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Unfolding tensions within post-settlement governance and tribal economies in Aotearoa New Zealand

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Abstract

Purpose – This paper aims to examine indigenous governance and economies of iwi Maori (Maori tribes) in Aotearoa New Zealand. Research into persisting inequities amongst iwi that have settled treaty claims and the potential for intervention through new governance models and indigenous entrepreneurship contextualise the paper.

Design/methodology/approach – Kaupapa Maori (Maori philosophy) is used as an indigenous methodology to facilitate and empower transformative change, underpinned by Maori knowledge, language and culture. A multi-level approach is used to collect data from international, national and local tribal organisations. Validity is established through stakeholder engagement.

Findings – A central challenge in the post-treaty settlement context is exponentialising tribal capabilities because of the multiple purposes ascribed to post-settled iwi. Four themes, characterised as "unfolding tensions", offer a critique and basis for solving tribal development challenges: how do tribes create culturally grounded global citizens; how do tribes rebalance wealth creation and wealth distribution; how do tribes recalibrate tribal institutions; and how do tribes embed entrepreneurship and innovation within their economies?

Research limitations/implications – As data collection is still underway, the paper is conceptual.

Practical implications – Five strategies to address unfolding tensions are identified for tribes to consider.

Social implications – Tribal governors and tribal members are implicated in the analysis, as well as the architects of post-treaty settlement governance models.

Originality/value – The paper contributes to theorising about tribal governance, economies and entrepreneurship.

1. Introduction

In a world of relentless rationality, where myth, craft, ritual, oral tradition and ancient wisdom give way to secularism, reason, empirics and calculability as premises for ordering human activity within socially constructed and increasingly isomorphic institutions (DiMaggio and Powell, 1983; Suddaby *et al.*, 2017), tribes should simply not exist – but they do (Cornell and Kalt, 1993; Henare, 2003; Ngata, 1940; Te Puni Kōkiri, 2011). Further, in democratic societies where the universality of individual citizenship is perceived as incommensurable with tribal political systems founded upon notions of collective rights and common ancestry, the mystery surrounding the persistence of tribes deepens (Durie, 2002; Rata, 2013). Yet, tribes are not simply subsisting, they are growing in individual and collective institutional capacity, structure, agency and membership (Barry *et al.*, 2016; Smith *et al.*, 2015; Statistics New Zealand, 2009, 2013a). There is a dearth of adequate explanations not only for the continued existence of tribes, but also for their reanimation as institutions for the self-determined and sustainable development of indigenous peoples (Dana and Anderson, 2007, Kalt *et al.*, 2008; Peredo and Anderson, 2006; Smith *et al.*, 2015).

Whilst limiting their theoretical analysis to tribes as non-kinship collectivities and affinities, Suddaby *et al.* (2017, p. 286) suggest that tribalism is one of the several phenomena challenging "inexorable rationalization" as the dominant narrative of modernity. This, they argue, is creating a countervailing management discourse to rational institutionalism where authenticity, reflexivity, mimesis and incantation represent more enchanted substitutes for institutional embeddedness, legitimacy, diffusion and isomorphism (Suddaby *et al.*, 2017). The unfounded fear of secession by indigenous tribes, implied by the indigenous right of self-determination, is giving way to the possibility of reconciling individual and group rights of indigenous peoples within domestic legislation, policy and politics (Charters, 2006; Durie, 2002; Lightfoot, 2016; Mika, 2018a; NZPA, 2010; Tomlins-Jahnke and Mulholland, 2011; United Nations, 2007).

This paper contributes to indigenous theorising on tribal governance and economies within tribes in Aotearoa New Zealand, with a focus on indigenous entrepreneurship. The paper is based on research we are conducting on persisting inequalities and the potential for intervention through new governance models within tribal settings. In this research, *kaupapa* Māori (Māori philosophy) is used as an indigenous methodology to facilitate and empower transformative change, underpinned by Māori knowledge, language and culture (Henry and Foley, 2018; Smith, 1997; Smith, 1999). A multi-level approach is used to collect data from international, national and local tribal organisations, where the validity of such data is established through engaging stakeholders and participants in hui (meetings) to evaluate the findings.

In this paper, we critically explore themes within tribes we characterise as "unfolding tensions". Whilst we elucidate tensions and suggest strategies to resolve them, the enactment of such ideas is a process of institution-building and development for tribes themselves (Dodd, 2003; Kalt *et al.*, 2008). We discuss four themes:

(1) how do tribes create culturally grounded global citizens;
(2) how do tribes rebalance wealth creation (shared capital) and wealth distribution (shared well-being);

(3)   how do tribes recalibrate tribal institutions so they are fit for purpose; and

(4)   how can tribes embed entrepreneurship, innovation and enterprise within the tribal milieu?

The paper concludes with strategies to address these themes. We begin, however, by discussing the nature of indigenous entrepreneurship.

2. Indigenous entrepreneurship

Indigenous entrepreneurship has emerged as an important sub-field of the entrepreneurship theory on the basis of pioneering scholarship by Dana (1994, 1996), Anderson *et al.* (2006), Peredo *et al.* (2004), Dana and Anderson (2007), Hindle and Lansdowne (2007), Foley (2003, 2013) and Frederick and Henry (2004). This early work largely framed indigenous entrepreneurship as communitarian processes of value creation for collective gain, pursued by, with and for the benefit of indigenous peoples, according to indigenous world views. Entrepreneurship for indigenous peoples has become a valued means of potentially fulfilling aspirations for self-determination, sustainable economic development, preservation of traditional knowledge, improving socioeconomic and structural disadvantage and validating alternative conceptualisations of economy (Peredo *et al.*, 2018; Dell *et al.*, 2018; Ruwhiu and Amoamo, 2015). Indigenous entrepreneurship in this context is contingent upon capability building, particularly in education and access to entrepreneurial resources (Gries and Naude, 2011; Warren *et al.*, 2018). Meanwhile, these generalised tenets of the indigenous entrepreneurship theory have given way to diverse perspectives on gender (Ratten and Dana, 2017), commercialisation of traditional knowledge (Dana and Hipango, 2011), indigenous food-based enterprise (Ratten and Dana, 2015), new forms of social enterprise (Peredo *et al.*, 2018) and importance of culture, context and identity (Mika *et al.*, 2018).

In Aotearoa New Zealand, tribalism as a concept is increasingly reflected in the reconceptualisation of indigenous entrepreneurship (de Bruin and Mataira, 2003; Henry *et al.*, 2017; Henry and Dana, 2018; Mika *et al.*, 2018; Zapalska and Brozik, 2017), indigenous innovation (Frederick and Henry, 2004; Kawharu *et al.*, 2017; Lambert, 2012; Mika, 2016c; Pihama and Penehira, 2005), indigenous enterprises (Barr *et al.*, 2018; Morgan and Mulligan, 2006; Te Puni Kōkiri, 2013; Warren, 2009), indigenous economies (Bargh, 2012; Nana *et al.*, 2015; Te Puni Kōkiri, 2012) and regional and national economic development (Davies *et al.*, 2005; MEDP, 2012; Mika *et al.*, 2016; Smith *et al.*, 2017; Solomon, 2010). Reconciling and integrating indigenous and non-indigenous knowledge is the dominant intellectual and political challenge in all manner of human activity and institutions we develop to govern ourselves, including tribal institutions, economies and societies (Awatere *et al.*, 2017; Bohensky and Maru, 2011; Cole, 2017; Emery, 2000; Harris and Wasilewski, 2004). The intersection of the tribe and entrepreneurship is a common theme in the analysis that follows.

3. The tribe

Iwi have endured for millennia as a kin-based system of tribal organisation used by *tangata whenua* (indigenous people) before (pre-*circa* 950 AD) and during the first human settlement of Aotearoa New Zealand by the Polynesian ancestors of Māori people aboard ocean-going *waka* (canoes, vessels) and the present "global drift" of Māori, especially to Australia on waka of a different sort (Ballara, 1998; Buck, 1958; King, 2003; Kukutai and Pawar, 2013). Perhaps the quintessential form of the organic organisational mode because their cultural fabric is inscribed in *whakapapa* (genealogy), it is a marvel to contemplate the ancient

wisdom and circumstance that brought forth iwi as the preferred means by which to organise people and satisfy their existential and celestial wants and needs. Composed of people, iwi, like all forms of human organisation, are dynamic and evolving, given life and purpose by the eponymous ancestor upon whom their members centre their identity, allegiance, hopes and dreams.

According to Ballara (1998, p. 107), iwi "was essentially a large territorially-based social unit", but *hapū* (sub-tribe) were ["] the effective unit. . . whose functions were the control and defence of a specific territory". Beyond this, *whānau* (extended families) retained day-to-day administration of sections of hapū lands. This is the more traditional model of Māori social organisation; a hierarchical, segmentary structure constructed by the eighteenth century field ethnographers and refined by early-nineteenth century anthropologists that has persisted in social, political and economic discourse (Ballara, 1998). Another view of the tribe is offered by Ritchie (1992, p. 113) who defined a tribe as "an association of people with current face-to-face contact, on a more or less regular basis, that provides the range of satisfactions humankind needs". Moreover, a tribe is defined as "an organisation which cares for its members, having common ancestry, a common history and body of tradition, a common set of customs, a common territory and a common sense of destiny" (Ritchie, 1992, p. 119). Aside from common ancestry linked to tribal lands, regular contact with tribal kin was a major feature of the tribe.

On three occasions in recent times the question of what is an iwi has been substantively considered in law. The first is the Rūnanga A Iwi Bill, which became an act of parliament for a short time in 1990, within the context of the devolution policy of service delivery to Māori via iwi (Hill, 2009; Jones, 1990; Martin and Harper, 1988; McKinlay, 1990). Rūnanga-a-iwi in Māori means tribal council. Section 4 of the Rūnanga A Iwi Bill set out the essential characteristics of an iwi as being:

- a descent from a common tūpuna (ancestor);
- a collective possession of demonstrable cultural and historical identity;
- a developed political organisation;
- a structure of hapū;
- a network of functioning marae (communal meeting houses);
- historical belonging to a defined rohe (region); and
- continuous existence widely acknowledged by other iwi.

One of the criticisms of the legislation was disdain for the possibility that the crown would decide who was and who was not a tribe rather than Māori (Jones, 1990). Furthermore, there is also a need to consider appropriate levels of aggregation, alluding to the principle of subsidiarity, in which only those tasks not able to be adequately performed by a lower-level body are centralised (Henare, 2000), negating recourse to prescribed criteria as to what an iwi ought to be (O'Regan, 2009).

The second occasion of legal enquiry into the question of what constitutes an iwi is the Privy Council's consideration as to whom pre-settlement fisheries assets ought to be allocated (Privy Council Victory for Treaty Tribes Coalition, 2001; Te Ohu Kai Moana, 2003). On this point, the Privy Council decided that iwi meant traditional Māori tribe, a determination eventually finding its way into the Māori Fisheries Act (2004) (Bodwitch, 2017; Mika, 2013; Te Ohu Kai Moana, 2003). This traditional form of iwi was confirmed as the primary institution to which fisheries settlement assets would be allocated and through which benefits to iwi members would be distributed. Non-iwi organisations, for example,

urban Māori authorities, and Māori who did not know or chose not to associate with their iwi would be provided for through a general fund administered by the Pūtea Whakatupu Trust (Meredith, 2012; Te Ohu Kai Moana, 2003). It seems iwi, as opposed to non-iwi, gained the upper hand because settlement assets are considered communal in nature and the benefits that flow from them to individuals are accessed by their being a member of an iwi. Otherwise, settlements could just have easily been treated as a distribution of income and shared equally amongst all iwi members individually rather than as capital and retained for reinvestment in the iwi and its members collectively.

The third, and more recent example, in which the law has ventured into the vexed terrain of iwi identity and structure is the 2007 Waka Umanga (Māori Corporations) Bill. This was an attempt by the Law Commission to codify salient elements (representation, decision-making, appointments and so forth) of the archetypal post-settlement enterprise with universal adaptability by iwi as a corporate form (Joseph, 2014; Law Commission, 2006; Meade, 2004). In their report, the Law Commission (2006, p. 36) took the view that "'tribe' refers to 'hapū' or 'iwi' as the fundamental unit of Māori society [. . .][comprising] compact groups characterised and fortified by common descent [. . .] ancestral history, laws and institutions", and that tribes should be afforded "maximum freedom" to form legally representative bodies for their cultural, social and economic advancement. Importantly, the Law Commission (2006) distinguishes between the "tribe" and the "tribal entity". They are not the same thing: whilst a tribal entity can be formed and unformed, the tribe remains. With a change of government from Labour to National in 2009, the Waka Umanga (Māori Corporations) Bill 2007 was set aside, apparently in favour of the status quo. The status quo, incidentally, is to allow treaty settlement legislation to define the corporate form of iwi, though in practice, few variations in legal entities are accepted by the crown for settlements outside common law trusts (Tapsell *et al.*, 2007).

Treaty settlements over the last 30 years have reinforced the ascendency of iwi as the representative body of the tribe, but this is being challenged by hapū, whānau and non-iwi organisations, given the changing nature of Māori organisations (Meijl, 2012). The elevated status of iwi may be attributed in part to the crown's policy of preferring to negotiate and settle claims with "large natural groupings", rather than a myriad of claimants (Office of Treaty Settlements, 2015). This approach has not met with universal approval, with complaints that such processes carried the potential for colonial divide-and-rule tactics, which had been used a century and half earlier to alienate Māori from their lands (Butterworth, 1990; Walker, 2004). Moreover, it is ironic that the crown's policy of limiting its exposure to numerous claimants is juxtaposed by the necessary (and legal) obligation upon iwi to ensure settlements benefit all iwi members, irrespective of where they may live, leaving iwi to mediate internal grievances and conflicts with claimants and find ways to reach a diaspora that nowadays is global. How well iwi are managing distributional equity of benefits amongst iwi members represents a conceivable basis for relitigating the efficacy of iwi under settlement legislation (Tamihere, 2018).

The yearning for kinship means tribal members are drawn to their tribes as sources of spiritual and cultural sustenance, and it is this desire to belong that ensures the permanence of tribes (Higgins, 2004; Liu and Temara, 1998; Nikora, 2003). The institutional construct of the tribe comprises three main elements: the tribe (kin-based collective), the tribal entity (kin-based organisation) and tribal members (kin-based individuals). The tribe is constituted from indigenous knowing, being and doing and represents the identity of descendants of a common ancestor and communally held lands. In this paper, tribe is used interchangeably with iwi.

4. Creating culturally grounded global citizens

Tribal members today are highly mobile, with distance and other commitments limiting daily contact with tribal kin, lands and institutions. Yet, it is this enduring cultural connection to tribes that allows tribal members to move freely about the world with confidence, knowing who they are, what they are and where they come from. This is our notion of the "culturally grounded citizen", spiritually grounded within their language and culture, inclusive of traditional and contemporary *mātauranga* Māori (Māori knowledge). A tension is how iwi determine who is a "culturally grounded citizen", and once known, what is their purpose and role within the context of tribes and their post-settlement governance entities? Some of the complexities of culturally grounded citizenship are definitional, measurement and validation.

Citizenship, according to the Cambridge and the Collins English Dictionaries, is when a registered or naturalised member of a country or state is afforded certain rights. In the Treaty of Waitangi, the "English" version empowered the Queen of England to determine a stratum of citizenship upon Māori (Kawharu, 1989; Orange, 1987). According to Ngata (1943), Māori participation in the war effort did not achieve the equitable access to citizenship that the Treaty of Waitangi envisioned in Article 3, wherein Māori are afforded the same rights and privileges as British subjects (Kawharu, 1989). Māori did not intend to be usurped by British laws and customs, but to be assured of guarantees and protection, including their *tino rangatiratanga* (self-determination) and *ngā taonga tuku iho* (cultural resources) within the lore of *tikanga* (culture) and *kawa* (protocol) (Mead, 2003; Williams, 2013). Despite colonisation and the non-legislative and non-binding nature of the Treaty of Waitangi (Māori and British versions), Māori have expressed citizenship through whakapapa or kinship ties. Māori maintain their right to determine their identity, customs and culture as tāngata whenua.

Treaty settlements have facilitated an increase in identifying members of a tribe through tribal registers. Whilst registers can validate whakapapa, kinship and identity, they act as sources of mandate for treaty claims and to ratify treaty settlements, and subsequently, major transactions. However, the register itself does not alleviate the friction that can arise between *ahikā* (iwi members residing within and on traditional tribal lands), *taurahere* (iwi members living outside traditional tribal territories), urban Māori (Māori living in an urban centre) and pan-tribal groups (Māori collectives with multiple tribal affiliations). In this post-treaty settlement era, an enduring challenge is how urbanised Māori maintain connections to their *tūrangawaewae* (tribal places of belonging) and vice-versa.

Where a person resides creates discussion amongst tribal members. Before colonisation, the majority of Māori lived in their own tribal territories, specifically within *kāinga* (villages) (Meredith, 2012; Taonui, 2012), whereas "84 per cent of Māori are now living in cities or towns" (Haami, 2018, p. 19) with Māori also choosing to live (and work) outside Aotearoa (Kukutai and Pawar, 2013). Many of these "urbanites" have engaged in their culture through new means and have created communities of interest within their cities and towns to maintain the Māori language and culture (Tayawa-Figuracion, 2015; Walker, 2004). To further complicate matters, there is no "master" model, no "one-size fits all" approach to determine how "cultural" a person is or ought to be. Iwi, hapū and whānau retain their own ways of determining cultural competence – often varying in expectations and proficiency of Māori language and knowledge. Some other indicators may include:

- how knowledgeable a person is in their identity as Māori and how confident they are to maintain this wherever they are (Liu and Temara, 1998);
- their proficiency in *te reo* (language), tikanga and kawa (Kukutai *et al.*, 2017; Statistics New Zealand, 2011);

- the level of mātauranga Māori they understand within an historical and contemporary context (Black *et al.*, 2012; Murphy *et al.*, 2014); and
- whether they have expertise in *raranga* (weaving), *kapa haka* (dance), *waiata* (song), *karakia* (incantation), *whaikōrero* (speech-making), *rongoā* (medicine) and other branches of traditional knowledge (Forster, 2003; Mead, 2003; Statistics New Zealand, 2013b).

Whilst limited, this list indicates some of the challenges in how iwi quantify and qualify culture and identity (Durie, 1995a; Winiata, 1979).

Smith *et al.* (2017) surmised that, for Māori economic activities to be successful, "[. . .] iwi/ Māori need to have a clear view of what counts as a confident, healthy, well educated, culturally competent and economically prosperous iwi [citizens] who have the capacity and capability to contribute effectively to building [. . .] community, regional, Māori and national econom[ies]" (p. 95) and be global contributors. Traditional indicators of cultural competency are one component of a range of measures (Durie, 1999; Statistics New Zealand, 2013b). However, contemporary talents are also becoming a prerequisite in measuring contributions to iwi. These include a capacity to move between binary world views (Mika and O'Sullivan, 2014), the ability to think globally and act locally in advancing the priorities of the collective (Iwi and Māori) (Smith *et al.*, 2017) and the competence to think critically and independently and have the vision and foresight to lead people (Katene, 2010; Spiller *et al.*, 2015). This list could also include expertise in the technical and professional disciplines of accounting, finance, business, environment, sustainability, policy, employment, law, marketing and more (MBIE, 2015; NZIER, 2003; Sapere Research Group, 2011).

If language proficiency is a valued aspect of indigenous cultural competency (Higgins *et al.*, 2014), then most Māori may not meet this standard, given that 89 per cent of Māori indicate they are unable to speak Māori either "very well" or "well" (Stats NZ, 2014). Of the 11 per cent of Māori who do speak te reo Māori very well or well, 4 per cent are aged 15-34 years, 4 per cent are 35-54 years and 3 per cent are 55 years and over (Stats NZ, 2014). The ability to assess competency in language, culture and expertise in tribal settings has been the realm of traditional leaders such as *ariki* (paramount chiefs), *rangatira* (tribal chiefs), *tōhunga* (experts) and *kaumātua* (elders) (Mika, 2016a). However, with the deterioration of proficient te reo Māori speakers, new measures of cultural competency assessment may be needed. There is also a potential tension between native speakers (first language) of te reo and second-language learners, where notions of elitism and essentialism may exist (Panoho, 2006).

Kōhanga reo (Māori language preschools), *wharekura* and *kura kaupapa* (Māori primary and secondary schools) and *wānanga* (Māori tertiary organisations) (Bishop, 2008; Hook, 2006; Martin, 2012; Ministry of Education, 2013; Waitangi Tribunal, 1999; Walker, 2004) are associated with an increase in the use of Māori language and culture amongst a younger, urbanised citizenry who may have learnt their language and culture from outside their own *rohe* (region) (Higgins *et al.*, 2014). Nowadays, citizens are attaining knowledge in the Māori language and culture from other educational institutions. Godfrey (2016), for instance, suggests that citizenship ought to be taught within the educational curriculum, as this would add another level of connectivity to one's identity, customs and culture.

Traditional Māori leaders such as ariki, rangatira, tōhunga, kaumātua were charged with developing the cultural competency of members of their iwi, hapū and whānau (Mahuika, 1992; Mead, 1994a). However, given the concept of traditional leader (chieftain or noble rank) versus contemporary (elected or appointed) leader, and that some Māori are raised outside their tūrangawaewae and domiciled away from their *papakāinga* (homesteads), who now

possesses the *mana* (power and authority) to ascertain who is culturally competent, a *whakataukī* (proverb) "e kore te kūmara e kī ake ki a ia he māngaro" (Mead, 2003, p. 36) expresses the view that self-assessing oneself as an authentic, culturally grounded citizen is not a trait esteemed by Māori. Thus, a challenge remains as to who determines culturally grounded citizenship within tribal settings and how this is done.

The social, cultural, economic, environmental and spiritual imperatives of multiple Māori identities as whānau, hapū, iwi, rural, urban and global citizens create potential for discord and disenchantment between tribal citizens and tribal polity. An unfolding tension for post-settlement iwi is how to maintain tribal identity and cohesion with a diaspora who want both to be culturally grounded and globally oriented. For guidance, we may turn to Sir Apirana Ngata, who implored Māori to hold fast to their Māori identity, but utilise Pākehā (New Zealanders of European descent) knowledge and methods for their material well-being (Kora, 1965). This plea was echoed much later by Sir Mason Durie (2003) whose notion of Māori succeeding *as* Māori in te ao Māori (Māori society) and te ao Pākehā (Western society) became a dominant paradigm in Māori public policy. For iwi, this means devising new ways to procure and confer an interchangeable Māori ontology, where tribal citizens know who they are (whakapapa and kinship), where they are from (tūrangawaewae), conveying cultural confidence and grounding as Māori, enabling Māori to enjoy the fruits of *ahikātanga* (home) and *tauraheretanga* (away) and te *ao whānui* (wider society).

5. Rebalancing wealth creation and wealth distribution

Another emerging issue for tribes relates to deeper conversations about rebalancing wealth and capital, which invoke a range of diverse responses, given the current predicament of advanced, developed and emerging economies (Beck and Fidora, 2008; Roubini, 2011; Salotti, 2008; Scharmer, 2009; UNDP, 2013). The concepts of shared capital and wealth distribution add to the chaotic discussions about those who have wealth and control wealth and those who have none or very little, and therefore, little or no control over their lives. Such inequalities in income and wealth between the poor and the rich that constitute nations has fuelled worldwide social, cultural and political turmoil and instability (Prasad, 2008; Roubini, 2011). The gap between rich and poor, and the inequalities that flow from this, continues to grow a decade after the last major global economic recession that began in 2007. Many national economies – and not just in developing nations – are still grappling with inequalities in both wealth creation and wealth distribution (UNDP, 2013). We argue that wealth creation and wealth distribution should be synonymous with and explained as shared capital and shared well-being, respectively. Shared capital and shared well-being should be the ultimate goals of global economies, and potentially, tribal economies. Such goals, whilst easy to expound, are difficult to achieve for many reasons.

Even whilst poverty rates have generally declined around the world, global inequality in incomes have soared. The richest 8 per cent of the world's population earn half the world's income and 92 per cent of the world's population share the other 50 per cent (UNDP, 2013). In New Zealand, 10 per cent of the richest people own 60 per cent of the wealth (McCammon, 2016). Both inequality of income and wealth are products of the economy, and the burden in New Zealand is carried by 90 per cent of the population that share in just 40 per cent of wealth that is left. Three decades of economic policies both in Aotearoa New Zealand and around the world have focused on economic growth driven by "free" market *laissez-faire* capitalism (Scharmer, 2009). A fair and just redistribution of wealth to all citizens was promised to be the next logical stage in the process, but it never came. Those individuals and groups who were already wealthy reaped the benefits of advanced and fast-growing, emerging economies (Roubini, 2011). They were better able to take advantage of their

material wealth; enjoy privilege and choice; and have better access to health, education and social, cultural and political benefits on a daily basis (Stephens and Gillies, 2012).

Research suggests that, even as the Māori economy grows, it is replicating what is happening in other parts of the world (Nana *et al.*, 2015; Smith *et al.*, 2015, 2017). That is, it too is contributing to a divide in Māori society whereby the wealthier iwi and a few individuals are better able to take advantage of economic development initiatives than others. Research reveals that, as the Māori economy grows, overall Māori socio-cultural well-being is declining (Nana *et al.*, 2015; Smith *et al.*, 2017). Tension between income inequality and wealth creation has taken a prominent role in the examination of critical success factors for Māori economic development (Smith *et al.*, 2015). It has become clear that a rebalancing or a redistribution of resources, both social and cultural, needs to occur, with equal importance alongside other economic development initiatives (Smith *et al.*, 2015, 2017). Inequalities of wealth and income will eventually have a reverse effect on economic growth and development initiatives and increase rather than decrease poverty (Sen, 1999; UNDP, 2013). Such inequalities have already reached very high levels in many countries, and as a result, negatively impact countries' abilities to extend the opportunities, capabilities and outcomes of their people (Anand and Sen, 2000). Roubini (2011) states that these situations provide perfect opportunities only for those who are already considered the *elite* to benefit from corrupt political processes and inaccurate monetary reporting. As a result, the opportunity for people to have any input into decision-making that affects them becomes more difficult and often turns into social unrest and potential volatility. Rebalancing wealth and income through, for example, education and other material resources, however, can have highly positive impacts on both individuals and countries.

Rebalancing income and wealth inequalities for tribes and other groups involves what Smith *et al.* (2015, p. 8) describe as simultaneous "360 degree interventions" to enable transformative change and equal participation in both opportunities and outcomes. That is, for marginalised groups such as tribal members to benefit from opportunities, including, better jobs, higher incomes, better access to services in health, culture and education, participating in society as individuals and collectives with dignity and respect, free of discrimination (Prasad, 2008; Smith *et al.*, 2015). Rebalancing requires governments to facilitate transforming change with commitment and a fearless inclusivity, driving down inequalities and providing economic development opportunities for all because, in the long run, it makes economic sense. Scharmer (2009) suggested a holistic economic growth approach where countries generate inclusive growth and all citizens, especially those at the margins (socially, culturally and politically), have an equal opportunity to share in the benefits of economic growth. Such an approach has a focus on the overall well-being of citizens and on building the capacity and capabilities of poor and vulnerable communities and of governments. These approaches sit well with iwi communities because Māori aspirations for wealth and well-being are not dissimilar to those of non-Māori.

Prasad (2008) suggests that governments, communities and organisations, especially those with influence, adopt a *combination of progressive economic and social policies*, that focus on lifting health, social, educational, and political and environmental outcomes for disadvantaged populations. All these issues relate to improving the overall well-being of populations and to distributing wealth and improving incomes for people with lower socio-economic circumstances. In striving to participate in economic development, tribal organisations and people within them tend to behave like non-Māori in one sense, where wealth is expressed in terms of the value of the assets and the prestige, power and influence that comes with it (Barry *et al.*, 2016; Hanita *et al.*, 2016; Norman, 2016). Yet, as indigenous people, tribal members will also have different perspectives on what constitutes wealth and

well-being. For instance, tribal members may consider that any assessment of wealth, and therefore wealth creation, includes elements of Māori language and culture (Higgins *et al.*, 2014; Mead, 1994b). Wealth for tribes includes land, which seems to be similar for most indigenous peoples (Harris and Wasilewski, 2004; Hutchings *et al.*, 2017). Land has both a cultural and economic value for tribes and is treated differently (Dyall, 1985; Kingi, 2007). However, for most Māori, wealth as defined in economic terms is elusive (Awatere *et al.*, 2017; Gibson and Scrimgeour, 2004).

There is no one specific way in which to rebalance wealth creation (shared capital) and wealth distribution (shared well-being). Tribes will need to define for themselves the nature of the problem (inequalities in wealth and well-being), whether this is something they can and should address and how they should best proceed.

6. Fit-for-purpose tribal institutions

Tribal institutions ought to be designed in ways that perpetuate tribal ways of knowing, being and doing, according to where and how tribes collectively see value. This involves a delicate balance of preserving tribal identity, culture, knowledge and norms and adapting to current circumstances and future generations' needs. Given that the structures and purposes of post-settlement governance entities are largely prescribed by legislation, achieving fit-for-purpose tribal institutions can be a challenging prospect.

O'Regan (2009) has previously identified considerations, which are indicative of fit-for-purpose post-settlement tribal institutions for economic development. Amongst his propositions are:

- new thinking grounded in tribal culture and history, taking a long-term view of development, which accounts for present and future generations;
- clear purpose and vision that includes the need for a long-term perspective to tribal development (50-100 years), but taking care not to miss economic opportunities in the short and medium term;
- designing our own institutions and economic systems whilst adapting rather than imitating Western models and methods;
- finding a natural balance within iwi between functions rightly held by the centre and functions rightly held by the regions;
- ensuring regional elements of iwi have a fair measure of economic, political and cultural autonomy to ensure they can engage constructively;
- the scarcity and importance of quality tribal leadership and the difficulty in finding, growing and selecting such leaders; and
- guarding against the dangers of incumbency, a problem that restricts democratic politics to a focus on being re-elected and staying in power (Mika, 2016a).

Engaging in a process of assessing tribal institutions against such criteria requires, amongst other things, adequate time and resources for institution-building and rebuilding. Yet, pre-settlement is characterised as a period of intense demand on limited material and nonmaterial resources of tribes, focused on defining tribal identity, accentuating tribal boundaries, enrolling iwi members and evaluating cultural loss and gain (Gardiner, 2010; Meijl, 2012). Post-settlement is marked by multiple pressures to assemble capable institutions and people and grow the fiscal and nonfiscal capacity of the tribe (Mika, 2015). Somehow, tribes need to define what fit-for-purpose tribal institutions look like to them and set about devising and revising their institutions whilst managing their way through

multiple tensions and demands for securing and growing tribal economies, tribal estates and tribal socioeconomic well-being (Awatere *et al.*, 2017; Mika *et al.*, 2016).

7. The role of the tribe in entrepreneurship

Treaty settlements are reinvigorating Māori entrepreneurial aspirations, but Māori entrepreneurship is not contingent upon settlements. Indeed, Māori are engaging in entrepreneurship independently of the tribe for a number of reasons, not least of which because most Māori earn their living in the general economy rather than the Māori economy (Nana *et al.*, 2015; Nana *et al.*, 2011; NZIER, 2003). Yet, treaty settlements and apparent growth in tribal wealth are prompting questions about the role of tribes in tribal entrepreneurship, innovation and enterprise as one means of improving tribal well-being (Barry *et al.*, 2016; Te Puni Kōkiri, 1999). This role, therefore, represents a fourth unfolding tension within the social order of iwi.

The effect of treaty settlements on Māori entrepreneurship is twofold. First, treaty settlements provide tribes with the financial capacity to rebuild tribal economies. Few post-settlement iwi are, however, investing in the enterprises of tribal members; Ngāi Tahu is a notable exception (Barnett, 2006; Barr *et al.*, 2018). Instead, iwi appear preoccupied with building stable, capable and effective governing institutions, necessitating conservative investment programmes and the use of corporate business models (Dodd, 2003; Gardiner, 2010; Harmsworth, 2009; Sapere Research Group, 2011; Solomon, 2010). Second, treaty settlements are restoring tribal pride, power and authority – *mana motuhake* – to pursue development aims that are consistent with tribal values and aspirations (M. H. Durie, 1995b, 1998, 2013; Kruger, 2017). Viewed then as an expression of Māori self-determination, Māori entrepreneurship is evolving according to a Māori world view, Māori aspirations and Māori circumstances (Amoamo *et al.*, 2018; Bargh, 2014; Dell *et al.*, 2018; Henry *et al.*, 2017; Henry and Dana, 2018; Mika, 2016b; Zapalska and Brozik, 2017).

In recent research, it was identified that the appropriate role of iwi is supporting Māori entrepreneurship, but that this should not replace the role of government (Mika, 2016b). Whilst treaty settlements may cast tribes as ready substitutes for government because of apparent growth in tribal wealth (Barry *et al.*, 2016), Māori entrepreneurs suggest tribes could offer several forms of enterprise assistance for tribal members. This includes financial assistance, business and educational support, intra- and inter-tribal networking and facilitating relationships with government and private enterprise, locally and overseas (Mika, 2015). With tribes favouring their collective responsibilities, individualised assistance for tribal members to engage in entrepreneurship is limited by tribal capacities, traditions and competing priorities – even amongst large well-established post-settled iwi (Barr *et al.*, 2018; Reid, Varona, Fisher, and Smith, 2016; Ross, 1997). Given these results, a collaborative arrangement with government, nongovernment and private sector organisations for the provision of enterprise assistance for tribal entrepreneurs seems an ideal outcome (Mika, 2018b). Furthermore, this scenario limits the risk of duplication, utilises the strengths of the parties (Māori and non-Māori) and satisfies the business needs of entrepreneurially inclined tribal members.

The typical post-settlement governance entity is configured in three parts:

(1) a rūnanga (tribal council) comprising elected iwi members as political representatives whose focus is governing the tribal entity for the tribe;

(2) an asset holding company, a subsidiary which manages commercial assets and activities, generating wealth for redistribution; and

(3) a charity, which implements social and cultural policy within the tribe using resources largely generated from within, in addition to governmental funding (Harmsworth, 2009) (see Figure 1).

The structural separation between commercial and social functions of the post-settlement governance entity is not necessarily viewed by Māori entrepreneurs as conducive to tribal entrepreneurship (Mika, 2015). Whilst functional separation is in keeping with corporate governance doctrines (Mika, 2005), treaty settlement policy (Tapsell *et al.*, 2007) and tribal constitutions (Harmsworth, 2009), this division can inhibit the flow of entrepreneurial opportunities to tribal members. This is because such separation allows tribal commercial entities to somewhat zealously hold to commercial investment criteria that may exclude cultural imperatives, when the doctrine of corporate social responsibility is emerging as a powerful countervailing narrative (Crane *et al.*, 2008).

The separation between social and commercial functions within tribal entities has created an artificial divide that some tribal entrepreneurs are finding difficult to traverse. For instance, on the one hand, the social entity (typically a subsidiary charity) may see merit in an iwi-based business venture, but the resources to make such an investment are locked inside the commercial entity (typically a subsidiary company) whose mandate is strictly commercial. On the other hand, commercial arms are often entrusted with hard-won treaty settlement assets that must be prudently managed for future generations. This makes start-up enterprises decidedly unattractive investments because of their inherent risk. Yet, tribal entrepreneurs maintain that a more balanced and integrative approach between the social and commercial objectives and structures within tribes are needed.

8. The way forward
Whilst a more balanced strategy that embraces the social and commercial interests of tribes is required, numerous other tensions are in play that also need first, to be understood, and second, to be mediated. Some of these multiple and intersecting tensions are set out in unfolding tensions within iwi:

- individual and private interests versus collective and iwi interests;
- local versus global developments;
- iwi versus crown interests;
- self-development strategies versus dependency strategies;
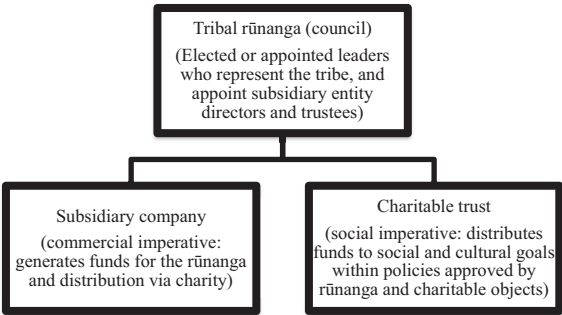- culturally informed versus traditional economic "thinking" and "practice";

Figure 1.
Post-settlement governance structure

- "Bottom up" (inclusion models) versus "top down" (hierarchical models) development;
- differentiating "leadership" and "management" issues;
- critically understanding treaty settlements as more about "quantifying" and settling property rights issues than about settling personal rights in the Treaty of Waitangi;
- ahikā versus taurahere status; and
- rohe versus national- and international-based roles and activities.

These elements create complex scenarios and situations that further confuse understanding those issues that arise from the propensity of iwi to structurally separate those sociocultural aspirations driven by the "rūnanga" (tribal council) from discrete and separated economic development structures (e.g. subsidiary companies). The essential and significant tension here might be summarised as "the profit is in the social, economic and cultural development of the iwi" versus "the profit is in building the bottom line" (Smith *et al.*, 2015, 2017). Whilst some of these tensions are identified, it is not intended here to unpack all the implications that might emerge. Nor is resolution the goal, in this instance, as this is ultimately a responsibility for tribes themselves. What is intended in this provocation is to indicate some of the terrain on which iwi ought to engage. Furthermore, these are issues where self-development by iwi, in situ, is important. In this regard, it is for iwi to self-determine their own economic development in ways that more effectively benefit the social, economic and cultural aspirations of the members of the tribe and elicit their support in doing so.

Given the unfolding tensions on tribes to make progress in a post-treaty settlement context, five strategies are suggested as platforms to begin building a more comprehensive and integrated approach to tribal economic development. First, we suggest a careful and respectful alignment of Māori-owned and operated "private business" with tribal goals and aspirations. A key point here is to heal an emerging divide between private Māori and iwi aspirations. Privately owned Māori farms, businesses and trusts may be in the tribal rohe, but often feel affronted by iwi claiming them as part of the iwi economy without consultation. There is a need to figure out ways of how these private and independent Māori business interests can have their autonomy recognised, and at the same time, be "counted" as contributing to tribal economies. What an iwi might do is create a register of iwi and private and individual Māori entrepreneurs and businesses that are based within the "rohe" economy. Whilst others have identified the significance of tribal registers in building tribal data sets, we are not aware of any attempts to implement the idea of tribal business registers (Grace and Dudley, 2016; Mikaere, 2016). This is a way not only to protect the interests of private and individual Māori entrepreneurs (trusts, incorporations, farms, businesses and so forth), but also to build a more sensitive and broader-based alliance of potential contributors to iwi economies.

Second, we propose that iwi might consider moving beyond the notion of an iwi economy being fixated on a monetary quantum. There is a need to encourage a shift in emphasis from "iwi economy" to an applied notion of "iwi economic development". This shift refocuses attention on the iwi economy as an enactment or process that centralises the importance of people development ("the profit is in the people") rather than financial performance ("the profit is in the bottomline"). This is not an either/or proposition, as both intentions are important, and indicative of the duality of balancing cultural and commercial imperatives inherent in iwi economic development (Awatere *et al.*, 2017).

Third, whilst the importance of building individual entrepreneurialism as a strategic approach to iwi economic development is noted, there is also the need to argue for and

encourage simultaneous growth of social entrepreneurialism (Henry *et al.*, 2017; Stephens and Gillies, 2012). At the same time, there is a need to harness Māori traditional cultural values and practices that reinforce collective responsibilities as whānau, hapū and iwi members and to mobilise the potential of innate social, cultural and spiritual capital (Colbourne, 2017; Henare, 2001; Mead, 2003). The overarching concern here is to give a more balanced consideration to the tension between "private" and "public" benefit.

Fourth, in respect of iwi economic development, we suggest that consideration be given to moving beyond investment in singular or "silver bullet" projects. The single project approach is a legacy of government funding models that put resources into a few projects on the basis that they do not have the resources to fund a large number of initiatives. This approach can be likened "to putting a finger in one hole in a dam that has many leaking holes". In this sense, one-off projects have generally been insufficient to make significant change. Iwi economic development is being thwarted by multiple issues, in multiple sites, in multiple shapes and often simultaneously. Therefore, strategies for transforming iwi economies ought to be positioned in the same way – to multiple issues, in multiple sites, in multiple shapes, often concurrently. The struggle for iwi economic development is not one struggle. This need for multiple responses is what has been referred to as the 360-degree intervention approach (Smith *et al.*, 2015, 2017).

Fifth, a further important tension facing iwi is in the relationship of ahikā and taurahere iwi members. One of the responses is to increase the number of iwi members within the tribal rohe so that they can contribute to and grow the iwi economy. To contemplate such an approach, strategies need to include lessening the divide between the ahikā and taurahere populations and tribal entities by building overt strategies for the repatriation of tribal members into the rohe. Many iwi have ideas in this regard, including building kaumātua housing, small housing allotments to allow iwi members to have accommodation in the rohe and creation of work opportunities through tribal commercial and social enterprises.

9. Conclusion

In this paper, we set out to articulate a number of unfolding tensions that seem to epitomise existential challenges for tribes as organisational systems that Māori as tangata whenua (indigenous peoples) in Aotearoa New Zealand wish to retain and develop. As treaty settlements become embedded features of tribal institutions, pressures on iwi are mounting to establish highly effective, credible and capable governing, economic and social institutions, to contribute to the wealth and well-being of tribal members and to supplant governmental responsibilities, in many respects, for tribal members' socioeconomic development and well-being. Yet, treaty settlements as compensation represent a fraction of what was lost and do not replace the crown's right to govern, and therefore its obligation to protect and provide for tribal members' individual citizenship rights and collective rights as self-determining iwi.

Tribes are, in many cases, without the human capital and institutional capacity to suddenly transform into highly sophisticated forms of organisation that may seem foreign to and contravene tribal ethos, ideologies and sensibilities. The opportunity and the challenge, however, are for iwi who have settled their treaty claims, and other iwi who follow, to reform what iwi ought to be, drawing inspiration from what iwi have always been and what they are today. We identify four main tensions, amongst the many, and five strategies for iwi to consider in making progress towards growing tribal economies and alleviating persistent socioeconomic disparities amongst tribal members. We pose these tensions and strategies not as definitive developmental prescriptions, but as considerations in which iwi themselves could engage. This paper represents a counterpoint to the narrative

of relentless rationalism within modern institutions, with notions of authenticity, reflexivity, mimesis and incantation evident in what lies ahead for tribes in a post-treaty settlement context, but with a significant indigenous twist as to how these concepts unfold.

In this period of institution-building, one tribal elder remarked that perhaps the new "Hawaiki" (the original homeland of the Māori people) may no longer be the distant islands of Eastern Polynesia from whence our ancestors came, but rather the rural hinterlands of our iwi estates as tribal members increasingly migrate to the towns and cities of Aotearoa New Zealand and around the world.

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