinking about current needs of our people as well as future generations. Those kinds of things, 'tāonga tuku iho mai i ō tātou tūpuna', and it is for us to continue that journey for those values for future generations'*. He concluded by saying about the essential improvements that need to be made: *'structure is important but for me I think our values are really important'*.

Another set of diverse views came from the improvements proposed by participants external to TRONA. Akuhata, as a blogger and journalist, emphasises the need for the rūnanga to improve communication, both in the traditional sense as well as the various online options. *'Aside from shoring up our financial side, maybe reconnecting back with the people, having a louder voice on the internet and social networking sites to reconnect with our youth'*. McCabe also reiterated the importance for TRONA to communicate and remain abreast of technological developments. *'We are now all over the world. You've got to embrace it. So there's the communications, there's technology and embracing that where you can'.* Sharples, however,

emphasised cultural strengthening as an improvement that should be considered not only by Ngāti Awa but rūnanga entities generally. *'Well one of them (proposed improvement) obviously would be to strengthen their taurahere in the towns and make it more meaningful for them. The other one that is related to that is to give them some context to mean Ngāti Kahungunu, give them some context to being Ngāti Awa'*.

Jackson's contribution to the issue of improvements that could be considered by rūnanga, such as TRONA, was summarised in his statement: '*I would like to see Māori working better together. There's so much Māori potential that can be unearthed. We see it at a local level'.*

However, leadership change as a key improvement was Tamihere's focus: *'You can't be held back by those that can't. You can't hold your classroom up at the speed of the slowest learner'.* This view emphasises the need to ensure that rūnanga are prepared to adapt to differing leadership requirements at both management and governance level. To that end, Tamihere stated*: 'we need an honourable transition process where those that fought the fight of our justice at great expense are honoured by a continued tithing from the tribe. That's the honourable thing to do, don't kick them to touch'.* However, he cautioned against discounting the skills and experience of leaders who may be associated with a particular stage of tribal development. '*Not all people that took claims are bad to manage the claim.*

There will be different groups that have different skill sets which can transition but there will be those that can't ...'

In summary, it was identified that having an agreed vision and set of key objectives, the correct structure and appropriate leadership, were prerequisites for the success of a rūnanga. In addition to the rūnanga entity itself, it is suggested that there is an increase in the use of technology, particularly the internet and social media, to improve communication and outreach. Although TRONA have a website, Facebook page, Twitter account and other online resources, Ratahi-Pryor acknowledges they receive only a basic level of funding. Another important area that requires improvement by TRONA is collaboration between Māori leadership at the iwi and urban Māori level.

Other approaches proposed are the devolvement of key rūnanga functions to the various hapū as well as restructuring that is based on marae, rather than hapū, representation. Achieving a balance of the core functions of TRONA that relate to cultural, community and commercial aspects is also regarded as an area of opportunity for the rūnanga. One participant considers the lack of separation between the tribal and commercial arms of TRONA to be a significant issue. Finally, achieving alignment of commercial activities with the values of TRONA is identified as another area for improvement. This includes both organisational and tribal values, with the suggestion that these

values need to clarified, interpreted with consistency, and then effectively integrated into the activities of TRONA.

7.3.8 Is Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Awa relevant to its tribal constituents? Are there other economic development models that iwi should be considering?

This section of the interviewing process recognises that there are two distinct groups of participants, i.e. those who are directly connected to Ngāti Awa, and a second group of influential 'outsider' participants who have no direct affiliation to Ngāti Awa. Both the above questions were presented to the 'insider' participants. However, it is acknowledged that some external participants may have found it difficult to comment on the relevance of TRONA to its tribal constituents but as several do have an in-depth understanding of the key issues facing Ngāti Awa and other rūnanga, they could give their opinion.

The question: '*is Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Awa relevant to its tribal constituents?*' elicited a range of interesting responses from the 'insider' group who are directly or indirectly connected to TRONA. Ratahi-Pryor once again provided a series of very frank assessments. *'I don't think we are relevant to the majority of the iwi, that's quite clear. I don't think that should be the case and I don't think that we should accept that'*. She also referred to the representation process associated with tribal connectivity and the

disproportionate level of influence wielded by the *haukāinga ('home people'). 'How many people go to our marae hui? 15 to 20 people turn up to the various 22 hapū hui. Is 22 people (hapū representatives) reflective of Ngāti Awa? Absolutely not! But those 22 people are having all of the say on how this iwi behaves and what we do. We have a serious problem where the relevance of the iwi is perhaps going to be a vexing question for a wee while to come'.*

Further exploration into the relevance of TRONA then developed into a wider discussion on tribal connectivity. *'I don't know that it's a question of relevance'* stated Ratahi-Pryor. *'I think maybe it's a question of how long are we going to survive in terms of who we are as Ngāti Awa. How relevant is Ngāti Awatanga is probably more the question when you follow the line that we've taken'*. Her line of reasoning indicates that perhaps the role of TRONA was being overstated in the question about relevance. This was indicated by Ratahi-Pryor with her suggestion that the more important issue could be that tribal members are becoming increasingly disconnected from their Ngāti Awatanga and related tribal identity. It seems logical that if tribal members, regardless of their place of residence, are connected to their tribe and proud of their affiliation, then TRONA would have greater standing, *mana* and relevance merely by virtue of its tribal leadership role. Ratahi-Pryor's response to that concept was: *'If you become relevant then people will connect back. You've got your basic strategies around the use of technology, Facebook, social media, but at the end of the day you still have to have something special*

about you that makes people want to connect to you. That specialness is our Ngāti Awatanga and defining ourselves and being very clear about our beliefs and where we want to be and projected in a way through leadership that people again can look at and think 'yeah, nah, that's me'. We want people to say 'yeah, that's me'.

Having defined an overriding objective of giving tribal members strong and tangible reasons to re-connect, or perhaps connect for the first time, to their Ngāti Awatanga, Ratahi-Pryor then suggested some ways in which this could be achieved. *'I suppose if we translate that relevance to the context of Ngāti Awatanga, how do we do it? We strengthen our reo, we strengthen our understanding of our history, we strengthen our culture. It sounds rhetorical because we say that that's the answer to many of our situations – whether it be health, whether it be education, the answer is always about understanding who you are, where you've come from and what makes you and your hapū what you've become'. After* further reflection and discussion Ratahi-Pryor concluded: '*Ngāti Awatanga is probably the question, how relevant is Ngāti Awatanga to the 22,000 members of the iwi? Because if it was relevant, if Ngāti Awatanga was relevant, we'd be having a very different conversation'.*

Harvey's views provide an interesting contrast to those of Ratahi-Pryor in relation to the relevance of TRONA and the wider concept of Ngāti Awatanga to the majority of tribal constituents. *'I think there is a danger in spending too much of our scarce resources on trying to entice or attract them. We should*

be doing something. One of the ways is to make it attractive to them to be part of it. There must be benefits for them. There is a danger in there too'. These views are consistent with Harvey's position that the rūnanga, while trying to strengthen connections with its total constituency, could undermine its core relationship with the hapū and the haukāinga. *'… the other side of that coin is just the same if not worse, which is where the Rūnanga becomes detached from hapū. Personally I'm not a fan of individualisation and this used to be a catch cry of Rūnanga past management, that we're not here for Marae or hapū, we're here for the 17,000 beneficiaries. Well that is a total joke, because as we all know the 17,000 beneficiaries do not engage with the Iwi. A small core handful'.* Although he appeared to have softened his stance on the matter when the topic was discussed in specific detail, Harvey remained unrepentant that the focus of the rūnanga should be on the *'actively engaged'* constituents as opposed to the vast majority of *'disengaged'* tribal members. '*We should do as much as we can within limits to draw more of our people in, but I don't think it is productive to waste too much of our scarce money when we could be using that to bolster and support the people who are engaged'*.

Another tribal member's response to the question of the relevance of TRONA was '*it doesn't surprise me that 85 per cent are disconnected. That probably reflects the general attitude. When you ask people where they're from they'll say Ngāti Awa, but in actual fact they probably don't have any connection with Ngāti Awa at an iwi level. It is more at that hapū and whānau level. And*

so for me in terms of making Te Rūnanga of Ngāti Awa more relevant, I think the rūnanga has to work really hard with the hapū to help them in their development'. This viewpoint further enlarged the issue of relevance from being not just about a matter related to the rūnanga, but also the wider iwi. This insider participant indicated that the wider relevance could be improved by approaching the issue from a hapū perspective as in his view '*people more closely affiliate with the whānau and the hapū and their Marae than they do with the Iwi. So the question is, how can the Rūnanga help the hapū and the whānau develop?*

Harawira indirectly supported this view as his response approached the issue of rūnanga and tribal relevance from the perspective of the majority of 'disengaged' tribal constituents*. 'For me the way to reconnect is to go home and just feel the heartbeat of the land'*. However, as Jackson and others previously stated, for the majority of Ngāti Awa that is not possible. Harawira dreams of the improbable likelihood of a mass return by tribal members to the *rohe* of Ngāti Awa, and suggests that greater focus be placed on taurahere groups. *'Taurahere are groups of particular iwi that are formed in areas outside of the boundary. There was a taurahere in Wellington, a taurahere up in Auckland. We had a taurahere in Waikato. The context of the taura is that rope that links us, the rope that joins us. My sense is that those groups have been set up as heartbeats of the iwi outside of the rohe to keep our people informed who have been living out of the rohe in quite a while. There is a*

strong group in Auckland. Taurahere is a group that maintains links but from outside the tribal boundary'.

Akuhata's contribution to the analysis of the relevance of TRONA, and by implication wider Ngāti Awatanga, was recognition of the youthful skew in the Ngāti Awa demographic and the high level of connectivity between the younger generations and technology. *'The statistics were something like 50 per cent of Ngāti Awa are under the age of 25 and that's the area where they're technically savvy. They carry around smartphones, they interact on a daily basis on the internet. They might become interested enough to want to go out and find more. It's about forming an identity. I think the Rūnanga has got an opportunity to do that. I'm not so sure if it should be its responsibility but they certainly have an opportunity to form their own identity'*. When it was suggested that TRONA had no option but to strengthen connections with its younger tribal members, Akuhata's assessment was: *'it's identity. If it's positive enough you want to belong'.*

The responses provided by the 'outsider' interview participants were enlightening in that most did not want to discuss alternative models, but rather focus on the current options and associated variations. Jackson highlighted this interesting issue with his views about the relevance of rūnanga. *'I think that they're comfortable with their set-up. Their set-up suits their purpose. I think it suits their purpose as not being able to access 80 to 85 per cent. I know that's a harsh thing to say but it's much easier to say*

"they're not coming home so it's not my problem. They know where we are". There's no thought put into how better to access those people or get them involved. There's too much expectation in terms of people uplifting their whole lifestyle (to return 'home'). It's ridiculous'. He said that the only viable alternative to the current tribal development model is *'more partnerships, more things being shared between people'.* This was an obvious reference to the need for iwi organisations to work with urban Māori authorities which reflected Jackson's urban Māori focus.

Like Jackson, Tamihere also wanted to address the relevance of rūnanga, and specifically their leadership structures as being a key issue. *'What you've got to do is consistently challenge our leadership and here's the problem, they think they can put their feet up because they've signed a deed of settlement. That is merely the start of the game, not the end of the game. This is just the start and the problem is they think it's the end'.* Tamihere then returned to an earlier theme, initially raised by Solomon, that any successful organisation requires the right style and type of leadership at different stages of development. The inference was that the group of leaders from the pre-Treaty settlement stage would not necessarily be the best leaders for the post-Treaty period. Tamihere then went on to re-emphasise that particular point: *'they think because they championed it, lived it, breathed it, finished it, that hello all of a sudden they're a blessed custodian of it. That's not true at all. If they're not willing to make the next gestation, which is 'no, no, you're actually just a kaitiaki (guardian)'. In our Māoritanga, the day that we give up*

our right to challenge our leadership on meritocracy, we're gone'. Tamihere emphasised these sentiments about rūnanga effectiveness with his concluding statement: '*The iwi or tribe is a meritocracy otherwise it wouldn't have survived. It's always given way to he who comes through the bloody mist and can do the business properly. It's meritocracy, not manatocracy'.*

In terms of other potential development models, Solomon did suggest that iwi needed to collaborate more effectively on commercial opportunities. *'Again, what I've been advocating out there with Iwi, if we've got a loose consortium of about 15 iwi that are ready to come together at any time to have a look at a business deal that one of us puts up, to do the due diligence'*. The model of greater co-operation between iwi at not only the commercial level, but also in other areas, was further supported by Sharples*. 'Collaboration. I think once we get our tribal stuff on line we should collaborate. I go to different events and they say why can't we do this all the time. We have to collaborate'.*

McCabe is also a supporter of improved collaboration and expressed concerns about the impact of tribalism and the associated *'sense of tribal fundamentalism that pervades the thinking'*. She considers separate Māori development based on tribal lines as being ineffective and detrimental. *'Seeing the influence of tribalism and how that is being played in Government, that concerns me. I think we will lose, we will lose tribes who can't play the same way that a Ngāi Tahu can play because it's that much more wealthier'.*

The most interesting aspect of this section of the interviews was that none of the participants had any substantive suggestions regarding alternative models of development, with most instead choosing to reflect on improvements to the rūnanga tribal development model and its inherent relevance. *'Collaborate or perish'* was a key theme which was supported by several participants, with the concept of tribal fundamentalism being viewed as a negative factor in terms of wider Māori development. However, the concept of improving inter-tribal cooperation was considered an enhancement of the existing rūnanga network structure. However, the idea of de-tribalisation, as an alternative method of Māori development, was neither promoted nor even broached. All participants regard retention of tribal identity as a core element of the future direction of Māori development.

It needs to be noted that the TRONA hapū representation process was again challenged in terms of structure (marae versus hapū based representation), and the disproportionate level of influence of the 22 hapū member representatives. These two issues are related to the agreed disconnect between TRONA and approximately 85 per cent of its tribal members for whom it has no relevance. This estimate of tribal numbers was not disputed by any of the interview participants. However, it may be that the real issue in terms of relevance is not *'how relevant is Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Awa?'* but rather *'how relevant is Ngāti Awatanga?'* From this section of the responses it is concluded that it is important for the tribal leadership to realise that

people need to be given good reasons to connect and, in the case of TRONA, it is clear that those reasons are still to be clarified.

The desire of rūnanga to overcome the tyranny of distance and reconnect with their *'disengaged'* tribal members was also questioned, with one participant alleging that they have *'just given up'* as evidenced by their lack of enthusiasm or prioritisation of the matter at TRONA. It was also suggested that rūnanga had become too comfortable with the status quo and it suited them to not have to worry about the vast majority of the tribal membership. Whilst all TRONA 'insider' participants agreed that it was important to attract *'disengaged'* tribal members back to the iwi, there was uncertainty about how that could be achieved and how high a priority it should actually be for the rūnanga. Closing the chasm between its *'actively engaged'* and *'disengaged'* members was identified as a feature of the effectiveness of TRONA. This makes one ask whether it is realistic to believe that TRONA or Ngāti Awa has a role to play in the lives of those tribal members living beyond traditional boundaries.

7.3.9 What should be the key objectives to further enhance Māori development? What improvements need to be made to ensure TRONA is relevant to its tribal constituents?

The final set of questions provided an opportunity for all participants to provide concluding comments about the enhancement of wider Māori development, with an additional question specifically directed at the 'insider' participants about the improvements required by TRONA. The researcher was keen to capture not just the key issues from summarised core themes related to the questions that were asked, but also insight about future Māori development.

As part of the conclusion of the interview analysis, comments made by Ngāi Tahu Kaiwhakahaere (Chairman), Sir Mark Solomon, were particularly insightful in providing context to wider Māori development:

'I think that there is an issue coming that New Zealand has to face. By 2026 Māori, Pacific Island and Asian will make up 42 per cent of the population of this country. By 2050 Māori, Pacific Island and Asian will be just over 50 per cent, but by 2050 over 50 per cent of all Pākehā New Zealanders are on an aged benefit. So whether this nation likes it or not, by 2050 the bulk of the tax paying workforce is going to be Māori, Pacific Island and Asian. The issue that confronts the whole nation, currently we have around 52 per cent of all Māori boys leave the compulsory sector with no qualifications. And about 58

per cent of Pasifika boys. If they are going to be the mainstay of the tax paying workforce, I find it highly debateable that we can survive as a first world nation, based on a work force of labourers. We have to go to the next level. We have to lift our achievement'.

In providing this future-oriented assessment, Solomon identifies the importance of tribal and Māori development not only to Māoridom, but how it is of vital importance to New Zealand in the long-term. He personalised his vew by stating: *'when I first came into this job I always used to say to any Ngāi Tahu kid, "your iwi needs you". We need you to educate. We've changed that, we say to our kids "your nation needs you". You have a responsibility to step up'.* In addition, Solomon highlighted a looming issue for the country in terms of the rapidly changing demographic pattern. *'The whole nation needs to get behind it and turn this failure and Māori and the education system around, otherwise the nation faces a real risk of becoming a third world nation'.*

Recognition of the long-term impact of the success or otherwise of wider Māori development, provides a backdrop to the importance of the work by tribal entities such as TRONA. Another participant said it was critical that rūnanga had the capability to operate at the strategic policy development level. *'Being able to influence government policy I think is really important, because there are certain policies which restrict and inhibit our Iwi development'*. However, he also had an overarching caveat: *'Those who are*

in those leadership roles and positions need to be mindful that we've got to take the people with us on this journey'. Moreover, McCabe restated the importance of successful commercial development by rūnanga through use of a collaborative approach: *'It's not about how much wealth you bring to the table, you're a voice and you get a vote. That's the collaborative model that's best'.*

In a similar vein to Solomon, Tamihere underscored the importance of developing *'people value'* with his comment that *'what you've got to continue to look at is how do we invest in propagating the capacity of our people?* His final comment emphasises the people factor and that it should not be overlooked or minimised: *'Rivers flood, seas rage, things erode, the economy is a moving train but the resilience of the people that are special for their values, you can't beat that'.*

The people element of Māori development was further highlighted by Jackson. '*I live my life around Māori development in terms of advocating for our people and get a lot of enjoyment out of seeing people's lives change for the better. For me that's fantastic to see. That's what I love seeing and that's what I enjoy doing'.* He finished by acknowledging the work of iwi organisations '*I just want to be clear, I'm a supporter of our tribes too'.*

Sharples also mentioned his long held view on complementary urban and iwi Māori development: *'that was a major thing for me. That city Māori survive,*

they reinvent themselves in different ways, but there needs to be those strong links back home'. This is interpreted by the researcher as Sharples emphasising the importance for urban Māori to maintain their Māori identity while living in cities but to also ensure they maintain their tribal connections and identity

The Ngāti Awa participants were given the opportunity to make final comments and suggestions for improvements to TRONA so it becomes more relevant to its tribal constituents. Harawira stated simply that the rūnanga activities were *'a means to an end. You've got to have a balance there. The tikanga needs to re-balance out the economic stuff'.* Similarly Ngaropō was philosophical about the current position of TRONA *'We still have a lot to learn but at this stage I think we're doing OK. What was the saying "I am a new bird beginning to fly. Now it's I'm now a new bird that's left its nest". That's where Ngāti Awa is today'*.

However, Akuhata had some suggestions which related to the overall communication issue associated with the rūnanga. '*I went to the AGM last year, it was my first one. I asked a few questions and got a few answers. I still walked away with a whole lot of questions unanswered. I still wanted to know the whys, where's, whens, which is the reason I started the blog. I don't think that's good enough. Then again, the argument can be made for delegates that they should be bringing back the information to the hapū and the hapū should be then communicating to the Rūnanga through delegates'.*

The scenario outlined by Akuhata of the hapū representatives acting as interfaces with the rūnanga had also been mentioned previously by Harvey.

Harvey also gave several suggestions about how TRONA could improve its relevance to tribal constituents. These suggestions were based on improving the communications about tribal activities, and the importantance of having a media portal or hub. *'Everything is internet, social media websites these days for our younger ones. So do we have a Ngāti Awa.co.nz that is like the stuff.co.nz Fairfax site where I can go to daily to see what is all the haps in the Iwi and just update myself? It doesn't mean to say I'm going to be coming to all the board meetings or AGMs but at least I'm being informed'*. A Ngāti Awa website does exist although it obviously does not meet the interactive and topical expectations of Harvey. As well as as that final suggestion, Harvey also expressed his overarching thoughts about Ngāti Awa development. *'I think it is still an exciting time to be involved in tribal activities. Despite any of the negative publicity that comes along – you just got to roll with it. There are a still a lot of things to be thankful, positive and proud about as being a member of Ngāti Awa. It is again that old Kennedy-ism, what can you do for the Iwi?'* He also reflected on his hypothetical 'report card' and concluded: *'Even though I've given it a B+ there is a lot more to be done. I think it is still an exciting time but we need to draw in more good people to infuse them into those top leadership roles, into leadership and governance. That is where our survival will be. For me personally I think*

it is a great honour to serve and to be involved. To me it is your duty. If you are a professional person who has skills to contribute, you should'.

It was fitting to conclude with the thoughts and aspirations of Ratahi-Pryor, the recently appointed Chief Executive of TRONA. '*We haven't created that excitement. That's probably the culture that we're dealing with, the culture of today is how do we become the next big idol type thinking that our young people can connect to. We just need to picture how we can put Ngāti Awa and Ngāti Awatanga into a different box'.* She then went on to articulate what success looks like for TRONA: *'It looks like a person who knows who they are and where they're from and where they're going. We're back to Ngāti Awatanga at the end of the day'.*

7.4 Key findings

The research methods used to examine the economic development of Ngāti Awa included both a documentary analysis and then interviews with a range of participants or *'key informants'* of TRONA. The interviews are particularly important in clarifying and authenticating the documentary record as well as identifying if there is disjuncture between policy and practice. In addition, the interviews permitted links to be made between the global views of Māori development and how TRONA puts those views into practice.

The interview process highlighted a series of critical issues relating to Ngāti Awa development and the associated role of TRONA. At the same time the fieldwork process allowed the researcher to explore the conceptual aspects of wider Māori development and how those concepts translate into internal and external social, political, cultural and economic factors. Although many of the key findings are specific to Ngāti Awa, there is the likelihood these findings will be relevant to other tribal entities, wherever they are currently on the Māori development continuum.

In summarising the key findings from the interview process the researcher has adopted the approach to simply *'tell it like it is',* whilst interweaving findings from preceding sections, such as the literature review, and other evidential points of reference. As the overall focus of this research is to

undertake a 'critical examination' of Māori development it implies not only the element of critique *(what is)*, but also the proposition of possible alternatives *(what could be)*. The key findings are presented in the wider context of the historical patterns and characteristics of Māori development, with related cultural constructs, and the impact of external environmental factors.

Māori economic development means different things to different people

It became evident during the fieldwork process that for most of the participants Māori economic development was a nebulous concept. For some it could be narrowly defined as the standard rūnanga model of a commercial arm providing dividends and other forms of revenue to the parent tribal entity. For others it was to do with wider employment and commercial activities, whilst for the majority of participants it was simply a sub-set of overall Māori development. This finding was surprising as *'economic development'* is often cited as a key objective of tribal entities, regional councils, central government and other authorities. Akuhata summarised the views of most of the participants with her simple statement that *'Māori economic development is needed for Māori development'*.

The interviewees seemed more confident discussing Māori economic development in the context of it being a component of wider Māori development so, for most, economic development was viewed simply as the commercial component of Māori development. It was considered to be part of a range of interdependent elements that include social, cultural, political,

and environmental issues. This focus on wider Māori development is rationalised by some as being reflective of the view that economic development on its own is not the proverbial *'silver bullet'* to address Māori underperformance in most of the key socio-economic areas. So, for the majority of research participants, the concept of Māori economic development is simply considered as a sub-set of Māori development, or just part of a framework subject to a wide range of macro-environmental issues.

Māori development is an area with a variety of interesting concepts. The more philosophical and higher level characteristics of Māori development came from participant insights about Maori development being a transformational activity that moves Māori from one state to another improved state. Other more common themes are that Māori development has an underlying focus on improvement, and captured with phrases such as *'capacity development'*, *'capability-building'* and *'enhancing opportunities'* commonly used. Other participants consider development to be related to *'true participation'* with the autonomy to influence improvement in an area of focus whilst, at the same time, embracing and fulfilling Māori potential.

Māori development was also expressed as being an *'opportunity to improve the well-being of people'* while reclaiming and strengthening cultural aspects. To have expansion opportunities by entering into partnerships and other collaborative activities was also considered part of effective Māori development.

Māori development was typically defined by the participants in the context of their own experiences and backgrounds. There was no unifying theme as to whether it was a 'grass roots' activity, a macro-environmental policy activity, or even the extent to which it incorporated cultural or spiritual elements. As one participant stated, Māori development encapsulates basic issues such as *'getting fathers to act like fathers'* whilst at the other end of the spectrum it was defined by another as *'a continuum of activities'* along a timeline of developmental stages. The researcher can best summarise that the general consensus is that, any progressive Maori activities which contribute to positive outcomes for Maori are, by default, considered to be a component of Maori development.

However, the *'economic'* component of Māori development is a broader definition than that of commercial aspects of development, or the narrow rūnanga concept of separating tribal and corporate activities. It reflects an holistic view that Māori economic development, and especially the wider concept of Maori development, are significantly influenced by external factors and can therefore be regarded as components of a wider *'economy'* or *'eco-system'*. As such, Māori development emerges as a dynamic concept that is influenced by, and impacts on, the political, economic, social and cultural environment within which it operates. It cannot be 'captured' or 'quantified' by taking a snapshot at one point in time. Nor can it be limited to just the physical assets of a tribe or rūnanga. As explained in the preceding chapter,

by adopting a 'development patterns approach' this research, and especially Māori development, has been shaped over time by internal and external factors and by the way that Māori are inextricably interconnected with New Zealand's political economy. It is not exclusively 'nature' or 'nurture', but both.

This holistic view of Māori development is reinforced through the interviews with key informants. The many layers of development, and the way in which respondents interpret policy and practice, suggest in philosophical terms that Māori development is best understood as *'a kaupapa Māori framework of interconnected social, cultural, economic, and political objectives designed to achieve transformative change resulting in benefits for all stakeholders'*.

Māori development covers a diverse range of activities

The sheer diversity of experiences, backgrounds, areas of expertise, tribal and cultural connectedness of the interview participants reflect the array of activities associated with Māori development. The selection of the interview participants or *'key informants'*, was to achieve an appropriate balance between TRONA leaders and informed *'outsiders'* in order to provide a comprehensive overview of not only Māori development, but also the interpretation of economic development by TRONA. Therefore, the interviews became critical in identifying the differences between TRONA's

stated strategic plans and how they translate in practice. As previously mentioned, the participants included leaders of the rūnanga, tribal members of Ngāti Awa, as well as a range of external people considered to be influential in shaping Māori development policies, the implementation of those policies, or other projects, initiatives or related development activities.

At an early stage in the interviewing process it was clear that the different types of informants reflected the different layers of Māori development. The outer layer, that is involved in political and wider policy development matters, was represented by the Minister of Māori Affairs and those associated with strategic governance roles. The intermediate layer, that focuses on socio-economic factors external to TRONA, was covered by external participants such as the Chairman of Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu, whilst the inner layer that centres on the tribal and cultural matters of TRONA, was covered by those directly associated with the rūnanga. What transpired was a noticeable emphasis on cultural and hapū activities by the Ngāti Awa tribal participants. However, the urban Māori authority leaders were very focused on the actual delivery of social services and related support activities, which is underscored by the urban Māori entities not having specific tribal cultural imperatives or associated hapū responsibilities. Outside those groups associated with tribal or urban Māori development, was another group comprised of strategic Māori leaders who operate in commerce, central politics, iwi politics, and consultation services related to Māori development. Their areas of interest

are focused on how iwi organisations interact with government ministries and agencies, other tribal authorities, the private sector and broader collaborative initiatives.

The mix of research participants reflect the diverse activities associated with Māori development and it was found that these activities reflect multi-layered and interrelated stages on the development continuum. The spectrum covers Māori political initiatives at the government, regional council and tribal levels, policy development activities, urban Māori development, Māori business interests, rūnanga governance and management, hapū and marae guardianship, through to related activities at an individual level.

There is a disjuncture between Māori development in policy terms and practice

The broad range of Māori development activities undertaken by the participants was particularly important in identifying what Māori development looks like in practice. Not only is it critical to recognise the wide range of activities that contribute to Māori development but, more importantly, whether those activities are related to a particular strategic approach, and what results are achieved. Based on the types of development activities undertaken by key informants it was apparent that there was a disjuncture between Māori

development in policy terms and putting those policies into practice. This disjuncture is manifest at both the macro and micro level.

At the macro level, although there was reference to a variety of Māori development related activities, it was apparent that there was no interconnected strategic approach being used. There appeared to be a range of initiatives being undertaken at various levels without them being linked to a formalised strategy or policy. Conversely, where a policy framework did exist, such as the whānau ora strategy, those implementing the elements of that policy seemed, in several specific instances, to interpret the requirements so that they were aligned with their own service delivery programmes.

The disjuncture between policy and practice was also apparent at the micro-economic level. This was particularly obvious when interviewing the Ngāti Awa affiliated key informants. Whilst all the TRONA participants were able to recount a range of tribal activities, most did not do this in the context of a wider tribal strategy. Moreover, there were examples of *'disconnects'* in some key strategic development initiatives which are considered to be *'works-in-progress'* and not actually fulfilling the expected outcome. This highlights issues for the rūnanga in terms of the capacity of TRONA to set strategic objectives followed by success implementation. This, however, simply reflects the reality that the participants from larger organisations, such as Solomon of Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu, tend to have a strategically structured approach due to the size and complexity of their organisation, whilst those

from smaller entities, such as TRONA, have an orientation that is project-based.

Notwithstanding the disjuncture issues identified through the interview process, another advantage of having informants with an expansive knowledge of Māori development along with first-hand practical experience, meant that the critical analysis of Māori development was undertaken from a variety of viewpoints that included political, economic, social and cultural approaches.

The effectiveness of the iwi-based development model within the context of Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Awa

Although the underlying focus of this research was to critically analyse Māori economic development from a Ngāti Awa perspective, the interviews also allowed examination of the wider characteristics of Māori development, the specific contribution by each of the informants, and to also analyse the layers of the iwi-based approach and the position of TRONA.

The general consensus of the participants connected to Ngāti Awa was that the effectiveness of the rūnanga was an on-going *'work-in-progress'* with some describing it as a *'journey'* rather than a *'destination'*. However, nine years after the 2005 Treaty Settlement was concluded with Government, it is now generally accepted that the effectiveness of the rūnanga could be

improved. Ratahi-Pryor reinforced the view that the issue of effectiveness needs to be explored: *'I don't think we're effective. A lot of our people are quite disenfranchised from Ngāti Awa'.* The range of issues that have been identified serve to highlight that there is an opportunity to greatly improve the iwi-based development model that was put into effect through the establishment of TRONA.

The current structure of TRONA has been identified as an aspect that contributes to its perceived ineffectiveness. The separation of the tribal and commercial arms was previously referred to. However, if the objective of NAGHL is to *'make money … full stop'* there would appear to be strong grounds to consider alternatives. The first step would be to identify the revenue required by TRONA and then to contract a professional investment entity (private sector or iwi based) to achieve that return with the 'investable' component of the tribe's assets, although there are cultural assets such as land holdings that should remain under the control of the tribe in perpetuity. The possibility of hiring professional investment managers capable of delivering acceptable investment results, could also be considered by TRONA. Or, alternatively, NAGHL could simply appoint directors to its Board who are qualified and proven financial experts.

Another important issue which became apparent during the interviews was the structure of TRONA. That there are 22 hapū representatives at the decision-making level on the Board was considered by key informants to be

an impediment to effective governance. As Harawira suggests, having such a large Board promotes the tendency to always be on the *'dance floor and not the balcony'*, i.e. to be operationally rather than strategically focused. Two of the ideas suggested to address the issue included decreasing the number on the Board of TRONA by considering only representation from those hapū with active marae, or to 'regionalise' representation by having just one representative for three closely located marae, thereby reducing the Board to only seven representatives. However, it is important to note that reduced size does not necessarily lead to improved effectiveness as a large Board with members who have the right balance of skills and experience can also be effective. This point was emphasised by Harvey: 'w*e've got to bite the bullet and improve the quality of our board members by imposing minimum qualifications and experience'.*

Another oft cited issue, considered to impact upon the perceived effectiveness of the rūnanga, was the ability to communicate with its internal and external stakeholders. Accordingly, TRONA could consider developing a communication plan to ensure that it improves the flow of relevant information to tribal constituents and, more importantly, to ensure that it *'takes the people with it'*. Although TRONA has a functional website it has not employed social media to the extent that would be expected of an entity with 85% of its constituents living outside its boundaries. This is highlighted by the low level of engagement on Facebook, with only 1,004 members, and only 43 followers on Twitter (as at 23 June 2014). It is very likely that improved communication

will impact positively on the relevance of the rūnanga, not only with tribal members but also key external stakeholders.

Finally, another aspect around which there is consensus is the need to develop appropriate ways of measuring the effectiveness of the rūnanga when implementing strategic plans associated with its key objectives. This is deemed to require co-ordinated strategic planning with clear objectives and key milestones, which was re-emphasised during the interviews as being a core issue : *'what is the specific role and key objectives of TRONA?'*

These suggested improvements, derived from the interview process, are explored in greater detail in the section on proposals for TRONA to consider in terms of improving its overall effectiveness.

The role and specific objectives of TRONA

Although the TRONA website and annual reports state that the mission of the organisation is to build a strong cultural, social, political and economic base for *'ngā uri o ngā hapū o Ngāti Awa'* (the descendants of Ngāti Awa) there remains a high level of uncertainty as to how this will be achieved. Although the formal mission statement of TRONA is reasonably clear, alongside Gardiner's interpretation, it does not provide any specific indication why these factors are important, the role that TRONA will undertake in achieving the various generic objectives, what the key priorities are and, most importantly,

how they will be achieved. Moreover, the mission statement also refers to TRONA aspiring to be relevant to all tribal members; however this is patently not the case when approximately 85 per cent of Ngāti Awa descendants are effectively disengaged from the iwi.

A key question raised by the current Chief Executive of TRONA, Enid Ratahi-Pryor, was *'what does success look like?'* According to the organisation's mission statement *'success'* is a tribe that has a *'strong cultural, social, political and economic base'* that is relevant to all its constituents. So how does TRONA go about achieving those goals, assuming that it has the capability to do just that? The significance of this challenge is emphasised by another interview participant who stated: *'I think we're very good with coming up with strategies and with ideas, but I think where we really fall down is implementation'*. Based on the implementation issue and other key matters raised by the research participants, the following review of each of those points provides an opportunity to clarify the role and objectives relating to TRONA.

The role of TRONA is considered by the interview participants to: provide strong leadership which is connected and representative of the aspirations of tribal members; articulate a clear and understandable vision for the tribe; identify the priorities and the appropriate level of balance between those imperatives; ensure that the rūnanga is correctly structured and managed; have the capability to successfully implement strategic plans and achieve the

desired results. These criteria led to the definition of the role of TRONA, and to incorporate the intent of those key objectives in the mission statement:

'To effectively manage the Treaty settlement and iwi assets to produce inter-generational cultural, commercial and community benefits for the people of Ngāti Awa'.

It should be noted that a key feature of this mission and role definition is the reference to the Treaty settlement as many of the aspirations of Ngāti Awa were included in the submissions made to the Waitangi Tribunal. The historical and aspirational aspect of those submissions could continue to have special relevance in this post-settlement period of tribal development as it relates back to the whakataukī *'kia whakatōmuri te haere whakamua'*, i.e. *'I walk backwards into the future with my eyes fixed on the past'*. Proceeding on the basis that the aforementioned mission statement does accurately cover the role of TRONA, what are the key objectives of the rūnanga that need to be confirmed and what is the appropriate balance between the competing priorities?

The key informants' identification of high-priority objectives for TRONA was noted throughout the interview process; however the issue that arose was the prioritisation of those objectives. There appeared to be no clear consensus of priority amongst the interview participants, except that the priorities could

be grouped under the headings of *'cultural'*, *'commercial'* and *'community' as* development elements of Ngāti Awa. Given the constant referencing by participants to these elements the researcher and some participants started to refer to them as the *'3 Cs'* of Māori development which also aligned with the earlier references made by Sir Hirini Mead (Chapter 5).

Amongst all participants there was general recognition that the cultural imperatives were deemed to be of greatest importance. Accordingly, the custodial or guardianship role of TRONA to maintain, revitalise and promote Ngāti Awatanga was considered to be the highest priority for the rūnanga as it remains the defining feature of the tribe as a refection of its past, present and future. The pervasive cultural elements of the role of TRONA not only reinforces the multi-generational nature of the work of the rūnanga but also the way in which the assets and commercial activities of the tribe need to managed, which often differs significantly from the short-term nature of western corporate business philosophies. Ngaropō supported the cultural leadership role of TRONA being afforded the highest priority: '*our approach with Ngāti Awa has always been culture and spiritual identity first and foremost. To instil pride about being who we are, where we come from, and affiliating to being Ngāti Awa'*. This view was supported by another participant, albeit in a different way: *'there is no use having all this money if we haven't got the Iwi there and if we haven't got our reo and if we lose our tikanga, then what's the point?'*

A strong element of pragmatism was apparent with the participants who collectively recognised that the highest priority for TRONA should be its cultural guardianship role, but realised this could not be achieved without commercially sustainable revenue streams from the tribal asset base. It was acknowledged that the third priority of community development was also dependent on the success of the commercial activities of the tribe. Thus, given the importance of the commercial element of Ngāti Awa development, it seems that TRONA will need to review the structure, performance, plans and most importantly the results of the NAGHL.

In terms of the structure of the wider rūnanga, two questions might be asked, such as: is there need for a rūnanga the size of Ngāti Awa with an asset base of $111 million to have a separate commercial entity? As the composition of those assets are primarily land and other 'fixed assets', is there the opportunity to 'outsource' management of the discretionary component of the asset base to ensure professional management of the investments and sustainable revenue streams, as previously suggested? This may have the added benefit of refocusing disproportionate governance and management attention from the commercial activities to the other two key objectives of cultural and community development. However, McCabe, a research participant with an extensive corporate banking background, suggests that

the separation of tribal and commercial activities is not always ideal: '*I think there's a learning for today's iwi who settle which is the model this idea of separating out the economic from the social – which is the starting point for many – is actually not necessary for the longer term benefit …'* McCabe mentioned that such a structure can lead to inherent distrust and disconnect between the tribal and commercial arms. However, another participant also with relevant expertise, expressed concern about the current *lack* of separation between the TRONA and NAGHL, where the Chief Executive of the rūnanga also fills the post for the commercial entity. In his words it is about *'the right structure. And not just the right structure, but the right people'*. The outsourcing of commercial activities, which could include collaboration with other iwi, is a scenario that could fulfil the expectations of not only the research participants but, more importantly, the interests of the iwi.

The third major area that TRONA could consider as a priority is community development with a focus on the overall well-being of the people of Ngāti Awa. Although the cultural component of 'well-being' was considered to be a priority that TRONA could specifically contribute to, there was a wide range of views on what the actual role of the rūnanga could be in relation to other aspects of well-being. The mantra that it *'has to be about the people'* was a common refrain; however what does that actually mean? In terms of TRONA it does not mean the delivery of social services, which is undertaken by the

affiliated organisation NASH and follows the principle highlighted by Solomon that *'you're not allowed to become the brown social welfare. Your job is not to give a hand out; it is to give a hand up'.* This also follows the rationale that Māori, like all other citizens of New Zealand, are entitled to receive tax payer funded government social services support. Harvey considers that it is important that TRONA is *'very careful in that we don't step in place of the government and the government then abrogates its responsibilities. It is something that we can do hand in hand, with government resources, as well as I think we've got to have a stake in the game. There is a responsibility on both sides, from both parties'*. This view highlights how TRONA might prioritise its community development support to those living within the *rohe* of Ngāti Awa, and that is to increase its level of support to NASH by utilising its influence through policy development so greater levels of local and central government support is received.

TRONA could also formally acknowledge that its social services support is extremely limited beyond the boundaries of Ngāti Awa, where 85 per cent of its tribal constituents reside. The harsh reality is that tribal members living outside the traditional boundaries of Ngāti Awa cannot expect any form of social services support from the iwi; urban Māori authorities and general mainstream social service providers are the appropriate sources of such support. Although there are some Ngāti Awa tribal outposts, in the form of *taurahere,* in major New Zealand cities, their focus is culturally aligned with

the maintenance of Ngāti Awatanga by urban based tribal members. However, it is interesting that such intense debate occurred during the interview process as to the role of TRONA, in terms of delivering support to the 85 per cent of 'disengaged' tribal members. It is apparent that those tribal members have absolutely no expectations that the rūnanga is a tribal social welfare service provider.

The other areas identified by the research participants where the rūnanga could best contribute to 'community development' were considered to be in marae and hapū development, educational support, employment training (cadetships and internships), and enhancing its influence through effective collaboration and external stakeholder engagement. All of this can be summarised by: *'our wealth is in our Ngāti Awatanga. Our value and future opportunities are in our people'*.

How can TRONA improve its effectiveness in achieving its objectives?

The interviews identified four key areas that TRONA might want to consider as feasible options to improve its effectiveness. Those areas relate to improvements in: strategic planning and implementation; revision of its governance structure; effective leadership development and succession; and improved communications.

The lack of a detailed strategic plan that had a clear mission, key objectives and associated milestones was identified by several research participants as being a significant weakness for TRONA. Although TRONA had actually completed a high-level 'collective vision' strategic plan, it was not specifically referred to by any of the Ngāti Awa research participants. This indicates that they consider it to be neither relevant nor effective, or possibly, are completely unaware of the existence of the document. Based on the extensive consultation that took place in the development of that strategy, it might now be appropriate to review and revise the overarching framework of the plan.

The Ngāti Awa aspirations to 2050 are covered in the strategic plan entitled *'Te Ara Poutama o Ngāti Awa'* or *'strategic pathways to the future'* for the period 2010 to 2015, and was published in 2010. At the outset, the strategy document recognises the many challenges faced by TRONA as having *'diverse and sometimes conflicting functions – commercial, social, environmental and cultural – and (we) are continually balancing corporate responsibilities with cultural obligations'* (Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Awa, 2010). The interrelated nature of those aspirations focus on four key components: cultural identity and connectivity; independence and development of sustainable resources; optimal wellbeing; and leadership and hapū wellbeing.

Whilst the strategy document endeavours to articulate specific actions and outcomes,it is primarily a high-level framework of aspirational objectives. The exception is the resource strategy which is very specific about commercial outcomes. This possibly reflects being able to measure the tangible quantitative nature of the commercial performance of assets, and return on investments, as opposed to measuring the often intangible nature of objectives such as independence, well-being and leadership development.

An underlying feature of the strategic plan is the positioning of TRONA as *'a kaiarahi (guide) and kaitiaki (protector) for ngā uri me ngā hapū o Ngāti Awa on this journey towards the future'* (Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Awa, 2010). According to that, the strategic approach of TRONA is to be a governance focused organisation managing the assets and resources of the tribe and distributing annual dividends to hapū and marae, as well as other related entities. Whilst this strategy is standard in terms of tribal entities, its relevance to the majority of tribal constituents referred to as the *'disengaged'* is questionable. If the role of TRONA is that of governance then the reality is that TRONA is limited in what outcomes it can influence, and is therefore wise to channel its efforts into cultural and other tribal development objectives that are supported by its commercial activities. So how can this strategic plan be improved to increase its relevance as well as ensuring that it can be operationalised?

The suggestions of the research participants indicate that there is significant disjuncture between the high level strategic goals covered in *'Te Ara Poutama o Ngāti Awa'* and the long, medium and short-term objectives. The objectives need to be clarified so they reflect the importance of the culture, commercial and community development. There was also some consensus that TRONA needs to consider improvements to its governance and leadership structures to further execute the necessary changes and improvements. Furthermore, although there were isolated references to environmental issues, they were generally incorporated into cultural considerations. It was therefore surprising that, given the interwoven relationship of culture and land, environmental considerations referred to in the *'Te Ara Poutama o Ngāti Awa'* document were not covered in a significant way by the research participants.

The existing rūnanga structure was challenged by several of the research participants. In support of the various criticisms about the current structure is the adage *'form follows function'*, i.e. the rūnanga should be structured in such a way that allows it to effectively fulfil its function. The effectiveness of both the core rūnanga entities of TRONA and NAGHL elicited a range of concerns. Those concerns are based on the results achieved and whether the tribe's expectations are being met. Returning to the role and objectives of the rūnanga, the key question is: *'what is the best structure to achieve its core function'*. The recommended approach is to first consider the structural

options of the organisation in relation to the commercial interests of NAGHL, and then review the cultural and community options available to TRONA.

The first part of the mission statement requires that the Treaty settlement and iwi assets be effectively managed. An analysis of the TRONA 2012 Annual Report and the Statement of Financial Position, specifically the composition of assets and equity sections, indicate that there are several options available to the rūnanga. As NAGHL is effectively an asset management and investment Board that is not required to perform daily, or even regular operational functions, it means outsourcing of the commercial activities of the rūnanga could be a viable option. This could entail establishing a relationship with a commercial investment entity, with surplus funds being invested and an agreed rate of return being contracted. It is important to note that this scenario would need to recognise that there are investments which are in the form of fixed assets on the rūnanga balance sheet, and that are of cultural significance such as land, forestry and some properties, which would be retained and overseen by the rūnanga Board. This outsourcing option would first require a stocktake of the status of the various commercial investments and rationalisation to ensure the best possible return was realised in the long-term. It is envisaged that management of the cash investments of TRONA could be based on outsourcing to either a professional investment entity, collaboration with other iwi entities that have significant investment expertise and experience, or perhaps a trading bank or other financial institution.

Another viable option could be to integrate, or 'insource' the activities of NAGHL into a new investments committee, which would be a sub-committee of the Board. The function of the investments committee would be to develop and oversee an investment policy relating to the 'investable' or the surplus component of the financial resources of the rūnanga. It could also have a monitoring function over investments outsourced to external entities, or funds that are directly invested. This would effectively be a 'mixed model' of internal oversight of the investment portfolio of the rūnanga, including those investments managed by third parties.

A potential third option may be to maintain the existing structure with the separation of the tribal and commercial activities of the rūnanga, but to appoint investment and financial professionals to the Board of NAGHL. A review of the directory of officers indicates an evident pre-requisite that the directors must be of Ngāti Awa descent but there is, however, an absence of specific financial expertise. If the role of NAGHL is to provide the best possible return on tribal assets and investments then it could be strongly argued that the composition of the Board of NAGHL should be based purely on expertise and the ability to optimise commercial returns to the tribe. As stated by Akuhata: *'I think if they're Pākehā and they've got the skills, then why not?'* Accordingly, NAGHL could potentially not have any Ngāti Awa representatives and simply operate on a purely commercial basis within the values and cultural parameters of the tribe.

The structure of the tribal arm of Ngāti Awa and its effectiveness was also challenged by the majority of research participants. The overriding consensus was the relatively large size of the Board with 22 hapū representatives has an impact on the decision-making capabilities of TRONA. Whilst it is admirable that such a wide representation is achieved, the model also drew criticism as it has a lower threshold of rūnanga membership by not requiring any specific marae-based foundation. As Harvey suggested *'anyone can go to a minute book and dream up a hapū name, but the Marae are the backbone of the Iwi'*. However, should the structure for rūnanga representation be changed to a marae-based model it would result in a reduction of Board representatives from 22 to 18, which is still a high number of governors. In order to avoid unnecessary conflict associated with a referendum on hapū versus a marae based governance structure, and that would have minimal impact in terms of resolving the representation issue, other more feasible options could be considered by the rūnanga.

The ideal structure for an entity the size of TRONA is 6 to 8 directors working in conjunction with the Chief Executive. This is based on 'best practice' governance models endorsed by the New Zealand Institute of Directors (Institute of Directors in New Zealand, 2014). The necessary rationalisation could be achieved through having regional hapū representation or the appointment of an 'Executive Board of Representatives'. Such a move is considered necessary by the participants, including Harawira, who stated: '*my sense is that we need to at some stage look at how we're going to downsize*

– not because of the financial stuff and the savings, it's not about that at all, it's about being more efficient'.

To achieve the downsizing Harawira suggested the regionalisation or clustering of hapū representation, whereby three closely co-located marae or hapū would appoint one representative for a specific period. That representative would then be tasked with reporting back to the local hapū the developments and issues arising from the rūnanga Board meetings. Given that hapū meetings related to rūnanga activities are supported by an average of 25 members at each hapū, the consolidation of local representation has merit and could potentially strengthen collaboration between neighbouring hapū.

The other option, an 'Executive Board of Representatives', retains the current representation model but 7 or 8 representatives are then selected by that body to represent the collective interests of all hapū for a specified period of time. The Executive Board of Representatives would then either report back to the hapū representatives at separate monthly meetings (or other agreed periods of time) or possibly even directly to clusters of hapū alongside the specific hapū representatives. This method of representation could also have the same benefit of improving hapū collaboration, as well as improving communication of information about TRONA activities.

To this point in the key findings related to TRONA, the recommended improvements have focused on strategic planning and structural improvements. However, it is the quality and calibre of the leadership of TRONA that will determine the future success of the rūnanga. Having the right leadership for each stage of development is not only a necessary prerequisite for the success of a tribal authority, but for any type of organisation.

Several ideas as to how the rūnanga leadership could be strengthened were offered by the research participants and although the leadership issue was not directly addressed during the interview it emerged from the views expressed while discussing the effectiveness of TRONA. The overall expectations of the leadership element in the future success of the rūnanga are high, and embodied in this statement by Ratahi-Pryor: *'We want strong leadership; we want leadership who are connected, understanding of their people. We want leadership that is representative of their people'.* An interesting variety of proposals were covered in the interview process that would facilitate progress toward those leadership goals.

The issue of leadership 'fit' was discussed by several participants with Solomon emphasising the approach used by Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu is to ensure that it had the right type of leaders, with the right skill sets, engaged at the right time. He articulated this simple truth in the statement *'you cannot*

have the war leaders leading the peace'. This philosophy is expected to be applied not only at governance level, but also in relation to executive management. Whilst all participants were keen to remain respectful of those leaders who, over many years, were at the forefront of the Treaty settlement process it was acknowledged that there needs to be higher expectations of Board members. Setting the criteria for minimum educational and experience was strongly promoted, particularly for those roles where specific expertise is required, such as the governance roles associated with NAGHL. It was also recognised that TRONA needs to do more to attract both current and future leaders back to the iwi because, as stated by Harvey. *'I think it is still an exciting time but we need to draw in more good people to infuse them into those top leadership roles, into leadership and governance. That is where our survival will be. We shouldn't wait until they're 60 or 70. We should be getting them involved now'.*

As well as the leadership expectations associated with the administration of TRONA and NAGHL, there were calls to strengthen the cultural leadership of the rūnanga and also the wider iwi. This aligns strongly with the strengthening and maintenance of Ngāti Awatanga being of the highest priority for the rūnanga, according to all the participants. Leadership gaps in the other activities of TRONA were also considered. For example, in external stakeholder engagement and, in particular, the political leadership and representation role. Overall, having effective leadership is considered to be a critical success factor for iwi, particularly as it spans the cultural, community

and commercial aspects of Ngāti Awa development. That view is encapsulated in the following message from one of the research participants: *'Those who are in those leadership roles and positions need to be mindful that we've got to take the people with us on this journey'.* The importance of leadership, and the proposals for change, as mentioned above, are endorsed by Ratahi-Pryor in her statement: *'the next big milestone is when we can actually say we've got the right structure and the right leadership and the jury is out'.*

The final key proposal for TRONA is directly related to the rūnanga improving its effectiveness in communicating its vision, plans and activities. The current inability of TRONA to effectively *'tell its story'* was highlighted by several participants. The communication issue was approached not only from the perspective of keeping stakeholders better informed, but also as a means of improving the relevance of Ngāti Awatanga. So how should TRONA improve dissemination of its key messages, values, results and aspirations?

A possible solution is that TRONA could consider developing a comprehensive Ngāti Awa communications strategy based on the internet, and social media in particular, to extend the outreach of the rūnanga. With 85 per cent of tribal constituents living outside the *rohe* it is vital that the rūnanga makes use of a variety of technologies to overcome the tyranny of distance. An obviously positive use of an effective communications strategy is to impart clear and concise reasons why tribal members should not only be proud of

their Ngāti Awatanga but want to connect, or remain connected, to the rūnanga. As Ratahi-Pryor said *'we want people to say 'yeah, that's me'. I'm Ngāti Awa'.*

7.5 Summary of key findings

The analysis of the interviews identified several key themes that form the basis of proposed changes to improve Māori development in the Ngāti Awa context. Although the focus of the questions in the interviews emphasised the wider landscape, history, core characteristics and key patterns of Māori development, the underlying Ngāti Awa element of the research inevitably resulted in conclusions being drawn that were centred on TRONA. However, as the legislatively mandated leadership authority for the iwi, it was unsurprising that the key findings would ultimately be focused on TRONA and the changes necessary to ensure it can effectively fulfil its role and key responsibilities for Ngāti Awa.

Based on responses from the research participants, the specific role and responsibilities of TRONA are considered to be: *'to effectively manage the Treaty settlement and iwi assets to produce inter-generational cultural, commercial and community benefits for the people of Ngāti Awa'.* Providing a critique is part of the process of this research and several possible core improvements are suggested and explained not only for TRONA but, in a wider sense, also Ngāti Awa to consider. It is expected that the suggested changes could assist TRONA to more effectively achieve its mission for the tribe.

In the conclusions section which follows, the key findings will be incorporated into the design of the development framework. Although the framework, and associated proposals, will be aligned to the findings relating to TRONA, the framework is expected to be transferable to other rūnanga entities, given the similar issues faced by most iwi in the post-settlement phase. The conclusions section will also combine the evidential bases contributing to this research. Final conclusions will be drawn that will confirm that an indepth critical examination of Māori economic development, from a Ngāti Awa perspective, has been executed.

CONCLUSION

This thesis was focussed on a critical examination of Māori economic development as an outsider / insider of Ngāti Awa. The researcher was motivated to examine the Ngāti Awa interpretation of Māori development and this became central to the fieldwork component of the research. Too often 'development' studies are presented as 'snapshots' taken at a particular point or period of historical time, and this is evident in the wide range of research projects that have catalogued Māori performance as a series of socio-economic indicators or outcomes. The problem with these studies is that they inevitably finish up portraying Māori as victims of external forces, or as pathological subjects of comparative research. Even research that has been conducted from an alternative perspective, such as the NZIER study that assessed the contribution of Māori to the New Zealand economy, invariably adopts a narrow interpretation that equates development with 'the economy'. Although this research began with the focus on Māori economic development, the evidence emanating from the research process pushed the boundaries of this 'economistic' view of the world to acknowledge and explore a more holistic view of 'Māori' and their 'development'.

The traditional research approach adopted by many social researchers focusing on Māori (namely, estabishing a hypothesis and either validating or refuting its central propositions) was ignored so that the dynamics of Māori economic development could be explored through an examination of different

social formations. 'If we want to capture the dynamic relationships between human beings, the institutions that they have established and the broader systems or structures of society, then only a framework that is simultaneously historical, empirical and critical can address those changing relationships over time' (Shirley & Neill, 2013, p. 18). A 'development patterns framework' was adopted to be able to critically analyse the various key aspects and stages of Māori development from pre European contact and settlement through to the present day. The comprehensive methodology focusses on the genealogy of Māori development in a dynamic way, capable of exploring the different interpretations of development as espoused by both Māori and European scholars. It also uses an examination of documentary evidence, thus providing a cultural framework for the fieldwork component of the research.

The research was undertaken in distinct stages, or phases, in order to incorporate the broad historical context of Māori economic development and the external factors which had influenced the various patterns of development. As a result, the preliminary sections of the thesis provide the essential social, cultural, political and economic context required to build the multi-layered historical foundation for the research. After the underlying evidential base for the wider research was established the exploratory investigative process could be focused on the field research and the subsequent key findings from the interviews. This type of research methodology has resulted in a thesis that draws together a range of evidential

sources that include documentary records, patterns of development associated with the genealogy of both Māori and New Zealand development, reference to international indigenous development, and the primary research which centres on interviews with key informants. The overall result of the research is a broader and more comprehensive narrative of Māori development that encompasses both barriers and opportunities for the improvement of Māori economic and social well-being.

The preface at the beginning of the thesis introduces the researcher as being an 'outsider' in terms of living outside the traditional *rohe* and not being actively involved in hapū, marae and wider iwi related activities. However, as the research progressed it became apparent to the researcher that his 'outsider' position was not completely accurate, and that his links to Ngāti Awa were stronger than realised, as evidenced by 'insider' access to TRONA support and key people associated with the rūnanga. This unexpected level of 'insider' support was due to the researcher being of Ngāti Awa descent, his role with a high profile Māori organisation, and most importantly the expectation by the rūnanga and its leadership that there was potential value that could be acquired by the iwi through independent research. The resultant 'outsider / insider' positioning illustrated the relevance of the research and the apparent fusion between theory and practice as encapsulated in the research theme*: 'so what impact have these events and experiences had on the people of Ngāti Awa?'* This approach also reinforced the constructive and purposeful element of the research which was to

conduct original iwi-centric research that might be able to make a meaningful contribution to Ngāti Awa and wider Māori development.

The literature review commenced with research about key patterns and characteristics of development that have impacted upon Māori society, beliefs, customs and holistic philosophies since the arrival of Māori in Aotearoa. It also examined the far-reaching impact of European colonisation on Māori development and the changes that have occurred in the post-colonisation period. Notwithstanding the importance of understanding historical events, it is recognised that Māori development is not simply an historical account of what occurred, but also an exercise in identifying critical patterns in the development of a society and its people. Accordingly, specific attention was given to milestone events that led to significant changes for Maori that were uniquely different to the status quo at that point in time, and which ultimately led to major changes in the equilibrium of Māori society.

The *'whakapapa'* or multi-layered history of Māori development covered in this thesis reflects the initial 600 year period of Māori societal development prior to colonisation and the subsequent mass 'swamping' by Pākehā (primarily British migrants) of Aotearoa after the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi. *'Pacification by treaty'* set in motion a series of events that have greatly influenced the whakapapa of Māori development through to the present time. The resultant wholesale loss of land, alienation from New Zealand's social and economic deculturation, urbanisation and wide-ranging

entrenched Māori socio-economic underperformance have all inherently shaped Māori development. This necessitated exploration of the patterns of development that had occurred in wider New Zealand society, and alignment with relevant theories of political economy, to seek insight as to the reasons underlying those particular development patterns. Finally, the resultant impacts upon Māori development are critically examined and reviewed.

The development patterns framework is a core component of the research as it recognises the dynamic relationship between the people, the organisations that existed and the broader social environment that impacted on both Māori and New Zealand's economic and social development. Combined with the cultural elements, the analysis of those historical development patterns highlighted the fact that Māori development does not occur in a vacuum, independent of key events occurring in wider society. The research demonstrates the way in which Māori development has been significantly impacted by external forces and how it was often subordinated and appeased by those external conditions. Examples of these important external factors include the forging of the Treaty of Waitangi, the Great Depression, changes in the New Zealand political landscape, post-World War II urbanisation, and the unprecedented level of economic rationalisation associated with 'Rogernomics' in the 1980's. The development patterns framework facilitates a critical appraisal of Māori economic development illustrating how Ngāti Awa's approach to 'development' could not ignore a holistic interpretation

linking cultural traditions and practices with political, economic and social realities.

The literature review provides a Māori perspective on development and, as such, lays a foundation for a distinctive interpretation and approach to Māori development. For a development framework to be relevant, in the context of this research, it needs to ensure that it incorporates key Māori cultural concepts as a representation of Māori societal development and identifiable patterns of Māori life. The pervasive cultural institutions of whānau, hapū and iwi, reinforces the importance of collectivism which needs to be a core element of the development framework. Notwithstanding the impact of rapid urban migration and associated pan-tribalism, in a Māori development context the collectivist model continues to feature strongly, and is reinforced by concepts such as *'kotahitanga', 'kaitiakitanga', mana' (incorporating 'mana tāngata'* and *'mana whenua'), 'turangawaewae' and 'whakapapa'*. These Māori cultural concepts are later complemented by development themes associated with *'culture, commerce and community'*. The *'3 Cs Approach'* is also considered to be vital by the culturally focused key informants when categorising not only the cultural aspects of a development framework, but also the wider essential areas of strategic focus for the iwi.

Analysis of the Ngāti Awa Claim is also critical to this research as it not only recounts the historical *raupatu* (land confiscation) issues and the devastating impact it had on Ngāti Awatanga, but also articulates the hopes and

aspirations of the claimants. Those aspirations, contained in the Treaty claim by Ngāti Awa, provide valuable points of reference to gauge the effectiveness of the management of settlement resources, as well as recording the actual progress being made. A clear pattern emerges in that the majority of submissions were related to compensation for loss of land, income and mana (associated with language and cultural erosion). Remedial redress was also emphasised in terms of the return of Ngāti Awa land and other key cultural resources, such as the ancestral maunga Pūtauaki. The 2003 settlement with the Crown, totalling $42.39 million of cash and assets, was expected by the original claimants, who acted on behalf of Ngāti Awa, to begin fulfilling those long-held aspirations.

The Ngāti Awa Treaty Settlement submissions also contributed some key elements to a development framework and include expectations associated with employment, education, health and general well-being. Moreover, other key areas of focus relate to the strengthening of Ngāti Awatanga through language and cultural reclamation strategies. Aligned with those historical expectations are the subsequent set of priorities, articulated by the research participants, that include the cultural maintenance and promotion of Ngāti Awatanga, the corporate responsibilities of effective management of the Treaty assets, the equitable distribution of revenues to tribal recipients, and finally, the community priorities associated with the welfare and well-being of the Ngāti Awa people.

The concept of a rural based rūnanga and the traditional approach to Māori development is also critically analysed and contrasted with non-tribal Māori development options. This approach led to an examination of urban Māori authorities and their respective contribution to Māori development. The urban Māori authorities are an important comparative model to the traditional tribal rūnanga as they have not been recipients of Treaty based settlements and so have a different set of priorities and objectives. What is apparent from the research is that there is a much lower emphasis on policy development, research, and tribal regeneration by the urban Māori entities. However, there is strong emphasis on the effective provision of social support services by urban authorities. This is reflective of their core funding streams being based on Government social service delivery contracts to provide a wide range of social, health and educational services to urban-based constituents.

Making a comparative study of other international approaches to indigenous development provided an opportunity to enhance the thesis beyond the Māori experience, with the examination of structures and paradigms to develop a stronger sense of objectivity about indigenous economic development. Ultimately, the international models of indigenous development were inconclusive in terms of their effectiveness. In Australia the *'Closing the Gap'* strategy is predominantly a government policy based approach, whilst the Canadian *'Gathering Strength'* model is focused on a government supported tribal approach. *'Closing the Gap'* is a non-partisan political approach developed to formulate the broad range of policies and strategies needed to

enact wide-scale change. It is based on specific target categories covering historically entrenched disparities between indigenous and non-indigenous Australians. Unfortunately the initiative has a deficit-based approach centred on what is wrong with indigenous Australia's society and correspondingly what needs to be done in order to address the needs and aspirations of Aboriginal people. Critics of the framework argue that a more appropriate approach would be to empower indigenous Australians to oversee a range of initiatives aimed at *'reducing disparities'* rather than *'closing the gaps'*.

By comparison with the *'Closing the Gaps'* approach, the Canadian *'Gathering Strength'* indigenous development strategy suffers from an apparent lack of specificity. In March 2007, after two and a half years of research, discussions and public hearings, a report entitled *'Sharing Canada's Prosperity – A Hand Up, Not A Hand Out'* was released which concludes that the Canadian Federal Government has to stop treating Aboriginal economic development as *'discretionary'*. Although the underlying conclusion is that *'improved economic outcomes inevitably shape social outcomes'*, there are no specific details as to how that is to be achieved. The most conclusive element of the international indigenous development approaches enacted in Australia, Canada and New Zealand (aside from the different approaches) is that the objectives are very similar: economic enhancement, improved socio-economic conditions and strengthening of traditional language, culture and values.

The field research has highlighted the central role that TRONA has in providing leadership for Ngāti Awa in the post-settlement phase of the development of the tribe. Established as a charitable trust in 1980, its original intent as a collective group was to pursue the return of ownership of the ancestral mountain of Pūtauaki from the Crown. This initial narrow focus was subsequently broadened to include responsibility for progressing Ngāti Awa Treaty based grievance claims against the Crown. In the context of the wider historical background of Ngāti Awa, TRONA is a relatively modern construct with its standing effectively arising from the legislation associated with the finalisation of the Treaty settlement, and the statutory requirement for a tribal authority to manage the settlement resources. At a broader strategic level TRONA was also positioned as a post-Treaty settlement entity which would provide the essential framework to manage and advance the development of Ngāti Awa.

During the fieldwork phase of the research key informants referred to the scale of the challenges faced by TRONA at a time when Ngāti Awa has effectively been a tribe in recovery and in rebuilding mode since the *raupatu* period. Major external forces impinging on Ngāti Awa included the rapid Māori urbanisation after the Second World War and the austere economic liberalisation policies associated with 'Rogernomics', and the economic policies of the fourth Labour Government during the 1980s. The recalibration of the New Zealand economy to a market-driven economic landscape has had a long-term damaging effect on Māori. Some of the key negative impacts

include entrenched unemployment, educational underachievement, disproportionate incarceration levels, and inter-generational Māori dependency on social welfare support that remain to the present time. Those national characteristics of wider Māori development are also replicated at the regional level for Ngāti Awa and further include: overcrowding, substance and alcohol abuse, domestic abuse, single parent families, high suicide levels, and overall dependency on the welfare state. These socio-economic inequalities emphasise one of the key findings of the research which is centred on the disjuncture between Māori development in policy terms and in practice. It has led to a rupture in Māori development manifested at both macro and micro levels, and illustrated by the disparities existing for Māori at the national level and by Ngāti Awa at the regional level.

As the legislatively mandated tribal authority TRONA has a role to enhance Ngāti Awa development, at both the macro and micro level. This is why the final focus of this research centres on the rūnanga and the wider issue of the effectiveness of the iwi-based development model. An interesting element of the initial component of the field research was the lack of clarity by the TRONA participants as to the specific role and prioritisation of TRONA's objectives. Although *'Te Ara Poutama o Ngāti Awa'* has been developed to identify iwi aspirations to 2050, the fieldwork component of the research highlights that there is confusion over TRONA's role and its *modus operandi*. Ultimately, the fieldwork part of the research provides some clarity that could be considered an outcome, or proposition. Namely that TRONA's role is *'to*

effectively manage the Treaty settlement and iwi assets to produce inter-generational cultural, commercial and community benefits for the people of Ngāti Awa'. It is a proposal that encapsulates the expectations of the interviewees, for TRONA to provide 'connected' leadership with a clear vision for the tribe, and a corresponding strategy to achieve the desired objectives of the iwi. The reference to the Treaty of Waitangi settlement is also important as it notes the aspirations of the original claimants as to their expectations in regard to the responsibilities of the rūnanga.

The key priorities for Ngāti Awa are categorised by the key informants as being part of the previously mentioned *'3 Cs Approach'* comprising cultural, commerce and community elements of tribal development. These core components are incorporated into the 'development framework' that has evolved during the course of the research. There is consensus, from the fieldwork interviews, that cultural imperatives are of paramount importance and it is TRONA's cultural guardianship role to maintain, revitalise and promote Ngāti Awatanga that should be its highest priority. It is acknowledgement of the importance of TRONA's cultural role that emphasises the intergenerational nature of development, in which the assets and commercial activities of the tribe need to be managed, as well as the reality that the effectiveness of TRONA depends on successful commercial activities being undertaken by the tribe.

The third major area of focus is community development and the overall well-being of the people of Ngāti Awa. The field research indicates that the community related deliverables are expected to be in marae and hapū development, educational support, employment training, and enhancing the influence of TRONA through effective collaboration and external stakeholder engagement. The key informants interviewed during the research think that TRONA's social services support is based on its affiliated relationship with NASH and as a consequence it is limited to only those tribal members who live within the traditional *rohe*. This inevitably excludes members of Ngāti Awa who live elsewhere.

The interviews also identified those areas where it is considered that TRONA has opportunities to improve its effectiveness and include: strategic planning and implementation; revision of its governance structure; effective leadership development and succession; and improved communications. The requirement for a detailed strategic plan that has a clear mission statement, key objectives and associated milestones was emphasised consistently by several interview participants as there is a significant disjuncture between the high level strategic goals, as covered in the *'Te Ara Poutama o Ngāti Awa'* strategic planning document, and the categorisation of long, medium and short-term objectives, that include specific priorities. It is suggested by some participants that TRONA consider improvements to its governance and leadership structures in order to further execute changes and improvements in line with the Rūnanga's philosophy and mandate.

The historical patterns of development and the cultural, commercial and community aspects of Ngāti Awatanga, aligned with the range of external influencing factors have all contributed to the evolution of a Māori development framework arising from the research process. The development of such a framework is identified as a key outcome of the research as it provides a uniquely Māori perspective on development from an iwi-centric basis. Beyond Ngāti Awa, the research process has pushed the boundaries of what was meant by 'Māori economic development', and contributed to a more comprehensive understanding of both 'Māori' and 'development'. What essentially began as a loosely defined objective or proposition at the outset of the research process has been clarified and refined during the different stages of the research.

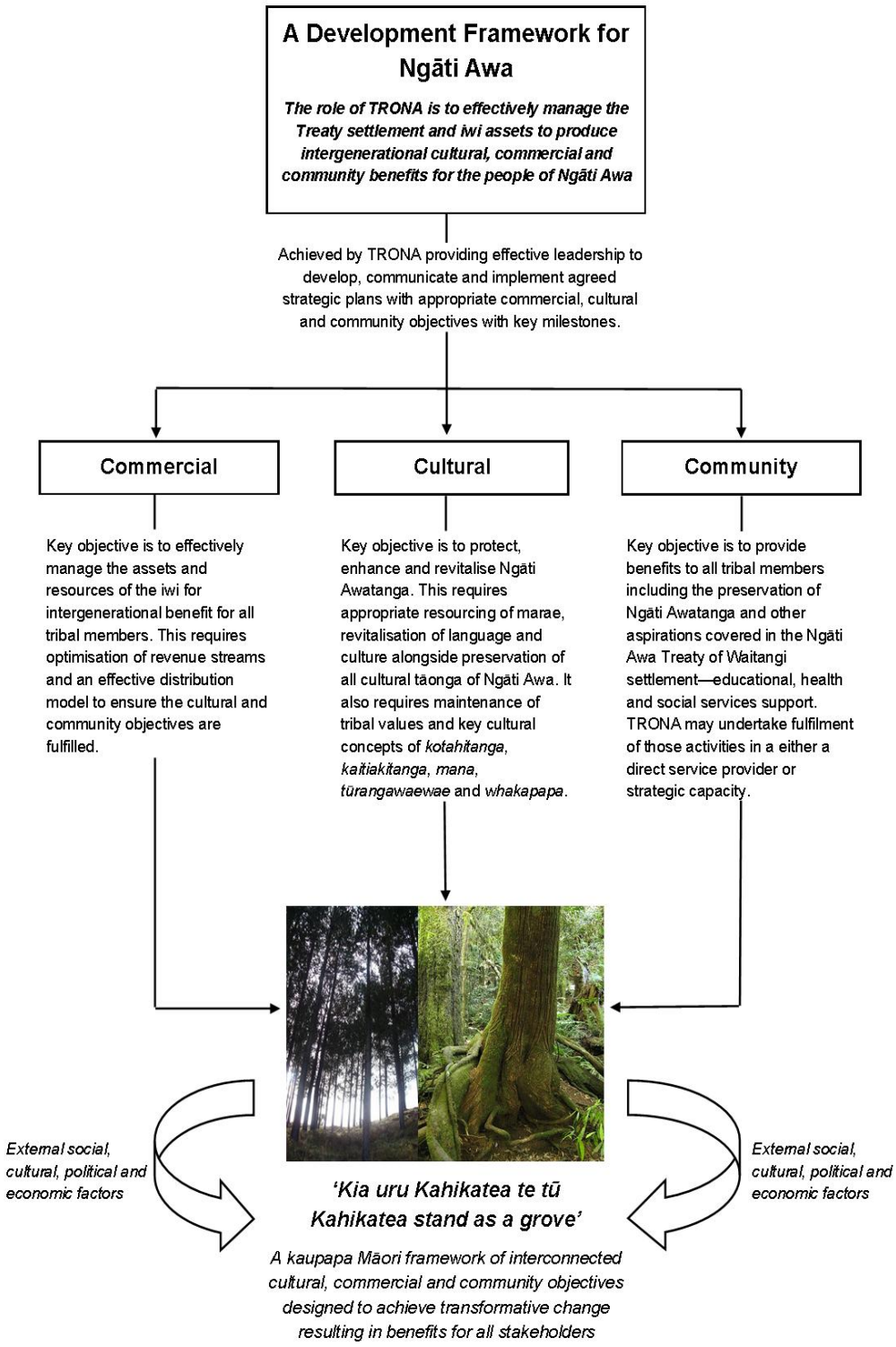
To provide a distinctive Māori perspective on the whakapapa of Māori development, the whakataukī or proverb *'kia uru kahikatea te tu'* was explored to encapsulate the nature and key characteristics of Māori development. It refers to 'whanaungātanga' whereby collaborative effort is essential to mutual survival, growth and success. The whakataukī refers to the kahikatea tree and its interdependence (symbolised by its above-ground interwoven root structure) and reliance upon other kahikatea trees for survival, growth and development. The literal meaning of the whakataukī is *'to stand as a grove of kahikatea'*. Thus the *'Kahikatea Development Framework'* as illustrated in this thesis has been employed to encapsulate the essence of Maori development. Some of the most powerful interpretations of

Maori development have been articulated by Maori scholars by placing emphasis on the cultural foundations of what it means to be 'Maori', and then relating these characteristics, values and beliefs to the changing political economy of New Zealand over time.

The holistic frameworks of indigenous scholars were contrasted with the economistic and essentially reductionist interpretations of both 'Maori' and 'development' thereby paving the way for a comprehensive, integrated framework capable of analysing the dynamics of development. It is a framework that is predicated on the cultural and historical foundation of Māori development – a foundation that is then extended in methodological terms by adopting a development patterns approach that explores Māori development in the context of New Zealand's economic, social, political and cultural development.

To illustrate the utility of this holistic framework and the way in which it is capable of forging links between policy and practice, the '*Kahikatea Development Framework'* completes the critical interpretation of Maori development, as articulated in this thesis, by applying it to Ngāti Awa.

The 'Kahikatea Development Framework' as applied to Ngāti Awa



The *'Kahikatea Development Framework'* summarises core elements arising from the research process, including the literature review and tribal documentary records, as well as the key themes emanating from the fieldwork research. It has the potential to provide reference criteria for TRONA as it engages in strategic planning and implementation, and is supported by the evidential base gathered during the course of this research. The framework simplifies a range of critical issues for the rūnanga which include: its role and key goals, how those objectives might be achieved, its core priorities *('3 Cs approach')*, the merging of critical cultural elements and the importance of recognising the influence of wider environmental factors. It ultimately recognises that the core objective of iwi development is to achieve successful cultural, commercial and community outcomes that are beneficial for all tribal stakeholders.

The creation of specific iwi-centric research, combined with a kaupapa Māori development framework, were two key outcomes arising from the research process. Both elements could be considered as making an original contribution to the body of knowledge in regard to Māori development. Beyond these broad outcomes, or conclusions, it is hoped that the research might assist TRONA, should its leadership choose, in its mission to build a strong cultural, social, political and economic base for *'ngā uri o ngā hapū o Ngāti Awa'*

APPENDICES

Appendix I – Chapter 3

This appendix summarises the key provisions and principles of the Ngāti Awa Claims Settlement Act 2005.

In 1998 the Waitangi Tribunal completed its report entitled 'The Ngāti Awa Raupatu Report' which concluded that the confiscation of Ngāi Awa lands were contrary to the terms of the Treaty of Waitangi, there was no rebellion to justify confiscation and that the confiscations were beyond the authority of the New Zealand Settlements Act 1863. Along with specific land related issues, the Tribunal also concluded that the Crown should conclude negotiations with Ngāti Awa through its legislatively mandated body TRONA.

Ngāti Awa and the Crown subsequently entered into a deed of settlement on 27 March 2003, after a series of marae-based and other engagements between the parties, which provided full and final settlement to all of the tribe's historical Treaty claims. The deed of settlement was then passed into legislation on 24 March 2005 as the Ngāti Awa Claims Settlement Act 2005 ('the Act'). The key provisions and principles of the legislation are categorised under five parts in the Act.

- Part 1 of the Act covers the acknowledgements and apologies to Ngāti Awa. It also incorporates the agreed historical account which was the basis for the apology from the Crown to Ngāti Awa.

- Part 2 of the Act covers the interpretation of the Act, the meaning of Ngāti Awa and the meaning of the Ngāti Awa historical claims.

- Part 3 of the Act covers the settlement of historical claims and related miscellaneous matters, such as perpetuities and dates when certain actions must occur.

- Part 4 of the Act covers cultural redress and specifically the authority to issue, amend or cancel protocols and the enfoceability of those protocols.

- Part 5 of the Act covers financial and commercial redress. This section of the Act includes the transfer of commercial redress properties, redress licensed land and the right of access over Ngāti Awa land. The total financial cost to the Crown to settle the Ngāti Awa claim was $42.39 million plus interest from the date of the signing of the deed of settlement.

The purpose of the Act was to not only record the acknowledgements and apology given by the Crown to Ngāti Awa, but also to give effect to key provisions of the Deed of Settlement. This included defining the meaning of the term 'Ngāti Awa' and the 22 hapū that are recognised by the legislation (Part 2 s 13). The Act also specified the meaning of the Ngāti Awa historical claims and how those claims were subsequently treated by the Waitangi Tribunal (Part 3 s 15), including both cultural redress (Part 4) and commercial redress (Part 5).

The advent of the Act also coincided with the passing of the Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Awa Act 2005, which re-constituted TRONA as a body corporate and aligned it with the new legislation. This ancillary legislation stated that the functions of TRONA were to represent Ngāti Awa and to hold and administer its assets in accordance with its charter (Part 2 s 6) as well as stipulating what the charter must cover (Part 2 s 8) which specifically related to the following:

(a) TRONA is to hold its assets on trust for the benefit of:
    (i) the members of Ngāti Awa at the commencement of this Act; and
    (ii) future members of Ngāti Awa; and
(b) The duties and obligations of TRONA in administering its assets; and
(c) The manner in which representatives of TRONA are to be elected; and
(d) The requirement for TRONA to maintain a register of members of Ngāti Awa.

Finally, the legislation also has provision for amendments to be made by TRONA to its charter 'in accordance with any terms and conditions specified in the charter for its amendment' (Part 2 s 8).

Appendix II – Chapter 4

This appendix provides a brief overview of those theoretical traditions identified during the examination of New Zealand's development.

'The Theory of Moral Sentiments' published by Adam Smith in 1759 provided a moral philosophical framework supporting the proposition that individuals had an innate desire to identify with the emotions of others, whilst focused on self-interest. Smith initially referred to the *'Invisible Hand'* in *'The Theory of Moral Sentiments'* as being the premise that benefits accrued to society from people behaving in their own self-interests. This concept was further developed in *'An Inquiry into the Wealth of Nations'* published by Adam Smith in 1776 which provided a theoretical framework supporting the positive benefits of capitalism. It also advanced the pre-classical theory that influence and control over resources arising from colonisation provided a means for European nations to enhance national prestige and power through the resultant economic growth (Cypher & Dietz, 1997).

Fellow classical economist, Thomas Robert Malthus, subsequently published the first edition of *'An Essay on the Principle of Population'* in 1798. Malthus recognised that post-Industrial Revolution England was not a society of perfectly aligned market forces benefitting all sectors of society, but rather a nation where the vast majority of its citizens lived in abject poverty. Malthus posited through his *'theory of population'* that the 'existing class division

between the wealthy few and the impoverished many was the natural outcome of the capitalist system'. It was the view of Malthus that the poor were simply the architects of their own unfortunate circumstances, as he assumed that the population of the 'labouring poor' would grow whenever wages rose about subsistence levels. Malthus' theory of continuous cycles of economic growth leading to population explosions, followed by long periods of misery, led Thomas Carlyle to refer to economics as the *'dismal science'* which possibly also accurately reflected the contemporaneous drive to create 'new societies' in countries such as Canada, Australia and New Zealand.

The classical economic theories developed by Smith, Malthus, *et al.*, were further enhanced by the neo-classical economic analysis which began in 1871 and covered the *'Liberal Formation'* period. William Stanley Jevons' *'Theory of Political Economy'*, Carl Menger's *'Principles of Economics'*, Leon Walras' *'Elements of Pure Economics'* and Alfred Marshall's *'Principles of Economics'* promoted the concept of free competitive markets as a means of efficient allocation of resources. The basis of neo-classical economics placed emphasis on the utility maximising behaviour of individuals and the profit maximisation focus of firms. It also emphasised the significance of concepts such as marginal utility proportional to price and long run equilibrium. However, a critique of classical and neo-classical economics was prompted by the impact of the Great Depression in 1929.

In 1935 John Maynard Keynes published *'The General Theory of Employment, Interest and Money'* which concluded that markets were not self-adjusting and the long-run equilibrium was untenable. Both of these views were encapsulated in Keynes' memorable quote: *'the long run is a misleading guide to current affairs. In the long run we are all dead'*. Keynes, whose ideas became known as *'Keynesian economics'*, was to have a profound impact upon economic, political and macro-level policies. He advocated that governments should develop planned economies and actively set fiscal policies to control markets. This could be achieved through measures such as government regulation of interest rates and the acceleration of economic growth through changing the savings rate to promote investment. The advent of Keynesian economics can be associated with the *'Command Economy'* which was to last in New Zealand from the 1930s to the 1970s.

The economic liberalisation of the New Zealand economy during the 1980s and 1990s was an amalgam of three strands of thought. The first centred on the doctrine of economic individualism which assumes without question that markets are beneficial and governments harmful and that individual freedom and government action exist in inverse ratio to each other. The second strand emanates out of extreme liberalisation which it bases its case for laissez-faire capitalism on moral grounds – and the third strand comes from Austrian economics and its disciples Schumpeter and Hayek.

Although some economists differentiate between the Chicago School (especially its theologian Milton Friedman) and the pragmatic form of monetarism pursued in New Zealand, the social and political agenda was strikingly similar to that instituted by the Thatcher Government in 1979 and beyond. It was an agenda based on five central elements:

1. A restrictive monetary policy based on the economic theories of Milton Friedman and Frederick von Hayek. A tight monetary policy is designed to cause a recession in order to restore the profitability of production and investment.

2. The dismantling of social services based on a residual notion of welfare which views the state as an agency of last resort.

3. Tax reductions as suggested by supply-side economics which asserts that reductions in personal income tax will result in people becoming more productive.

4. Privatisation based on opening up profitable areas of state activity to private capital through the sale of public assets and the contracting out of work previously undertaken by state employees.

5. Deregulation or the opening up of the domestic economy to international forces and a rolling back of major state responsibilities

accepted by Western governments during the post-World War II consensus.

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Appendix III – Fieldwork Research

The fieldwork conducted during the research on Maori Economic Development was approved by the AUT Ethics Committee and ultimately by the Faculty and University Postgraduate Boards. The presentations to these committees involved both oral and written submissions.

Thirteen participants agreed to be interviewed on a voluntary basis as part of the fieldwork research. The interviews with key informants analysed various aspects and characteristics of both Ngāti Awa and wider Māori economic development. The selection of research participants was based on fulfilment of at least one of the following criteria:

1. Influential members of Te Rūnanga of Ngati Awa (TRONA).
2. Ngāti Awa hapū representatives.
3. Tribal members of Ngāti Awa.
4. Individuals outside of Ngāti Awa regarded as being influential in Māori development.

To ensure that the interviews were undertaken and analysed appropriately the following process was followed:

(a) All interviews were recorded and comprehensively transcribed by a professional transcription service. Aligned with the notes made by

the researcher, the transcribed verbatim notes also provided a descriptive record of each of the interviews for subsequent analysis and interpretation.

(b) The researcher then read through all of the transcribed data to acquire a sense of the key themes and meaning of the information provided.

(c) A standardised coding process was then implemented to segment the data into categories such as general themes, sections and related topics.

(d) When the data had been coded and segmented, all topics were listed and categories created to simplify the analysis and interpretation process.

(e) Preliminary interpretations were then developed and reviewed against the interview transcriptions to test the analytical process and veracity of those interpretations.

(f) Once the analysis was validated initial conclusions were then drawn and these conclusions were related back to the research questions.

(g) The analysis, interpretations and conclusions were then incorporated into the writing up of the fieldwork research chapter.

The key informants who participated in the interviews and the reasons for their inclusion in the fieldwork research are covered in the following table:

Name	**Reason for Interview**	**Date Interviewed**
Enid Ratahi-Pryor	CEO of Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Awa and a former CEO of Ngāti Awa Health and Social Services Trust.	5/4/13
Timi Peri	Tribal constituent of Ngāti Awa and a kaumātua / whānau member who lives in traditional region.	5/4/13
Layne Harvey	Māori Land Court Judge and a former researcher for the Ngāti Awa WAI 46 Claim. A hapū representative on the Board of Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Awa.	9/5/13
Dr Pita Sharples	Minister of Māori Affairs (2008 to present). A key founder of Hoani Waititi Marae in Auckland and associated kohanga reo and kura. A recognised advocate of both urban and iwi Māori development.	17/5/13
June McCabe	Member of Māori Economic Taskforce and advisor to her iwi of Te Rarawa.	20/5/13
Willie Jackson	Former Member of Parliament and CEO of Manukau Urban Māori Authority (MUMA) and Chair of the National Urban Māori Authority (NUMA).	23/5/13
John Tamihere	Former Associate Minister of Māori Affairs and CEO of The Waipareira Trust and the National Urban Māori Authority (NUMA).	24/5/13

Name	**Reason for Interview**	**Date Interviewed**
Karla Akuhata	Former Māori Affairs reporter for the Waikato Times and blogger focused on the management of Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Awa http://tumaitetoki.blogspot.co.nz/	28/5/13
Pouroto Ngaropō	Deputy Chairman of Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Awa and Te Tāwera Hapū representative.	29/5/13
Joe Harawira	Member of Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Awa and the Ngāi Taiwhakaea II representative.	31/5/13
Sir Mark Solomon	Chairman of Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu and the Iwi Leaders Group.	5/6/13
Brian Tunui	Chairman of Audit Committee of Ngāti Awa Group Holdings Limited (NAGHL).	7/6/13
Wayne Walden	Māori business leader and advisor to his iwi of Ngāti Kahu.	25/6/13

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