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MĀORI CAPACITY BUILDING:

"Making Māori Independence A Legitimate Policy Objective"

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November 2002

Abstract

This research paper was completed in fulfillment of the requirements of the Victoria University of Wellington Masters in Public Policy. The purpose of the research paper was to add value to public policy knowledge about capacity building by exploring different perspectives of what capacity building means for Māori, the Crown, and agencies. The research involved a series of interviews with respondents from government agencies, a Member of Parliament, and several respondents from Māori organisations. As well as this, an extensive review of international and domestic literature on capacity building, New Zealand policy, and Māori development frameworks was conducted as a basis for analysis. The research paper concludes with a proposed model of Māori development, within which capacity building is underpinned by several key attributes including, self-determined Māori development, self-management, partnerships and new public sector management arrangements to accommodate these emergent facets of Māori development. The paper has an interesting incidental conclusion in that it argues based on the proposed model and analysis that Māori independence is a legitimate policy objective of capacity building.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank most for assisting me in completing this research paper, my supervisor, Bill Ryan who 'facilitated and provoked' me through to its conclusion. I would also like to thank those who participated in the interviews, providing valuable insights into Māori development, capacity building and public policy.

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INTRODUCTION

PURPOSE

The purpose of this research paper is to add to public policy knowledge of capacity building by exploring different perspectives of what capacity building means for Māori, the Crown, and agencies. An important feature of the research is how these perspectives compare with the international and domestic literature defining capacity building and in particular the attributes of successful capacity building.

BACKGROUND

As an integral part of the Government's controversial "closing the gaps" policy, capacity building was introduced in 2000 as a policy designed to empower Māori communities to take greater control of their development. The capacity building initiative was premised to some extent on the assumption that it would contribute to reducing social and economic disparities between Māori and non-Māori by insisting on a "whole of government" approach to support Māori development from the "bottom-up".

However, there was a number of complicating factors that would affect the Government's Māori policy in a variety of ways. Despite a fairly high uptake of the funding attached to the capacity building policy, considerable discontent and distrust among Māori about the way the policy had been implemented was noted.[1]

[1] See Te Puni Kökiri. (2001) *Implementation Evaluation of Te Puni Kökiri's Capacity Building Programme: 2000/2001*, Wellington.

Moreover, parliament's scrutiny of the policy was at times clinical, citing the inadequacy of accountability measures to give public confidence the policy represented value for money.[2] And with its new responsibilities for leading the capacity building policy, Te Puni Kōkiri virtually had to reinvent itself overnight from a pure policy ministry into a 'well-oiled' service delivery agency. The process from policy design to implementation appeared to be characterised by haste, conflicting expectations and questions over capacity of Te Puni Kōkiri to adapt. In spite of this, Māori appeared to readily adopt the policy given the uptake of available funding.

There continues to be some contention over the meaning of capacity building and questions about its relevance to Māori development despite its increasingly common usage. Areas of concern centre around the relationship between capacity building and Treaty settlements policies and the Crown's intent that capacity building contribute to improving the social and economic position of Māori. Agencies were also required to lift their game under the new policy in respect of outcomes for Māori. Given these interrelated issues, it was considered a useful exercise to reflect on how capacity building is conceptualised primarily by Māori, the Crown and agencies. It was intended that this might form the basis of some debate on the future of the capacity building policy.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This research project focuses on the concept of capacity building in relation to Māori development, as opposed to the delivery of capacity building as a programme. Adding to our knowledge of what capacity building means for Māori, the Crown, and agencies is expected to highlight the extent to which capacity building is meeting the expectations of various stakeholders. Specifically, these perspectives would be compared with the international literature defining capacity building.

Allied to this, is an exploration of the attributes of successful capacity building from Māori, Crown and agency perspectives. This should enable the validity of present assumptions about what Government can do to build Māori capacity to be tested, and thereby revise and improve present performance indicators of capacity building.

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2 Newsroom (2001) 'Te Puni Kökiri's evaluation system falted', 11 December.

Research objectives

The project set out to address the following four research objectives:

- To examine definitions and attributes of successful capacity building;
- To examine Māori and Crown views of definitions and attributes of capacity building;
- To examine whether capacity building policy demonstrates these attributes; and
- To identify and discuss lessons for capacity building policy.

These objectives were further refined into a series of research questions as follows:

- What capacity building means for Māori, the Crown, and internationally?
- What does successful capacity building look like?
- What factors contribute to successful capacity building?
- What can the Government do to build Māori capacity?
- What can Māori do to build their own capacity?

Research methodology

The project was exploratory in nature. Therefore qualitative methods were relied on for data collection and analysis. Two key methods of data collection adopted were (1) an extensive literature review, and (2) semi-structured interviews.

The literature review canvasses international and domestic published and unpublished papers on the concept and practice of capacity building. The literature will be used as the basis for a framework for analysis concerning the meaning of capacity building in a development context, and identifying the attributes of successful capacity building, from these perspectives.

The Interviews held between May and June 2002, were semi-structured and conducted in accordance with an approved Ethics Committee application. The respondents range from senior public service managers, and senior policy advisors, to chief executives of tribal trust boards, as well as a Member of Parliament, now an Associate Minister of Māori Affairs. The interviews provide primary evidence of the perspectives of Māori, Crown and agencies on the concept of capacity building.

CHAPTER 1 – WHAT IS CAPACITY BUILDING?

INTRODUCTION

This chapter seeks to answer the question of what is capacity building, based on the international development literature. The chapter explores the origins and definitions of capacity building in the context of international and indigenous development, identifies the attributes of successful capacity building, and relates these definitions and frameworks to Māori capacity building.

THE ORIGINS OF CAPACITY BUILDING

> *Capacity building is a risky, murky, messy business with unpredictable and unquantifiable outcomes, uncertain methodologies, contested objectives, many unintended consequences, little credit to its champions, and long time lags (Peter Morgan, in Land, 1999).*

History may show Morgan's view of capacity building to be quite prophetic in New Zealand's experience, or alternatively quite the opposite as the case may be. Nevertheless, while there is already a substantial body of literature on the subject of capacity building it is a concept that is by no means precisely defined, nor easily operationalised and evaluated.[3] The international literature defining capacity building derives from the experience of international development agencies, such as the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), the World Bank and bilateral aid agencies such as the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA).

[3] See for example: UNDP (1997, 1998); Bolger (2000); Land (1999); Lavergne & Saxby (2001); Schacter (2000); Kaplan (1999); and Stravos (2000).

The literature commonly concludes that the concept of capacity building emerged as a response to over fifty years of apparent failure by international aid agencies to achieve sustainable development through conventional assistance programmes.[4] One international development expert to recently visit New Zealand observed many such instances of misdirected development assistance in the African content by different countries, including his own.[5] The mistake often made by the somewhat over-zealous aid agencies was that the so called 'developed' countries knew best what the 'undeveloped' people of African villages wanted or needed, and happily set about imposing their ideas on the local people often with disastrous effect.

This tradition of 'donor-led' or 'top-down' development assistance emphasised achieving tangible results and the efficient transfer of funding and technical assistance and consequently fell well short of programme expectations. This experience gave rise to new approaches of promoting indigenous control, local knowledge and participation in development projects (UNDP, 1997: iii). Some of key differences between conventional understandings of development assistance and capacity building are noted in the **Table 1** below.

Table 1 – Development Cooperation versus Capacity Building

Development Cooperation	Capacity Building
• Emphasis on funding transfers	• Emphasis on facilitation and support
• Emphasis on tangible results	• Intangible outcomes acceptable
• Donor driven	• Development country led
• Supply driven technical assistance	• Demand driven technical assistance
• Input based measurement	• Output based measurement

4 See for example, the UNDP (1997); Bolger, (2000: 2); UNDP (2001); and Morgan (1999).

5 See Sirolli, E,. (1999) Ripples from the Zambezi: Passion, entrepreneurship and the rebirth of local economies, New Society, Canada.

The implications of the differences noted in Table 1 are not insignificant for aid agencies accustomed to 'top-down' approaches to assistance. Lavergne & Saxby (2001) observed some of the implications of adopting a capacity building approach as a fundamental shift in priorities, methods and cultures in terms of how 'donors' do business. Bolger (2000: 3) similarly reflects on the inherent complexity in adopting a capacity building approach, suggesting that:

> "Capacity building requires a systems perspective, a long-term orientation supported by strategic partnerships, effective coordination and coherence in programming frameworks."

Thus, one is drawn to the question of what exactly is capacity building? Before this, the question of what is capacity is addressed.

What is capacity?

In the context of development, there are at least three perspectives that can be derived from the international literature on capacity building, namely, the 'pragmatic' view, the 'instrumental' view, and the 'enabling' view.

The pragmatic view suggests capacity is "the ability of organisations to implement and manage projects, to exercise product accountability…, to employ and train staff competent to undertake and to report on their work in ways which are acceptable to their donors" (Kaplan, 1999). In other words, for Kaplan (1999), capacity refers to the ability to deliver on specified projects timeously and cost effectively often according to external specifications.

Similarly, the instrumental view suggests that capacity represents the basis through which development objectives are achieved, a view supported by Land (1999: 2). The instrumental notion of capacity concerns itself with the performance, effectiveness and accountability of individuals, organisations and societies to perform tasks and achieve objectives.

The third perspective, views capacity as an 'enabling' force comprising both 'hard' and 'soft' dimensions, a view supported by Bolger (2000: 2). Moreover, Bolger (2000: 2) defines capacity as:

> "the abilities, skills, understandings, attitudes, values, relationships, behaviours, motivations, resources and conditions that enable individuals, organisations, networks/sectors and broader social systems to carry out functions and achieve their development objectives over time".

The hard aspects of capacity refer to systems, structures, skills, functions, processes, procedures, financial, physical and human resources. Soft aspects relate to more intangible attributes such as attitudes, perceptions, motivations, and cultural and social factors, necessitating different interventions for hard and soft dimensions.

The elements of Bolger's definition of capacity represent the "what" of capacity building – the 'core capacities' to be developed, strengthened, more effectively utilized or otherwise addressed in a capacity building intervention in support of long term self-management (see Bolger, 2002: 2; UNDP, 1997: iii).

Kaplan (1999: 3) suggests that too often, organisations view the hard aspects as sufficient for capacity building. But Kaplan's research has shown that the 'departure point for capacity… lies in the ability to learn and focus, to adapt and respond, to move and develop, to harness creativity and innovation, to motivate and inspire members, to achieve resilience and flexibility'.

Kaplan (1999) asserts that achieving this level of capacity or effectiveness is reliant on evidence of the following attributes within organisations:

- A conceptual framework which reflects the organisation's worldview;
- An organisational "attitude" which incorporates the confidence to act;
- Clear organisational vision and strategy;
- Defined and differentiated organisational structures and procedures;
- Relevant individual skills, abilities and competencies; and
- Sufficient and appropriate material resources.

Kaplan's hierarchy of attributes moves from the "invisible" and "intangible" elements of capacity to more tangible elements, the "hard" elements. Though Kaplan considers intangible elements determine organisational effectiveness, the uniqueness of these elements suggests simplistic and programmed responses to building capacity in these respects are unlikely to be successful long term.

Kaplan's set of attributes in my view best describes the complexity involved in identifying capacities to be built upon and strengthened. Kaplan challenges us with the notion that managing and developing intangible elements within organisations, and logically larger social sets, is of equal importance in achieving effective organisational performance compared with conventional tendencies to emphasise the "hard" elements of capacity.

What is capacity building?

Two main views of capacity building can be derived from the international literature. These are, the process view and the systems view.

The process view

The process view considers capacity building as a process of acquiring the necessary capacity to achieve certain development goals e.g. improved community health services. In line with this view, Bolger (2000: 2) drawing on the UNDP literature and other sources defines capacity building as:

> "The approaches, strategies, and methodologies used by developing countries, and/or external stakeholders, to improve performance at the individual, organisational, network/sector, or broader system level".

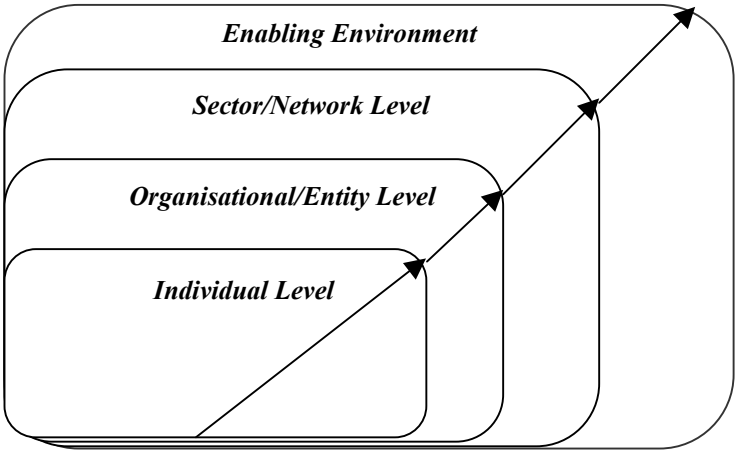
Bolger's definition of capacity building implies a high degree transformation, non-linear inherently conflicting processes, and the flexibility to modify approaches as the process unfolds. Both Schacter and Bolger's definitions imply capacity building and development can occur as an individual or collective activity, though Bolger more directly incorporates usage of the UNDP's "systems" framework of capacity building.

Consistent with this, Schacter (2000: 1) argues that "capacity-building" is indistinguishable from a common understanding of development because its definition encompasses everything a development agency might wish to do. The importance of the term for Schacter, is not so much its elements, in as much as it has "opened the door to re-examining how aid agencies ought to operate".

The Systems View

The systems approach for capacity building asserted by Bolger (2000: 8) draws on other models which have been developed by the UNDP (1998) as depicted in **Figure 1** below. There are four levels of capacity building in Bolger's (2000) framework at which different capacity interventions can be applied. These levels are: (1) the enabling environment; (2) the sector/network level; (3) the organisational level; and (4) the individual level. The diagonal axis in Bolger's capacity building framework highlights the importance of links between various dimensions of capacity building.

Figure 1 – Systems Framework



The systems perspective emphasises the need to consider capacity building in its full context through systematic analysis of opportunities, constraints, and promotion of strategic and integrated responses to development objectives (Bolger, 2000: 5).

Capacity building at any level in this model is inextricably linked to change at the environment, entity and individual level. Change will generally be incremental at the individual and organisational level, and transformational at the sector/environmental levels. The more transformational an initiative, the longer the time horizon over which change takes place. A systems perspective also implies different, but integrated interventions are required to stimulate capacity building activities at the different levels in the framework.

Regardless of what view one takes, capacity building must be linked to purposeful actions, that is the achievement of goals and objectives defined by those who seek to build their capacity. Thus taking account of Schacter's and Bolger's definitions, the elements of capacity, and a systems perspective, I would define capacity building for the purposes of this research as:

> The process through which individuals and collectives acquire the necessary capacities, both tangible and intangible, to enable them to perform functions and improve performance in the achievement of their goals and objectives, at the individual, organisational, sectoral and environmental levels, over time.

Thus, in my view, the systems view provides the most comprehensive understanding of capacity building, as it applies to development generally, and Māori development in particular. If guided by a systems perspective, one can quickly see missing parts in the framework, and thus, possible points of systems failure.

While some of the skills and resources to embark on a capacity building process can be externally generated, the process itself is only ever really successful when owned and controlled by the people who desire a better quality of life for themselves and their people. Thus, successful capacity building is undertaken on terms set by the people with whom interventions are to be undertaken. An intervention is "when a third party in providing assistance to a client enables that client to make progress in their development and or realization of their project or idea".[6] The literature shows some agencies have been more successful at realising this approach than others.

The literature, particularly commentators speaking about practical experiences, suggests that most critical to achieving successful capacity building is a change in mindset among programme delivery agencies that enables agencies to work "with", and not "for", the people they are trying to assist. While only a subtle change, the implication is that a major transformation is required to ensure recipient priorities and not donor imperatives guide assistance policies and programmes.

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6 Adapted from Te Puni Kökiri's service delivery standards (IRMS).

INDIGENOUS DEVELOPMENT AND CAPACITY BUILDING

Apart from developing countries, indigenous groups have also been concerned with building capacity to achieve their development goals, and articulating what states can do to assist them in this process. The Harvard Project, a major US study conducted over the last fifteen years on the success factors for American Indian economic development, provides a useful framework for this purpose. The major proponents of this research are Professors Stephen Cornell and Joseph Kalt.[7]

The Harvard Project

The Harvard Project essentially set out to explain why some tribes were more successful than others at creating the kinds of societies they wanted. In doing this, it was discovered that not one of the key drivers of tribal economic success could be identified as 'classically economic'. Instead they were all political. The results of the Harvard Project revealed four main determinants as being: sovereignty or self-rule, effective governing institutions, cultural match, and a strategic perspective. The study suggested that economic development success was all about creating indigenous nations that are *capable* of realising their dreams (Cornell, 2000: 27). Thus, capacity building in this context was seen as an important element in nation building for tribes.

Cornell & Kalt identified self-rule or self-determination as the only policy in American Indian affairs that has enabled tribes to function successfully and improve the lives of their people (Cornell, 2000). The implication is that when decisions about governance, institutions, and resource allocation are 'put back in the hands of tribes', the quality of decision-making improves over time. Effective governing institutions are also required to exercise self-rule. The third element is cultural match between the governing institutions and the people's ideas of how authority should be organised and exercised. The final element is strategic thinking, that is, taking a long-term view about how tribes can achieve sustainable societies.

The "indigenous" perspective views capacity building as a pre-condition for achieving self-rule or at least some form of self-determination over tribal matters. Thus, capacity building in this context may be directed at building effective governance, strengthening cultural cohesion between indigenous peoples and their institutions, and developing capacity for effective strategic planning.

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7 See Cornell & Kalt (1995, 1999) and Cornell (2000).

The question arises, whether capacity building as understood and applied in the international literature could be readily and effectively adopted by indigenous peoples, including Māori. A leading proponent of this view is Dr Terrence Loomis, formerly of the University of Waikato's Māori and Pacific Development School.

In August 1998, Loomis submitted a paper titled "Capacity Building for Self-Determined Māori Economic Development" to the now defunct Māori Economic Development Commission (MEDC). In my view, this paper sets out many of the precepts upon which the New Zealand policy on Māori capacity building is based.

The paper reported on research that linked successful indigenous development and capacity building and indicated the ways in which government could promote Māori capacity building where needed. The key findings of the paper were that neither decentralisation ('devolution') nor mainstreaming had achieved major advancements for Māori and that comparative research showed self-determined development is most successful in achieving outcomes desired by indigenous peoples (Loomis *et al*, 1998: 2). Self-determined meaning "both ownership and control over direction and means of achieving desired outcomes".

The 1998 *Loomis* submission went on to describe that the capacity for development means having appropriate ownership arrangements, good governance, effective management and stakeholder involvement. That capacity building is the process by which groups and organisations develop their abilities to perform functions, solve problems and achieve desired outcomes… and can be applied to frameworks, policies, systems, procedures, structures, infrastructures, and personnel. Loomis *et al* also distinguished between capacity assessment and capacity building, with the former aiming to assess current position and build cohesion in relation to a shared vision and desired outcomes.

The paper concluded that government should "focus on promoting self-determined development and devolving policy formulation, programme design and delivery to Māori". That "self-determined economic development is the key to addressing persistent disparities… and government's strategic outcomes should include priority on… accelerating Māori economic development. That the emphasis should be on "capacity building for economic development, not just reliance on provision of information and technical assistance" (Loomis *et al* , 1998).

ATTRIBUTES OF SUCCESSFUL CAPACITY BUILDING

In terms of the successful capacity building, the UNDP (1994) suggests that capacity building does not imply that there is no capacity in existence. Capacity building includes the building up and strengthening of capacity but it also includes retaining existing capacity, improving the utilization of capacity, and retrieving capacity which has been eroded or destroyed. Moreover, capacity building is "people centred" achieved by adopting practices that are responsive, participatory, equitable, and transparent. Lavergne & Saxby (2001: 8) make the point that sector-wide (multi-agency) approaches to capacity building lead to better strategic interventions at appropriate entry points.

If capacity building represents a process linked to the achievement of development objectives, the issue arises as to what constitutes successful capacity building? Is success measured by performance in the process of building capacity or against what is achieved by way of development outcomes, based on the capacity that has been built? Some groups may consider the process more important than the eventual outcome. Conversely, some donors investing resources in to the process, may expect certain outcomes to be achieved, as well as accountability for inputs supplied.

In my view a comprehensive approach needs to be taken to ensure success can be measured at every stage in the process, including the outcomes which result from successful capacity building activities. This would include therefore, evidence that the principal elements of capacity building identified in **Table 1** are present, that Kaplan's (1999) attributes of successful organisational capacity building are also present, and that the interrelationships between elements at different levels of the system are supportive of capacity building at every level.

The attributes of successful capacity building can be distinguished between those with greater relevance for donors or aid agencies (Table 2) while others are directly relevant to organisations or entities seeking to build their capacity (Table 3).

Table 2 – Success attributes for donors/aid agencies

Key success attributes – International Literature	Source
Emphasis on facilitation and support	UNDP
Intangible outcomes acceptable	UNDP
Development country led	UNDP
Demand driven technical assistance	UNDP
Output based measurement	UNDP
Systematic analysis of opportunities, constraints	Bolger
Building and strengthening existing capacity	UNDP
People-centred responsiveness practices	UNDP
Strategic and integrated responses to development	UNDP
Sector-wide (multi-agency) approaches	Schacter

Table 3 – Success attributes for entities

Key success attributes – International Literature	Source
Conceptual framework of organisation's worldview	Kaplan
Organisational "attitude" with confidence to act	Kaplan
Clear organisational vision and strategy	Kaplan
Defined organisational structures and procedures	Kaplan
Relevant skills, abilities and competencies	Kaplan
Sufficient and appropriate material resources	Kaplan
Self-rule, self-governance	Cornell & Kalt
Effective governance institutions	Cornell & Kalt
Cultural match	Cornell & Kalt
Strategic thinking	Cornell & Kalt

NEW ZEALAND'S CAPACITY BUILDING POLICY

The New Zealand perspective reviews the emergent usage of the concept of capacity building in policy and its implementation and application to Māori development. This will assist in understanding the rationale and key assumptions for the policy against which other perspectives can be critiqued.

He Putahitanga Hou: Māori Affairs Policy Statement

In the lead-up to the November 1999 General Election, the Labour Party released its Māori Affairs policy statement, "He Putahitanga Hou" outlining a number of significant departures to the incumbent administration's approach to Māori development. In the policy statement, the Labour Party Leader, Helen Clark, signaled the Party's preparedness to actively intervene in Māori development with the necessary resources to create change and "empower whānau, hapū, iwi and Māori to be involved directly in their own development" (1999: 2).

While the statement signaled that Te Puni Kōkiri would lead the implementation of the policy, Labour clearly expected Māori themselves to manage the process. Moreover, Labour believed it would achieve its goal of closing the gaps in part by empowering and resourcing Māori communities to be directly involved in their own development. The capacity building policy was therefore premised to some extent on its potential to reduce social and economic disparities between Māori and non-Māori.

A capacity building policy

Soon after the 1999 Election, the Labour-led coalition government sought advice on a policy framework for what was to become a major component of its Closing the Gaps strategy - capacity building.

The newly formed Labour Coalition Government, on advice from Te Puni Kōkiri, put a stake in the ground, defining capacity building as:

> "A process which seeks to strengthen the ability of individuals, whānau, hapū, iwi, Māori organisations and Māori communities to build the strategies, systems, structures and skills they need to control their own development and achieve their own objectives".[8]

Furthermore, the primary objectives of Māori capacity building were to empower people and/or organisations and/or communities to:

- Achieve their goals;
- Identify and analyse current strengths and capabilities;
- Invest time and effort in fulfilling their own aspirations;

8 See Te Puni Kökiri. (2002) Website on Capacity Building

- Manage and control their participation in all aspects of society; and
- Develop and maintain a constructive relationship with the Government.

This definition and objectives of capacity building was broad enough to be inclusive of all facets of Māori development whether social, economic, or cultural, and whatever forms of organisation that had evolved to meet Māori needs. The definition was focused at the organisational level particularly at governance and management. The definition implied an acceptance of the view that self-determined development would yield the best results for Māori, that is, where Māori were in control of their own development.

It is interesting that the New Zealand definition does not import a systems perspective thereby lessening emphasis on the linkages between Māori and the environment within which capacity building might occur. A possible implication is less attention on the extent to which external or sectoral level influences facilitate or impede the process of Māori capacity building. This in turn may lead to a fragmented and somewhat myopic view of capacity building relative to an international perspective.

A Ministerial perspective

Associate Minister of Māori Affairs, Tariana Turia, in an address at the Waikato University's School of Māori Development, in June 2000, explained the linkages between the Government's closing the gaps policy and the capacity building policy.

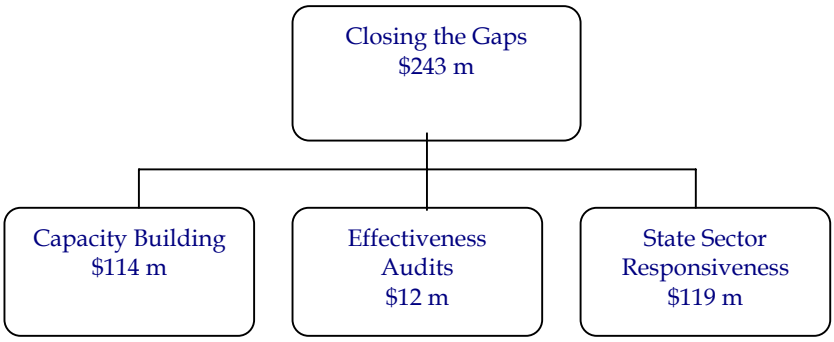
In her address, Turia stated that the capacity building policy had twin objectives in that it was expected to support "active iwi participation in strategies to alleviate the disparities between Māori and non-Māori" whilst "facilitating whānau, hapū and iwi development". Turia went on to state that capacity building is a process which 'supports the rangatiratanga of whānau, hapū and iwi', thus carrying with it an implied recognition that self-determination was fundamental to Māori participation in the policy. The implication for agencies and for Māori was that capacity building should be an 'empowering' process where Māori drive, formulate and implement their own development strategies. 'Centralised control' in Turia's view would not achieve the results Government desired in respect of Māori development.

Importantly for agencies, Turia expected that Māori would assess their needs and produce development plans through the capacity building policy, which would go before the relevant Crown agency that held the resources that were needed. Thus, while capacity building would fund the initial strengthening of Māori and iwi organisations, the implementation of development strategies was expected to be funded by 'mainstream' government agencies, that is, agencies other than Te Puni Kōkiri.

Closing the Gaps Budget

In fact, the resources available under the Closing the Gaps policy totaled $243 million over the four years from 2000 to 2004 (Treasury, 2000). Within that, $113 million over four years targeted capacity building initiatives, $12 million for effectiveness audits of Māori programmes, and the balance, around $118 million, for state sector responsiveness initiatives. A pertinent question at the time was what proportion of this funding would ultimately find its way into Māori hands.

Figure 2 – Closing the Gaps Budget 2000 (Source: Treasury 2000)



As part of the policy strategy, the Government set out a collective inter-agency approach to "mobilise and co-ordinate 'whole of government' support for the capacity building needs and priorities of whānau, hapū, iwi, Māori organisations and Māori communities". While Te Puni Kōkiri would act as lead agency, the state sector wide strategy sought collective responsibility among agencies for the success of the policy.

From the literature it appears that the New Zealand policy has been guided by the lessons of international development agencies and experiences of senior New Zealand officials with a community development background. This is reflected in the Labour Party's own policy on Māori development, and subsequently in official government policy. While all the elements appear present, there is some question as to the extent of Māori input into the policy.

In my view, the key elements of New Zealand's capacity building policy for Māori can be distilled into three respects. The first, is an overarching strategy to promote a "whole of government" approach among public sector agencies for Māori capacity building at the local, regional and national levels. The second aspect is delivery of funding programmes for Māori capacity building initiatives spread among a range of lead agencies. The third element of the policy is a focus on Māori provider development as a means of building Māori capacity through building a stable of capable service providers in the community. These were among the core elements of the Māori capacity building policy approved by Government.

By adopting this approach, the Crown seemingly demonstrated its commitment to ensure its capacity building policy for Māori contained all the key elements for a successful capacity building programme. That is, a coordinated inter-agency strategy to support Māori capacity building, funding programmes to provide Māori with the resources to build their capacity, and an emphasis on provider development, based on the assumption better equipped service providers would leave Māori in a stronger position to pursue their own development paths. There was an additional and important expectation of the New Zealand policy setting, and that was that the evaluation of the policy would feature throughout its delivery.

MĀORI DEVELOPMENT AND CAPACITY BUILDING

This section discusses capacity building in terms of Māori development, from both a theoretical and practical perspective, and the significance of self-determination, or tino rangatiratanga for capacity building.

A Māori development framework

Durie (2000: 12) building on the lessons of Māori development over the last century, devised a framework for Māori development which had the dual aims of (1) facilitating Māori access to New Zealand society and the economy, and (2) enhancing Māori lives, Māori society, and Māori knowledge. Thus, for Durie, Māori development is not only concerned to ensure Māori participation in society on the same terms as other New Zealanders – the objective of the Closing the Gaps policy – but also the development of Māori people as Māori.

Durie's principle of 'value added' recognised that an ultimate aim of Māori development should be to add value to Māori lives, Māori knowledge, and Māori society. Moreover, Durie (2000: 14) states that the focus on disparities as a measure of Māori progress reinforces a 'deficit' model and assumes that once disparities have been eliminated the tasks of Māori development are essentially over. Adding value, according to Durie, is about celebrating being Māori and gaining access to te ao Māori. It requires active Māori intervention.

In terms of his framework, Durie (2000: 15) identifies the following goals for Māori development as:

- Human potential and whānau development;
- Strengthening Māori society;
- Wealth creation within a knowledge economy; and
- Development of Māori knowledge, language and culture.

In terms of capabilities necessary to achieve the above development goals, Durie (2000: 16) identifies the following:

- A significant investment in positive Māori development;
- A comprehensive research and planning portfolio;
- A network of relationships and strategic alliances;
- Dialogue between Māori and the Crown; and
- Recognition of self-government.

These five capabilities signal the need for a broad capacity building strategy encompassing development of Māori knowledge, collaboration between Māori and the Crown, and recognises that Māori require some level of control and autonomy over the process. Clearly, the implication of Durie's (2000) analysis is that closing the gaps – the deficits model – is insufficient on its own to achieve Māori development aspirations. Instead, a value added model – or capacity building model – where Māori knowledge, society, and Māori peoples lives are valued and enhanced is a process which Māori must lead, control and develop, and is essential to the next period of Māori development in Durie's view.

A further critical implication of Durie's framework is whether capacity building supports the notion of recognising and instituting Māori self-governance, particularly as relates to achievement of Māori development aims. This raises the question of what form of self-governance is proposed. For instance, Loomis *et al* (1998) suggest self-governance broadly refers to "both ownership and control over direction and means of achieving desired outcomes" while Durie (2000) highlights the absence of an independent national Māori authority as a possible focus for Māori self-governance efforts.

Self-determination: Tino rangatiratanga

The issue of tino rangatiratanga or self-determination for Māori is directly relevant to discussion of Māori capacity building as it concerns the extent to which Māori (the "donee") control, own, manage and achieve their development objectives according to their own values, practices, and concepts; a central theme of capacity building. Thus, Māori would have a reasonable expectation that if they are to be successful, they should be able to participate more fully in the capacity building policy and exercise their rights of tino rangatiratanga over their own affairs in the process. However, defining tino rangatiratanga and its application to policy can be problematic.

Durie (1995: 46) noted that there is no single definition of tino rangatiratanga, though identifies two facets of tino rangatiratanga: the way in which control and authority is distributed within Māori society and the way in which Māori and the Crown share power. Durie suggests that "the essential tasks are for Māori to reach agreement about decision making within Māori society and for Māori and the Crown to agree on the most appropriate constitutional arrangements which will enhance the standing of both.

Durie (1995: 46) suggests self-determination as an equivalent of tino rangatiratanga captures a sense of Māori ownership and active control over the future; whether that is in the form of a Māori nation state as regarded in the 1835 Declaration of Independence, or at least the 'full exclusive and undisturbed possession' as conceived by the Treaty of Waitangi. Durie (1995: 46) noted that at the time New Zealand appeared more comfortable with the notion of "self-management" rather than "self-determination" in international circles to avoid concerns that self-determination might imply a right of secession.

Amid such fears and confusion, Durie (1995: 48) articulated his view of the elements of tino rangatiratanga providing much needed clarity. Durie suggested that tino rangatiratanga is about mana whenua, the right of iwi and hapū to exercise authority over their resources and interact with the Crown on their own terms. Second, tino rangatiratanga has relevance to mana tangata, the right of all Māori, individually and collectively to determine their own policies, to actively participate in the development of the law, to assume responsibility for their own affairs, and to plan for the needs of future generations (Durie, 1995: 48).

The development of Māori policy

Durie (1995: 51) noted that policies for Māori are decided by the Crown either by Cabinet or state departments and Crown entities, with no consistent basis for iwi or hapū or Māori input. The same is true for national social and economic policies, where Māori input is usually added to sectoral policies on health, education and employment for example. Instead, Durie suggests that Māori desire an integrated policy development process, which has Māori development as the central focus, and sectoral perspectives added to this.

From a Māori perspective therefore, there appear to be two key implications of tino rangatiratanga for Māori capacity building. First is that Māori would reasonably expect to have a high degree of ownership and control over the development and implementation of policy relating to capacity building. In this respect, capacity building would necessarily strengthen rather than diminish or minimise Māori authority to determine and manage their own affairs. The second implication is that capacity building would have as its starting point, Māori development aims, needs and priorities, with sectoral policies added to complement and support this central focus.

A legacy of Māori capacity building initiatives

There is evidence to suggest some form of capacity building has been occurring within Māori society at various times in recent decades. This has been the case at the national, iwi, hapū, and whānau level, some initiated by Māori, and others state led.

On a national scale for instance, the Hui Taumata, or the Māori Economic Summit of 1984 embodied Māori aspirations of self-sufficiency, self-determination and re-building Māori economic assets as the basis for improving the Māori socio-economic position. The Crown's response to these aspirations included a host of programme responses such as the establishment of a Māori Economic Development Commission, funding programmes such as Mana Enterprises, the Māori Development Corporation, Poutama Trust, and the Māori Women's Development Fund, among others.

An example of state-led capacity building was when the Crown codified tribal authorities in the 1990 Rūnanga A Iwi Act as the preferred collective entities to which government programmes would be devolved. This was under the then government's policy of devolution of Māori programmes in to Māori hands. Amidst the restructuring of Māori affairs during this period, the Iwi Transition Agency was established with a five-year life span to build the capacity of these tribal institutions sufficient to manage significant state funded social programmes.

In other examples Māori have initiated capacity building strategies to revive for instance, te reo Māori in pre-schools, through the kōhanga reo (language nests) movement. Suffice to say that some form of capacity building has been integral to Māori development prior to the present focus. It is both interesting and alarming to note that during the last 20 years, however, the socio-economic position of Māori had not improved, and in some cases had worsened (see Te Puni Kōkiri, 1998, and 2000).

In other instances, iwi had been engaged in the process of building their capacity both in terms of self-governance, as well as social and economic performance of their iwi as recorded at the Nation-building conference at Hopuhopu in August 2000. Some examples of these follow.

The building of capacity for self-governance for the 21 hapū of Ngāti Awa began when the iwi decided to unite in 1980 under a single rūnanga for the purposes of pursuing its Treaty claims. Mason (2000: 79), the Rūnanga's general manager, stated Ngāti Awa would not exist as a tribal nation as such, but rather operate as an iwi, as an institution that enables Ngāti Awa iwi members to develop socially, economically and culturally.

Mahuta (2000: 84) explained that Tainui, since its Treaty settlement in 1995, had been going through a constitutional crisis between democratic and rangatiratanga processes. This signified the possibility of a major cultural mismatch between the kaupapa, which drives the iwi itself, that is, the Kingitanga, and the institutions adopted to manage its affairs post settlement.

White (2000: 149) commented on the Ngai Tahu view of capacity building. White considered that in the tribal context capacity building is multi-layered. It's about capacity for whānau to take care of themselves and to participate in their hapū and marae. It's about having the cultural and organisational capacity to uphold the mana (authority) of the hapū. It's about generating wealth that can underpin a vibrant society.

An issue for the Crown and agencies is the extent to which the Crown is willing to allow Māori control over and provide support for Māori in their efforts to achieve the dual development aims identified by Durie. A second issue is whether this could be achieved through Māori capacity building, or whether other policies are more appropriate. Regardless, Durie does not view the deficits model or closing the gaps, as an appropriate response to Māori development aims.

Thus, rather than the Crown's objectives for Māori taking centre stage, these would be supplanted with Māori priorities and aspirations. The issues therefore in public policy terms relate to the scope and nature of tino rangatiratanga as it concerns capacity building, and secondly, how Māori aims and priorities are to be identified and rationalised into a coherent and manageable capacity building policy. Given this approach, the Māori perspective would seem to indicate a preferred goal of capacity building could be to strengthen the ability of Māori to exercise rangatiratanga over their development and their affairs at all levels.

At the heart of these examples of capacity building, Māori are concerned with building governing institutions that suit their preferences and priorities, particularly their cultural values. Around this, they are seeking to build organisational and cultural capacity with which whānau, hapū, iwi can uphold their mana, and manage their cultural, social and economic developments. The preservation of mana is central to their objectives. Thus, capacity building policies should have regard to these objectives. In this sense, capacity building enables mana to be upheld, thereby strengthening rangatiratanga.

CHAPTER 2 – FRAMEWORK FOR ANALYSIS

INTRODUCTION

The research results are to be presented for discussion and analysis around the following framework for analysis in **Table 4**. This framework comprises a four-stage process that looks firstly at the international literature on capacity building, and critiques the New Zealand policy and Māori perspectives, in light of this. The framework is used to suggest likely conclusions and insights about Māori capacity building.

Table 4 – Framework for Analysis

Stage	Analytical Issues
1. International frameworks	• What is capacity building? • What are key elements of capacity building? • International perspectives based on literature • The attributes of successful capacity building • What interpretations can be given of the literature?
2. New Zealand policy	• What NZ policy says capacity building is? • What are the key elements? • Crown perspectives from literature and interview results • What interpretations can be given of the policy?
3. Māori perspective	• What do Māori say about capacity building? • What do Māori consider key elements are? • Māori and Māori public servant perspectives • What interpretations of Māori views can be given?
4. Conclusions	• Key differences in views, Crown and Māori • Key differences in views, Māori v Iwi • Māori expectations of the Crown & Policy • Successful capacity building • What does the evidence suggest? • Implications for New Zealand's policy

INTERNATIONAL FRAMEWORKS

In light of the international literature, two different perspectives of capacity building were canvassed. One is a systems perspective and the other, an indigenous perspective. The systems perspective offers in my view an effective framework for identifying all the interrelated components of successful capacity building. If guided by a systems perspective, one can quickly see missing parts in the framework, and thus, possible points of systems failure. The indigenous framework for capacity building also offers some insights into how Māori capacity building might be viewed in an international context.

Systems perspective

When taking a systems approach to building Māori capacity, Māori, Crown and agency perspectives may reveal some of the following positions based on my interpretation of the "interests" which may drive their respective approaches. Admittedly, these perspectives are generalised, but do present a basis against which to assess any variations with the interview findings and existing policy and programme settings.

Table 5 – Systems perspective of Māori capacity building

Variable	Māori	Crown	Agencies
Environment	Self-governance	Social equity for all	Clients focus
Sector/ network	Resource transfer to Māori	Interagency, cross sector coordination	Agency sector accountabilities
Organisation	Strong iwi authorities	Effective organisations	Effective service providers
Individual	Skilled leaders	Socio-economic status improved	Entitlement focus

The implication is that for Māori, everything is driven by a desire to have greater control over the direction and management of their affairs, assets and lives. Thus Māori expectations of capacity building are likely to be in terms of the direct (i.e. unencumbered and unconditional) transfer of resources from the state to Māori, strengthening iwi entities to manage these and other resources already under their control, and creating skilled leaders to manage the development process over the long-term.

For the Crown, an effective campaign to build capacity may begin with a broad goal to ensure all who need capacity building assistance have access to it ('equity' principle) and coordinating agencies across the state sector to ensure a seamless array of programmes and interventions. At the individual level, the Crown's expectation may be an improvement in socio-economic position so Māori participate fully in society.

Agencies on the hand, at the environmental level, are likely to be concerned with building relationships with Māori as clients, and to a lesser extent, as partners in development. Agency priorities at a network level will tend to be agencies' 'sector' accountabilities, whether health, education, justice or others. This naturally conflicts with Crown expectations for a collective 'inter-agency' approach to building Māori capacity. At the individual level, agencies tend to be 'entitlements' focused. That is, ensuring all Māori, whether individuals or collectives, receive the benefits, or services as the case may be, that they are entitled to. This contrasts with the aim of providing programmes, which ultimately render government assistance redundant, that is sustainability.

Indigenous perspectives

The indigenous perspective of capacity building canvassed further in the literature review considers capacity building as a pre-requisite of indigenous nation-building, based on the experiences of North American Indian tribes' economic development initiatives. Taking into account the four variables for successful nation-building, the matrix below presents some of the possible positions likely to emerge from Māori, the Crown and agencies associated with Māori capacity building. A note of caution is that the American Indian framework deals specifically at the tribal (or iwi) level rather than with individuals, families or with sub-tribes.

Table 6 – Indigenous frameworks and Māori capacity building

Variable	Māori	Crown	Agencies
Self-governance	Self-determined development central	Crown determines governance settings	Crown accountabilities paramount
Effective governance	Tribal institutions are effective	Effective organisations at all levels	Effective participation at all levels
Cultural match	Cultural fit of institutions central	Institution is fit for purpose e.g. settlement	Accountability and transparency central
Strategic perspective	Long term perspective a luxury when cashless	Three year political cycle inhibits long-term	Changing policy and programme parameters

At a high-level, the Māori perspective to capacity building in this case is likely to parallel the Indian experience in all respects, except in the strategic perspective. While Māori may accept the imperative for a long-term view of tribal development, concern for immediate survival, or operational matters, may counteract emphasis on strategic aims.

Interestingly, the Crown's perspective in the New Zealand context may differ to that of the United States and other colonial jurisdictions with an indigenous tradition. From a New Zealand perspective, the Crown is likely to have some difficulty with the notion of self-governance when the foundation of government here is based on individual democratic rights and the unitary sovereignty of parliament. Thus, the Crown is unlikely to view capacity building as having a connection to promoting self-governance among Māori at any level.

In terms of cultural match, the Crown's interest is likely to be in terms of whether tribal institutions will be effective for the purposes for which they are intended, rather than overly concerned with issues of synergies between institutional arrangements and cultural traditions. Support for capacity building over the long-term is also likely to be hampered by the need to achieve measurable and tangible results within the relatively short New Zealand electoral lifecycle of three years or less.

Agencies are likely to be concerned about accountabilities for achieving Crown objectives in any capacity building intervention. Additionally for agencies, there may be some concern with the idea of supporting stronger governance among tribes as agencies tend to have competing priorities between effective service delivery to Māori individuals and tribes' expectations of formulating partnership arrangements with Crown agencies. Agencies will likely be concerned that tribal institutions have the capacity to be accountable for Crown funds by way of transparent reporting. Thus, cultural match is unlikely to be a high consideration in applying capacity building assistance. For instance, asking questions such as whether government "money" will be good for Māori; whether Māori want the money, or are in fact ready for it? Such questions may not feature in capacity building policy and processes, simply outweighed by the pressure to account for the government's service targets and funds.

Agencies requirement to impartially implement the incumbent government's policies will likely to impact on the ability of iwi to think strategically. Moreover, this may result in iwi amending their own priorities, objectives and programmes to align these with changing government policies and programmes, especially those iwi or Māori dependent on government funding for a significant proportion of their revenue or development.

There is an important commonality between the need for systemic change at the institutional and societal levels implied by capacity building and the Harvard Project's identification of self-rule and effective governing institutions for creating sustainable tribal societies. That is, successful capacity building is dependent on environmental conditions and institutions conducive to indigenous control and authority. Where the two perspectives perhaps differ, is the extent to which indigenous autonomy exists or is permitted between the processes of capacity building compared with nation-building.

NEW ZEALAND POLICY FRAMEWORK

In light of the literature reviewed in Chapter 1, it is possible to discern a number of the key assumptions and principles underpinning the New Zealand Māori capacity building policy including the following:

- That in building their capacity Māori will be better positioned to manage and control their own development, whatever their aspirations;
- That self-determined development and promoting Māori independence (from the state) is the best way to achieve the government's objectives for Māori development;

- That in building capacity for their development, the gaps between Māori and non-Māori socio-economic achievement will eventually close;
- That building capacity is a process that the government can and should lead, together with Māori;
- That building capacity of all Māori, from the "bottom-up", that is, whānau, hapū, iwi, Māori organisations, and Māori communities, is the most effective approach;
- That the role of government in capacity building is resourcing Māori with funding, technical assistance, and facilitation access to programmes and services;
- That government should not pre-determine the objectives of capacity building but rather, that Māori should decide this;
- That agencies, through a "whole of government" approach, should be accountable in a collective sense for delivering effectively the Māori capacity building policy.

MĀORI PERSPECTIVES

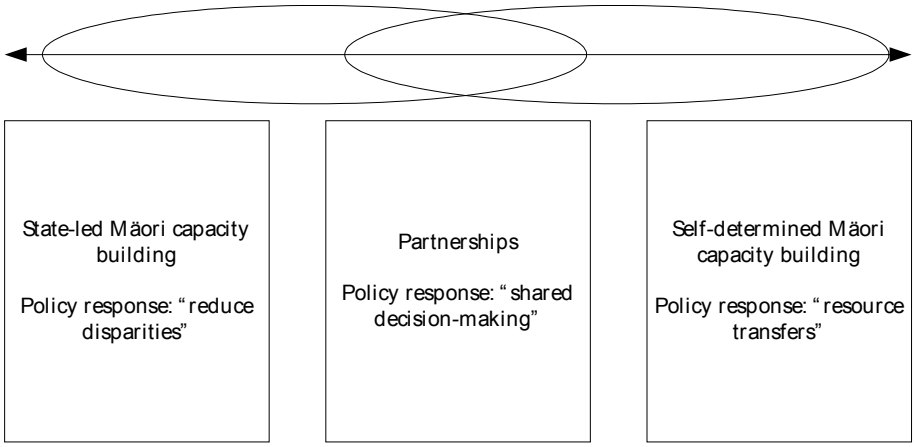
Again, based on Māori development and capacity building in Chapter 2, in my view, the Māori perspective of capacity building may be reflected in a very general sense, in the following statements:

- That the restoration of rangatiratanga at all levels of whānau, hapū, iwi, Māori community, Māori organisations is fundamental to building enduring capacity;
- That capacity building should focus on all facets of te ao Māori (the Māori world), including, political economic, cultural, social, and environmental dimensions;
- That Māori themselves should determine and control their own development, decide the terms of outside assistance, and expect to receive resources on that basis;
- That there will be minimal bureaucratic compliance at all levels of government in obtaining development resources, for example, single contracts, but multiple funders;
- That agency behaviours and mindsets towards Māori development would improve in terms of responsiveness, and appropriate resources and support;
- That Māori would have the capacity to control their own development and eventually assume control of some aspects of government as providers of services;
- That Māori concepts of development would apply and be accepted by agencies, for example, iwi involvement, and to some extent, influence over funding decisions.

CONTINUUM OF PERSPECTIVES

The views about what constitutes successful capacity building in a Māori development context and conclusions about what this means in policy and practical terms, may be located along a continuum in Figure 3. At one extreme of the continuum is the 'state-led' notion of 'improvement' achieved via reduction of 'deficiencies'. At the other extreme is 'self-determined' development achieved through an enabling state involving the transfer to Māori of resources, property rights and organisational capacity to manage such resources. Around the midpoint of the continuum, views of both extremes will intersect on some aspects of capacity building. This will either result in compromises and collaboration or conflict and confusion between the different parties involved in capacity building particularly about issues such as purpose, roles, responsibilities, and resources.

Figure 3 – Perspectives on Capacity Building



International development literature, Crown and Māori views on Māori capacity building will be located along this continuum.

CHAPTER 3 – INTERVIEW RESULTS

INTRODUCTION

This chapter summaries the key findings from interviews conducted with Māori, Crown and agency representatives involved in Māori development and Māori capacity building. The chapter recounts respondents comments on three issues: (1) what capacity building means to them; (2) the attributes of successful capacity building; and (3) the respective roles played by Māori and the Crown in Māori capacity building.

While respondents hold various positions of influence in Māori organisations, Parliament, and government departments, the interview results represent personal views of the respondents, rather than official viewpoints. Interviews were conducted in accordance with an approved Ethics Committee application.

CROWN RESPONDENT

Table 7 - Crown Interview Respondent

Respondent	Role	Organisation
John Tamihere	Member of Parliament	House of Representatives

Meaning of capacity building

Tamihere suggests that the biggest challenge for our [Māori]people in the next 10 years is three things. The first thing is demographics in terms of their youthful structure. Tamihere notes that "fifty five percent of our people are at school". "The second thing, we've got a skill set mismatch able to use in a to Māori by Māori for Māori way." "This is a wonderful opportunity to build capacity."

Tamihere suggests that "the capacity building programme has a role to play in identifying Māori systems and structures that are transparent, accountable, but absolutely engaging with the beneficiary base". "Now unless you have economic sustainability, you cannot have cultural sustainability and cultural survival."

Tamihere suggests that "our leaders have got to change". "No longer can they employ lawyers and accountants to keep their own people at arms length from their own assets." "We have to challenge that leadership." "This is all about capacity building." "It's not about the $8.4m Te Puni Kōkiri's got."

Tamihere suggests that "the TPK programme was to at least excite our people to do the right things". "The fact of the matter is the TPK fund is a joke in the way they have debased the reason for the policy." "The reason for the policy was to build regional organisations that were Māori, to identify how much Māori tagged money was being earned by others in our name and not being delivered to us."

Attributes of successful capacity building

Tamihere comments that "one day if any of our people are in a difficulty, they have a one-stop shop where we're the dominant caregiver, the family's housing, welfare, special education requirements come from the one caregiver". "Not from 14 disparate well paid bureaucracies." "Government is the key to capacity building", in Tamihere's view.

Māori and Crown roles

Tamihere suggests that "we focus on government for capacity building because it generates 40% of GDP in this country". "It pays 100% of the salaries of every teacher, professor, academic." Tamihere adds that "because we've got a constitutional right out of that business called the government, that is the economic activity that can best accelerate our participation and advantage in it". Capacity building in Tamihere's view is "unbundling money from them [agencies] and bringing it over to self-management programmes by us for us". Thus, "the key to turning off our problems is early education and early treatment". "Government is the bridge to get us there, to the private sector."

AGENCY RESPONDENTS

Table 8 - Agency Interview Respondents

Respondent	Role	Organisation
John Bishara	General Manager	Te Puni Kōkiri
Colin Knox	Consultant	Te Wānanga O Raukawa
Richard Wood	Senior Advisor	Ministry of Social Development
Terrence Loomis	Senior Analyst	Department of Internal Affairs
Charlie Moore	General Manager	Community Employment Group
Bert Mackie	Senior Advisor	Te Puni Kōkiri
Donald Shand	Senior Advisor	Department of Internal Affairs

Meanings of capacity building

For Bishara, capacity building is not just for Māori. "Capacity building is ongoing support for anyone to do better, to take on whatever they want to do." For TPK, "the focus is on the 4 Ss, systems, strategies, skills, structures". A pretty "narrow focus" in Bishara's view. In his view, "Māori development is capacity building, but capacity building is not Māori development". "The focus should only be on Māori development." For Bishara, "Māori development is an ongoing thing".

Knox believes capacity building is about "providing Māori at the whānau, hapū, level with the skills and knowledge for them to fulfil their roles; their roles will be different for different purposes, but relates to their roles in whānau, hapū, and iwi". "What's needed is to locate resources, opportunities, and people and bring all the parties together." "Māori have a natural ability in management and entrepreneurship, but suffer from a lack of confidence because they have been deprived from their resources." "The fundamental skills for relationships are already there." "Building commercial capabilities is easy."

Wood believes, "capacity building is ensuring that iwi and hapū have the infrastructure to create the opportunities they wish to pursue, for whatever purpose the iwi believe is appropriate for them". Wood qualifies his comment that it has to be "worthwhile". In other words "the taxpayer has to be assured that it's for a reasonable purpose".

Wood suggests that "capacity building is justified on the basis of the Crown meeting its obligations under the Treaty of Waitangi to recognise tino rangatiratanga, that is, the right to achieve independence". "At an iwi level, the infrastructure they might want to build depends on what the iwi wants to do." "With an iwi it would give them the capacity to compete for social service contracts for example."

Loomis considers capacity building as "a process that strengthens individuals". "Its not just that it strengthens them directly, but strengthens their capabilities to make their own decisions, to take their own actions." Loomis believes that "for Māori, the process, the journey, and the people involved and what happens to them, in the capacity building process is as important as the final outcome itself." "In fact, it may be more important." "It's the process as much as the eventual outcome."

Loomis suggests that, "if capacity building is about uplifting people, institutions and organisations, so they're capable organisations, then that is definitely essential for Māori development". "There is a lot of interest in a capabilities approach, rather than a deficits approach, a strengths versus weaknesses approach."

Moore believes capacity building is about "building the skills, knowledge and confidence, and from this providing the ability to do something". "There needs to be a strong link between capacity building and doing something." Capacity building is "an investment strategy". "It's an investment in knowledge, relationships, and confidence." "If the reality of Māori disparities is true, then there is a very real role for capacity building to enable Māori to address these disparities."

Mackie views capacity building as a way for Government to help advance Māori people. Mackie sees parallels between the current capacity building programme and the strengthening of Māori organisations in the 1980's to deliver Mana and Maccess programmes. This resulted in the emergence of new Māori entities capable of delivering government programmes.

In Shand's view, "capacity building means ensuring a community, people or society has the necessary wherewithal to achieve its aspirations". This includes "knowledge, resources, buy-in from stakeholders, inclusive planning processes, systems, nurturing leadership and succession planning, and equitable partnerships". In relation to Māori, capacity building is "making sure rangatiratanga is upheld and preserved".

Attributes of successful capacity building

Bishara suggests, you can have two types of Māori development strategy. The first is a "one-off high risk strategy". The other is an "incremental approach, where you take smaller steps because of the cultural taonga involved". Bishara suggests that "what's needed to make Māori development successful is a greater understanding on the part of government, that continual incremental change, risks to cultural taonga are protected" is the best strategy, rather than high risk, high return.

Wood suggests that successful capacity building is where "depending on what the vision happens to be, that their vision has been achieved". Thus, the very first thing the iwi has to have is a "vision". Secondly, "they have to have the leadership in place to drive that vision forward and gain commitment of government agencies". And thirdly, "capacity building actually takes money, serious money!"

Additionally Wood suggests that "some public servants have got to change their attitudes". Wood's suggests that [officials] "have got to believe that this is a worthwhile exercise, that it's something meaningful for society, and they're contributing towards this". Wood believes this can happen through opportunities for public servants to see how other government departments are working with Māori.

Loomis suggests that "successful capacity building is about empowering people, and therefore it cannot be something done to people from outside". "It's got to be a process people go through themselves." "That process has to be related to where people are going." "Capacity buildings makes most sense when a group, iwi or hapū, has some idea or is in some process of deciding their vision of where they want to go." "Then capacity building to achieve those outcomes makes sense."

Loomis also stresses that "it's got to be driven from the 'bottom-up'". "It's got to be owned by the community, by the iwi. In other words, it seems to be that that's the basis for what we refer to as self-determination or tino rangatiratanga." Loomis suggests that "successful capacity building also involves partnerships". "The appropriate partnerships, and that means substance to the partnerships." "It's got to be 'joined up' resources." "You've got come to the table and partner."

Loomis suggests successful capacity building has to be "measurable" but exclaims people ask, "what the hell is it you're building?" Loomis suggests "we are starting to get specific about what this means, but we're still at the beginning stages of this". Loomis uses the example of building "cultural capital", suggesting that while its very difficult to measure, its absolutely crucial. And for Māori, "culture is the thing that drives everything else".

Moore suggests that "successful capacity building is a slow process, the thinking has to be in terms of 12-months to five years". Moore considers "capacity building as an investment strategy with a lengthy payback period". Successful capacity building for Moore is also "where ownership is taken by the group, that is, they are setting the objectives and investing their own energy in to capacity building". Having said that, Moore also believes "government has a role to underpin it with resources".

Mackie suggests that in spite of the existence of a capacity building programme, there are still Māori communities and organisations that are not getting the help they need like for instance, Kawerau, Murupara and Minginui. Mackie suggests successful capacity building is about prioritising the resources available under the policy so these communities can advance their people.

Mackie comments that "one of our [agencies] problems is we try to satisfy everybody instead of correctly and properly resourcing and funding one organisation and get that going". "We spread it too thin, its not going to have the impact you desire." "We don't seem to learn from our mistakes."

Shand views successful capacity building in terms of two levels, "short-term and long-term". "In the short-term, success is measured in very small increments of change at a localised level to the extent that capacity building meets the capacity needs of locals who want their capacity built." In the longer term, Shand suggests success for both ends (Māori and Government) is reflected in "changes to the underlying nature of the relationship from resource holder/funder to a more equal partnership; from mutual dependence to mutual recognition that we have equally important but different roles". However, Shand suggests that the problem for agencies is that "the rules we operate to don't allow for proper resource transfer".

The process Shand suggests is to identify "what the goals are, what gaps there are [in current capacity], and engage with 'resource holders' to get resources". This, Shand suggests, is "different to the government's approach of short-term injections of cash tied back to centrally driven outcomes with too many string's attached". Shand believes that to "sustain the capacity to achieve their own vision, we need to look at a new mix, including social, economic, environment, constitutional, governance, rather than looking at social, economic, or policy matters on their own".

Another limitation to successful capacity building in Shand's view is that "government is not configured for effective 'joined-up' service delivery". Shand suggests that government also needs to work on a longer-term time horizon, "of 3 to 5 years, or 10 year cycles for capacity building to be sustainable".

Māori and Crown roles

Bishara believes that "Māori development should be a high priority for government". It's based around the argument that Māori development is good for New Zealand. Bishara illustrates his view, suggesting that if [Māori] "go off the track, then the government is there to support us, and help us get back on the right pathway". The analogy Bishara uses is Air New Zealand. He comments that "it was set up by government, and released into the private sector, and when it all went wrong, the government stepped into to help bail it out". Bishara concedes that "the notion of [Māori] being fully independent is good but government needs to be ready to assist, but let Māori drive it".

Knox is clear that "government can fund capacity building, but it can't do it." Knox suggests that "the failure of the Māori asset base to be developed presents an opportunity for the right combination of education, resource development and economics to build capacity". As an example of this, Knox suggests a possible strategy as, "teams led by commercial people, supported by credible fieldworkers, working with Māori to develop their assets". Knox suggests "the cooperative model seems to be the closest western economic model to that of the hapū as it would allow sensible decision making to occur among multiple owners".

Wood believes that "only government can do it" [capacity building]. Wood comments that "Māori do not have the comfort of wealthy communities or organisations with the resources or corporate incomes to build their own capacity". "If you actually want to make a difference, you're probably better off doing it at a hapū and iwi level (as opposed to the whānau level), as you're dealing with limited resources." Wood believes that "to build their capacity Māori need, leadership with vision, to be motivated, and have the competence".

Loomis believes that "capacity building, like development, is not something that can not be done to communities". Loomis suggests that "only Māori can build their own capacity". Loomis comments that "the nature of development and capacity building means iwi have to be interdependent, where relationships with others are negotiated on Māori terms". And that, to Loomis, "is the basis for Māori capacity building".

Moore suggests that, "government can 'facilitate or provoke' it [capacity building], but it can't do it". Moore comments that "there is no Pākēhā solution to it; that Māori must do it". In terms of where the biggest difference could be made with capacity building, Moore believes this is "at the whānau level; whānau being the core building block".

While Mackie believes Government must take a lead, he suggests that agencies must "consult Māori in the design of the policy, and implement their suggestions on how the process can better assist Māori to reach the goals we expect of them; they know their people better than we do". Mackie also believes there is a need for greater flexibility in our delivery, and more focus in the allocation of resources, funding and regional staff time, to ensure the results from the programme can be clearly seen.

Shand believes that "there must be a willingness to change on the part of the government and to transfer resources". "The challenge is how do we reinvent ourselves as current resource holders to free up resources [for Māori development]." Shand suggests that "the problem is, what the government is comfortable with is frequently not what Māori need".

Shand comments that "the conditions placed on programmes frequently takes away from the strengths of Māori, [their strength being] the idea that Māori know best what Māori want". Thus, for Shand, "the power of local knowledge is the essence of capacity building". "That idea is lost when a 'programmed' response is used in community development." Instead, for Māori, Shand suggests "a compelling vision is essential to capturing the imagination [and budgets] of resource holders based on the concept that bottom-up is best".

MĀORI RESPONDENTS

The following respondents are experienced leaders within their respective Māori organisations, companies, and communities.

Table 9 - Māori Interview respondents

Respondent	Role	Organisation
Arapeta Tāhana	Chief Executive	Te Arawa Māori Trust Board
Maanu Paul	Principal	Paparangi Consultancy
Willie Te Aho	Director	Indigenous Corporate Solutions (ICL)
Tahu Pōtiki	Chief Executive	Te Rūnanga O Ngai Tahu
Jim Nicolls	Chief Executive	Hauraki Māori Trust Board

Meanings of capacity building

In respect to defining capacity building, Tāhana makes two critical comments. The first was that, "infrastructure is what it's really about". The second was that, "the critical thing is that it has to be Māori driven,…but that government does have a role to play, and that is that its [capacity building] policy should be supportive of this. Tāhana commented, that "you often hear on the marae people talking about tino rangatiratanga, but we don't have the stuff [infrastructure] to move it."

Paul is critical of the capacity building policy viewing it as "a social experiment that has been delivered in a 'top-down' approach in spite of the policy's foundation being articulated as based on a 'bottom-up' approach, with a 'hand-out' rather than a 'hand-up' philosophy".

Paul therefore considered capacity building is "one of reality, the practice of the delivery of the theory". The reverse scenario for Paul would be "to have a door knocking campaign". "The model for that was when Māori opted to go onto the Māori roll. "That was a door knocking campaign where Māori made the choice."

Paul agrees that, it's the "delivery of the capacity building that will make the difference for Māori". That is, by visiting each Māori household and asking "Māori themselves to identify how they might achieve independence, what resources might be required, and who needs to assist them and what the nature of that assistance should be".

Te Aho considered capacity building to mean, "giving Māori the resources to develop consistently with their own values and strategic direction, and that, everyone will be different, iwi to iwi." Further, Te Aho, commented that his focus is on "the grassroots, because people still fall through the cracks with iwi organisations". "Sustainable development occurs when they [Māori] are in control of their own destiny, for example, at Mokai".

Te Aho believes strongly that in working with Māori at the whānau (family) and community level, it is possible to bring the people together as a result of major change such as the closure of the kura (school) in the case of Mokai, (a small community between Taupo and Tokoroa). They can then focus their energies on addressing their "housing, employment needs, own self-worth, and creating hope within the community by reaffirming their own identity."

Te Aho believes that "Māori assets, if well managed should produce sufficient funding to resource Māori development, though this is not necessarily the case". Te Aho argues that capacity building assistance is justified on two counts, one that "Māori deserve some return on their taxes and rates" and two, that "New Zealand's development "occurred on the back of Māori resources confiscated or alienated from Māori, such as the hydroelectric dams".

Pōtiki believes that the "most essential element in capacity building is the human element that is, a collective rethink of the nature of leadership and the process of decision-making." In other words, "we [Māori] will build capacity if we have grassroots leaders." Pōtiki commented that, "it's incredibly difficult to get rangatira to consider complex information and to make a decision that will be good for the community". "Therefore the fundamental element is the human element."

Pōtiki considered that, "capacity building is the ability to identify and access resources that are necessary to take your community from one stage [of development] to the next." That, "capacity building is also about the ability to enter into a planning process, develop strategy and implement this". Therefore core capacity building elements are about (1) "good skills (2) marrying resources to community goals, and (3) planning and implementation."

Pōtiki is clear that "the starting point of Māori development is capacity building…, they're inextricable". Pōtiki believes that, "the first step in capacity building – coming up with the 'what people want list' versus the 'what people need list', must be considered".

Nicolls considered that, "capacity building on a personal level means acquiring the resources to enhance mana motuhake". "Its about defining who we are, what we are, where we've come from, and where we're going to". "But this may not be the need government intended capacity building to address. "Nicolls was clear that "Mana motuhake and tino rangatiratanga have been financially supported by the funding from capacity building programmes."

Nicolls also saw capacity building "as a means of bridging gaps between Māori and others. "It's about bridging socio-economic gaps through education, employment, and avoiding the social consequences of not learning the social norms that come with participation in society.

Nicolls commented that capacity building does have a role to play in Māori development, and to be effective, "there must be two way engagement to address issues such as: (1) what can we do; (2) what barriers exist; (3) what strengths do we have". Nicolls believes that, "capacity building has allowed Māori to secure information to answer these questions, not only at a local level, but within a global marketplace", thus having "a significant impact" in his view on Māori development.

Attributes of successful capacity building

Tāhana identifies five key expectations of successful capacity building as follows:

- Meeting basic needs so people can then look after themselves;
- Māori moving up to senior management, into fields we've not been in before;
- More of our people coming back to work for the iwi because there is work there;
- New models of economic development that use collectivised approaches; and
- A strategic interface between Māori and government.

Tāhana was clear that, "capacity building has got to be internally driven". "As good the current capacity building policy is, its still about government trying to do something for us." "It's like the Italian Ernesto Sirolli said, 'You don't develop people, they development themselves!"

For Paul, successful capacity building is, "the epitome of mana motuhake". Paul explains that "Mana motuhake is founded on the previous deeds of success of your ancestors." Thus, in Paul's view, the "success of a capacity building programme today is that all of your whānau, hapū, and iwi are successful in mind, body and spirit".

Paul believes that for capacity building to succeed, "more than anything else is the idea of independence being seen as an achievable goal." That is, having "the capacity to see independence and say my goal is to be independent because without that,… it becomes a hard chore and it never succeeds."

Te Aho believes that successful capacity building is about, "sustainable development for a community of people, that is owned by the community, led by the community, and is consistent with the values of that community". Te Aho takes the view that building a strong economic base is fundamental to building capacity and achieving independence. He comments that successful capacity building is, "when the people have got economic development going and training Māori to be all levels of development". Thus, for Te Aho, "capacity building is not being dependent on government, that is we're utilising our own resources to fund our own development. When you get to that point, you can then talk about your own autonomy."

Te Aho points to two key factors for successful capacity building, (1) that "leadership is key", that is, "putting the interests of the whole above the individual, and resourcing leadership to achieve"; and (2) "a long term vision is required, as capacity building is not short term its long term, and will take a generation to achieve".

Pōtiki suggests three simple steps are critical to successful capacity building. These are, firstly, "a sound community assessment tool to show people the difference between needs, wants and capabilities needed to achieve their aims". Secondly, "bringing together an assessment tool with a strategic planning process". Thirdly, "aligning resources with what is to be achieved". Additionally Pōtiki identifies that successful capacity building requires "community sector buy-in as nothing moves without it, resources of every kind; and leadership".

Nicolls suggests a similar set of ingredients to Pōtiki, including: "(1) resources to make things happen; (2) passion and leadership, which is more important than money (3) people – needed to sustain and implement the vision; and (4) strategy – a plan to make it work".

Crown and Māori roles

Tāhana suggests, that the "best way for Government to assist [Māori] is to transfer assets to Māori; to give Māori control over their development". Tāhana suggests that, "anything else is about their solutions not yours".

Tāhana suggests Māori could be working more closely together to share ideas, knowledge and gain strength from collective voice. "Māori could be doing much than we are." "We need to start talking to each other in a way that explores all the issues." "We have much in common across the iwi."

The real difference Tāhana believes in terms of capacity building would be "something similar to Jim Anderton's regional development strategy". "It's got regional development, economic development and partnerships, on a big scale." "If Māori had an equivalent strategy – regional Māori economic development – then it would be all on!" Tāhana suggests that "government needs to be seen as a partner in assisting Māori to be independent". "The tool for that is capacity building." "Once you've got them dreaming, you come in behind and with these things we can make the impossible a possibility."

Like Tahana, Paul has a simple message for Māori, and that is, they need to "talk to each other". In his view, "capacity building is not just the physical side, concentrate on the body of knowledge that each whānau has, and measure their performance on their ability to share that amongst the whānau."

Paul suggests that the "government needs to work with the communities chosen leadership and make a long term commitment". "There is an absolute need for an holistic approach". "Resources must be pitched at every aspect of community e.g. houses, education, employment and health."

Te Aho identifies "leadership and unity" as key factors for Māori to improve their efforts in building capacity. Specifically, "a change of mindset is required". "Māori need to work together and develop our own visions". "We should decide funding priorities, and best providers to meet our needs."

Pōtiki believes that, "the government is entirely capable of being at the centre of a capacity building project". Pōtiki identifies, however, some barriers to achieving this, such as: (1) "huge changes in operational philosophy within public policy" creating instability among Māori communities; (2) "changes in personality at the Ministerial level, which could potentially unseat progress made in areas such as fishing assets; and (3) "we also need to bed down the argument on principles for strategic development".

Pōtiki suggests that, "if the major tribes such as Ngai Tahu, Kahungunu, Te Arawa, Tainui, and Taitokerau, for example, could get together and agree on the principles of Māori development for the next 10 years, this could form the basis for public policy for Māori in the future". Pōtiki suggests "it would be a brave government that challenged this level of consensus among major tribal groupings, and creates a platform for stable Māori development policy over a reasonably long period".

Pōtiki believes, "Māori must devise a 'shared philosophy'. "You cannot operate effectively unless at the top you have an agreed philosophy upon which to make decisions. Without this nothing will happen."

Pōtiki suggests that, "Māori also need to establish effective partnerships with others that can provide resources to help, without compromising independence". Pōtiki concedes there "is no room for total independence," and instead aim for "inter-dependence".

CHAPTER 4 – ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION

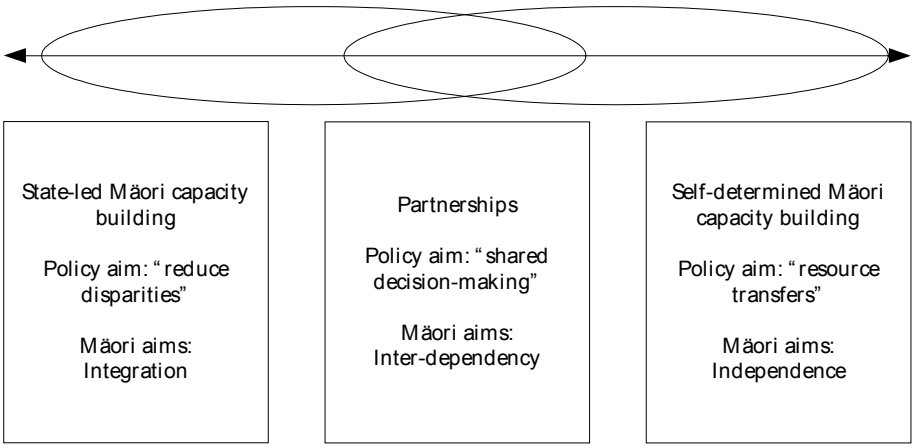
INTRODUCTION

This chapter analyses and interprets the research results and examines the issues and views concerning Māori capacity building in two respects. The first of these examines the current policy of Māori capacity building in light of international literature and interviews to determine where the policy sits along a continuum of perspectives on capacity building. Secondly, a new model of Māori capacity is proposed based on the literature, interviews and analysis. This final section analyses capacity building in terms of a Māori development continuum and is intended to identify the key elements of a Māori capacity building policy for future consideration and application.

THE CURRENT MĀORI CAPACITY BUILDING POLICY

The analysis begins with a review of Māori capacity building, based on the policy itself, and interviews with agency and Crown respondents. Alongside this is an analysis of Māori capacity building in relation to the continuum in **Figure 4**, taking account of the literature and interview results.

Figure 4 - Perspectives on Capacity Building



At first glance, it appears that the New Zealand policy has all the hallmarks of capacity building as understood in the international literature as **Figure 4** shows. That is a broad definition inclusive of most aspects of Māori development, whether social, economic, or cultural, and whatever forms of organisation and governance that Māori have retained and adapted to meet their needs.

Furthermore, the policy seems supportive of 'bottom-up' or 'self-determined' development, encompassing a state sector wide approach to ensure collective responsibility for the policy, significant resources to fund Māori initiatives, and technical assistance through agencies and the contracting of external experts.

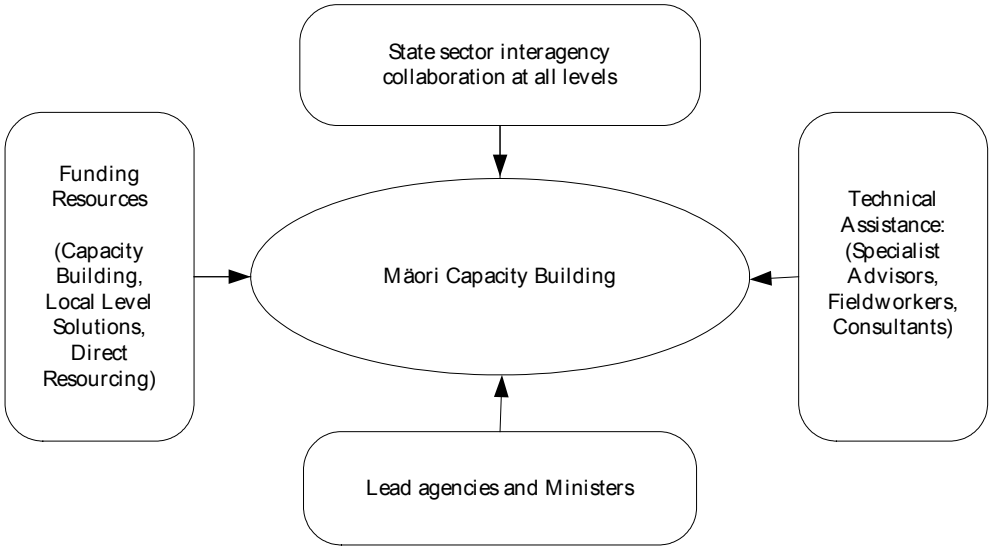
It would seem therefore that the Crown's view of Māori capacity building is supportive of a 'self-determined' view of Māori development where the role of the state is to facilitate and enable Māori achievement. Despite this, several notable inconsistencies are evident in the New Zealand Māori capacity building policy that suggest a state-led perspective of capacity building may prevail in practice. This is discussed in terms of the following key aspects of the policy:

- Policy objectives and rationale
- Meanings of capacity building
- Attributes of successful capacity building
- The role of the state
- Levels of Māori capacity building
- Māori independence and the Treaty
- The delivery of capacity building assistance

Policy objectives and rationale

In terms of objectives and rationale, the capacity building policy was premised on the assumption that building Māori capacity will have as one its outcomes a reduction in socio-economic disparities between Māori and non-Māori. The theory implies that as the capacity to develop is regained Māori will be in better position to address their social and economic circumstances. Firstly, this assumes basic needs are already met. Secondly, a number of measurement problems inherently arise with this approach. These include clarity around cause and effect linkages, time lag between outputs and outcomes, and the accessibility of evaluation frameworks capable of measuring such linkages.

Figure 5 – Māori Capacity Building Policy



While the Crown's expectation is clearly of a relationship between improved capacity and reducing disparities, Māori tend to view this as a secondary outcome of capacity building. Durie (2000) for instance essentially argues that the deficit model, the closing the gaps approach to Māori development, is inconsistent with capacity building. Instead, capacity building is more concerned with enhancing what it means to be Māori, through adding new knowledge, cultural experiences, and Māori concepts. This view is implicitly shared by agency respondents, none of whom make the connection between capacity building and improving socio-economic fortunes of Māori, except Moore, but only as a subsidiary consequence.

If the New Zealand policy adheres to international literature, then the objectives of the policy and consequential outcomes would be determined instead by Māori priorities, needs and aspirations, rather than state notions of disparity reduction. The challenge for Government remains supporting Māori development without pre-determining objectives or outcomes.

Meanings of capacity building

The definition and understandings of the term capacity building has similar elements between the international literature, the New Zealand policy, agency and Māori perspectives. A definition of capacity building based on international literature was previously described as:

> The process through which individuals and collectives acquire the necessary capacities, both tangible and intangible, to enable them to perform functions and improve performance in the achievement of their goals and objectives, at the individual, organisational, sectoral and environmental levels, over time.

The New Zealand policy similarly defined capacity building as:

> A process which seeks to strengthen the ability of individuals, whānau, hapū, iwi, Māori organisations and Māori communities to build the strategies, systems, structures and skills they need to control their own development and achieve their own objectives.

Agency respondents tended to conceive of capacity building as a process of acquiring the infrastructure and confidence to achieve certain goals. The basis for capacity building was variously reasoned as honouring a Treaty obligation, preserving rangatiratanga, enabling Māori to reduce disparities, and to obtain the necessary wherewithal to achieve aspirations. Few agency respondents however viewed capacity building as extending to levels other than organisational, such as the wider socio-political environment.

Māori respondents regarded capacity building invariably as a process of accessing resources to develop consistently with their own values and strategic direction. This involves for some a collective rethink about Māori leadership and decision-making processes (governance), as well as systems and processes for conducting development initiatives (management), in way that ensures Māori retain ownership of the process (people-centred).

While definitions and meanings appear consistent, there is however a dearth of discussion about what happens once Māori capacity has been built. How should agencies respond to Māori with their increased capacity to act? The Crown respondent, Tamihere had a clear expectation, as did Turia, that from the outset Māori would 'leverage' access to the wider resources within mainstream state sector agencies contingent on Māori development plans backed by new and additional capacity. The concept of leverage is not one which agency respondents had raised, though it is an implicit part of the state sector wide policy for capacity building, within which all agency respondents operate. If sustainable development is a key element of international capacity building,[9] then the concept of 'leverage' would seem to warrant more prominence in the domestic policy on Māori capacity building than is presently the case.

Attributes of successful capacity building

Through the international literature a number of attributes of successful capacity building from different contexts were identified. These were summarised in Tables 2 and 3, Chapter 1. A selection of the most prominent and relevant attributes of successful capacity building from the literature are summarised in the following factors, some of which include variables internal and external to the entity concerned:

- Self-rule, or self-governance
- Development country led
- Clear organisational vision and strategy
- Effective governance institutions and structures
- Sufficient and appropriate material resources
- Building and strengthening existing capacity
- People-centred responsiveness practices
- Sector-wide (multi-agency) approaches

An analysis of the New Zealand policy on Māori capacity building shows that many of these attributes are present but variations on their weighting, interpretation and application are evident. For instance, the New Zealand policy supports 'bottom-up' development where Māori lead the way in determining their aspirations and needs. This in effect mirrors the second attribute 'development country led' but in no way goes as far as contemplated in Kalt & Cornell's concept of 'self-rule' and 'self-governance'.

[9] See for example: Kaplan (1999); Cornell (2000); UNDP (1997).

Clarity around vision and strategy are important factors in giving direction to capacity building efforts and external interventions. Māori capacity building in New Zealand generally favours an emphasis on effective organisations and structures and provides fairly significant resources to support this. A multi-agency approach is also in operation.

Some of the key attributes identified by agency respondents for successful Māori capacity building follow:

- Incremental change rather than high risk strategies;
- A long time horizon, and a long term investment approach;
- Vision, leadership and resources;
- Ownership by the group, underpinned by state resources;
- A process people undertake themselves, related to their direction;
- Mutually beneficial relationships with the state and others;
- Priority on communities that tend to fall through the gaps;
- Strategic use of limited resources for service delivery and funding;
- Accountability for results from investment of funding; and
- Consulting Māori on policy design and implementation.

These attributes demonstrate a fair degree of similarity with the set identified from the international literature, and include statements, which hint at the kind of relationship the Crown and Māori ought to have in terms of capacity building. That is, it is for Māori to provide the vision, leadership and ownership of any initiative, and the role of the government to support this with resources and strategies attuned to the timing of those engaged in the process. This implies that government should not initiate development activities, instead these should be driven by Māori, a notion central to Sirolli's (1999) system of 'enterprise facilitation'.

Māori respondents clearly identified other attributes key to successful capacity building, such as Māori being healthy in mind body and spirit, ownership by the community, linking assessment with strategic planning, aligning resources with goals, and economic development providing a basis for sustainable development. Together, these attributes form a view of capacity building, which tend to support self-determined perspectives of Māori development.

The role of the state

The role of the state in the international literature in terms of capacity building is consistently regarded as one of facilitation, support and responsiveness, within an agreed framework for development assistance. The nature of the assistance, and how it is distributed is a process directed and led by local people, under a capacity building approach.

The New Zealand policy of capacity building evidently adopts similar practices in terms of the provision of support, resources and funding, a role explicitly defined by Cabinet as a legitimate one for Government. For instance, in terms of capacity building funding[10], this is distributed on a demand driven basis to Māori organisations and communities who request such assistance. While funding allocation occurs concurrently with the delivery of facilitation and support from agencies, generally, the emphasis is on the distribution and receipt of funding, and accountability for delivery against prescribed deliverables.

The New Zealand policy may however differ from international practice, in two respects. First is the extent to which local people actually manage the delivery of programmes and lead this work, with assistance from agencies. Second, is the extent to which Māori determine the nature of assistance required and how this is to be given. This issue is relevant given accountability for the management and delivery of programmes is centralised within certain agencies notably, Te Puni Kōkiri, the Community Employment Group, Work and Income, Child Youth and Family, among others. In terms of the distribution of assistance, whether funding or other resources, this is by and large determined by internal bureaucratic processes, designed to minimise risk, and maximise accountability. Thus, a request for funding assistance, may undergo several transformations before being approved for funding.

10 See for instance, Te Puni Kökiri (2001)

Interestingly, Tamihere considers government has a central role in Māori development as a means of 'unbundling' resources from agencies for Māori to self-manage programmes on a regional basis. Thus, Tamihere would appear to be located at the centre of the continuum in Figure 4. Agency respondents believe that government can not do capacity building, instead it can facilitate or provoke it, and support Māori initiatives with resources. Agency respondents argue that the challenge for agencies is to reinvent themselves as 'resource holders' to free up resources for Māori capacity building. Moreover, there is a need to strategically allocate limited resources among priority groups, rather than spread resources too thinly risking diffusing the visibility of impacts and benefits. Māori respondents on the hand believe that Māori in partnership with the Crown can lead capacity building, with the role of the state clearly based around supporting Māori aspirations.

Levels of Māori capacity building

The systems framework implies capacity building interventions should take place at all levels while the indigenous view suggests strong tribal governance institutions are fundamental for development success. The implication is that Crown and agency interventions should be directed to creating an environment that supports capacity building at all levels, as well as enabling effective Māori governance institutions to emerge. Some agency respondents suggested the appropriate starting point for capacity building is the whānau (family) level, as opposed to supporting iwi (tribal) structures. Māori respondents viewed capacity building as relevant at all levels, including national, tribal, community, organisational, and among individuals. This suggests the widest possible net should be cast so capacity building is inclusive of all members of Māori society.

Māori independence and the Treaty of Waitangi

The international literature suggests that the very success of capacity building is dependent on intrinsic or indigenous control over processes and outcomes, whether at the nation, region, community, or individual level. The Harvard Project's translation for this is 'self-rule'; for Māori it is 'rangatiratanga'. The answer seems to lie somewhere between making Māori independence a legitimate goal of government policy and providing greater opportunity for Māori participation in setting Māori policy and delivery of programmes.

While Labour's pre-election Māori affairs policy and advocates such as Turia asserted self-determination and Māori independence as key to capacity building, the post-election policy approved by Cabinet differed markedly in this respect. The policy re-focused its objectives towards enabling Māori economic, social and cultural development within state defined criteria of government programmes. Any inference of government as supporting Māori political aspirations and notions of Māori independence appear to have been omitted from the policy.

While several agency respondents, such as Shand, Bishara and Wood, readily accept Māori independence and tino rangatiratanga as justification for the policy, there is a corresponding expectation the Crown will provide resources for Māori to achieve their developmental objectives. Moreover, Turia and Tamihere appear to share the view that Māori have a right to the wider state sector's resources for their development under the Treaty.

Shand for instance suggests that "changes to the underlying nature of the relationship from resource holder/funder to a more equal partnership" is required. Moreover, Shand suggests "there must be a willingness to change on the part of the government and to transfer resources". Such relationships between government, Māori and agencies are essential to give effect to capacity building on Māori terms. The Treaty of Waitangi would seem to be the most obvious instrument through which to give effect to the relationships between Māori and the Crown in this respect.

Thus, agency perspectives seem to advance the location of capacity building towards the mantle of Treaty partnerships between Māori and the Crown, rather than as a 'state-led' social policy instrument for disparity reduction. The issue is how to effect this as policy.

One of the Māori respondents suggests that achieving independence has to be seen by Māori as an achievable and worthwhile goal. For this to occur, it is suggested that one simply needs to ask Māori why they would want independence, how they would achieve it, and what is needed to achieve it. Other Māori respondents argued the purpose of capacity building was enhancing mana motuhake (Māori independence) and thereby upholding the mana and rangatiratanga of iwi, hapū, and whānau. From this perspective, Māori independence may be argued as a legitimate aim of capacity building, as Māori respondents suggest. Māori independence in this sense provides a basis within which to exercise self-determined Māori development, as identified at the far right end of the continuum in **Figure 4**. This in effect, according to Māori respondents, requires a shared vision and strategy among Māori, agreement on the principles of decision-making within Māori institutions, setting the terms of partnerships with the Crown and others, as well as the leadership and organisational capacity to implement development aims.

In summary, the policy of Māori capacity building, in light of the international literature and interview results, suggests some changes are warranted in order to shift the policy more towards the 'self-development' end of the continuum in **Figure 4**. The policy as presently determined seems embedded between notions of state-led and partnership ideals. For Māori, this would seem not nearly sufficient to satisfy their expectations of all that capacity building entails, in an international development context at least. Hence, a new approach is discussed in the final section. In practical terms, there is also a need for a more strategic use of the limited resources available under the New Zealand policy, targeting a smaller number of priority groups to ensure the visibility of results from the investment of funding, with apparent implications for the quality of evaluation involved.

A NEW MODEL OF MĀORI CAPACITY BUILDING

This section proposes a model of Māori capacity building within a continuum of Māori development, and identifies key policy elements for future consideration and application. First, the continuum of Māori development shown in **Figure 6** below, is explained. Second, the five key success factors or attributes for successful Māori capacity building, which underpin the model, are further explained. Finally, the implications of the model for Māori capacity building policy and practice are briefly touched on.

A Māori development continuum

The Māori development continuum depicted in Figure 6 below is premised on ideas in the international and indigenous development frameworks and reinforced by Māori and agency respondents views. In particular, the notion that self-determined development is central to Māori development is reflected in the model. Moreover, the model incorporates capacity building as a means of enhancing mana motuhake (Māori independence) and thereby upholding the mana and rangatiratanga of iwi, hapū, and whānau as alluded to previously.

The continuum attempts to illustrate the progression of Māori development over time from a relative starting point of low Māori independence (or state of 'dependency') gradually progressing toward a higher state of Māori independence. Higher states of Māori independence may be characterised by improving socio-economic conditions, improving infrastructure, increasing collective activity and voice, and in Māori terms, mana and rangatiratanga are enhanced.

This progression along the phases of Māori development is aided by different levels of capacity building and associated interventions. These interventions are relative to the state of Māori development at any given point along the continuum. For instance, at phase one the emphasis is on building 'capacity for change' from a low state of Māori independence to a higher state. The appropriate intervention to achieve this may be 'facilitation' as opposed to resources given emphasis on achieving a change in mindset conducive to improving current circumstances – in Kaplan's terms, the 'soft' dimensions of capacity building.

During phase two, the emphasis of Māori development shifts to improving organisational capacity, including basic infrastructure and a supportive social and cultural framework. The intended state is one of 'interdependency' or internal and external relationships that enable Māori to strengthen governance, management and improve access to necessary resources. The supporting intervention is likely to be the current 'brand' of capacity building centred around organisational development.

Phase three of the continuum focuses on building capacity for self-determined Māori development. This is where Māori seek to achieve a high level of independence through sustainable economic, cultural and social developments. The foundation for this is the organisational and social infrastructure developed in the previous phase. Rangatiratanga and the mana of whānau, hapū and iwi are strengthened as a result. In other words, a well performing leadership is supported by technical expertise, resources and sound management. Cultural identity is similarly boosted by the achievements of the collective, and individuals can be expected to prosper in such an environment. Economic development is a central focus at this point as a means of sustaining higher levels of independence, mana and rangatiratanga over time.

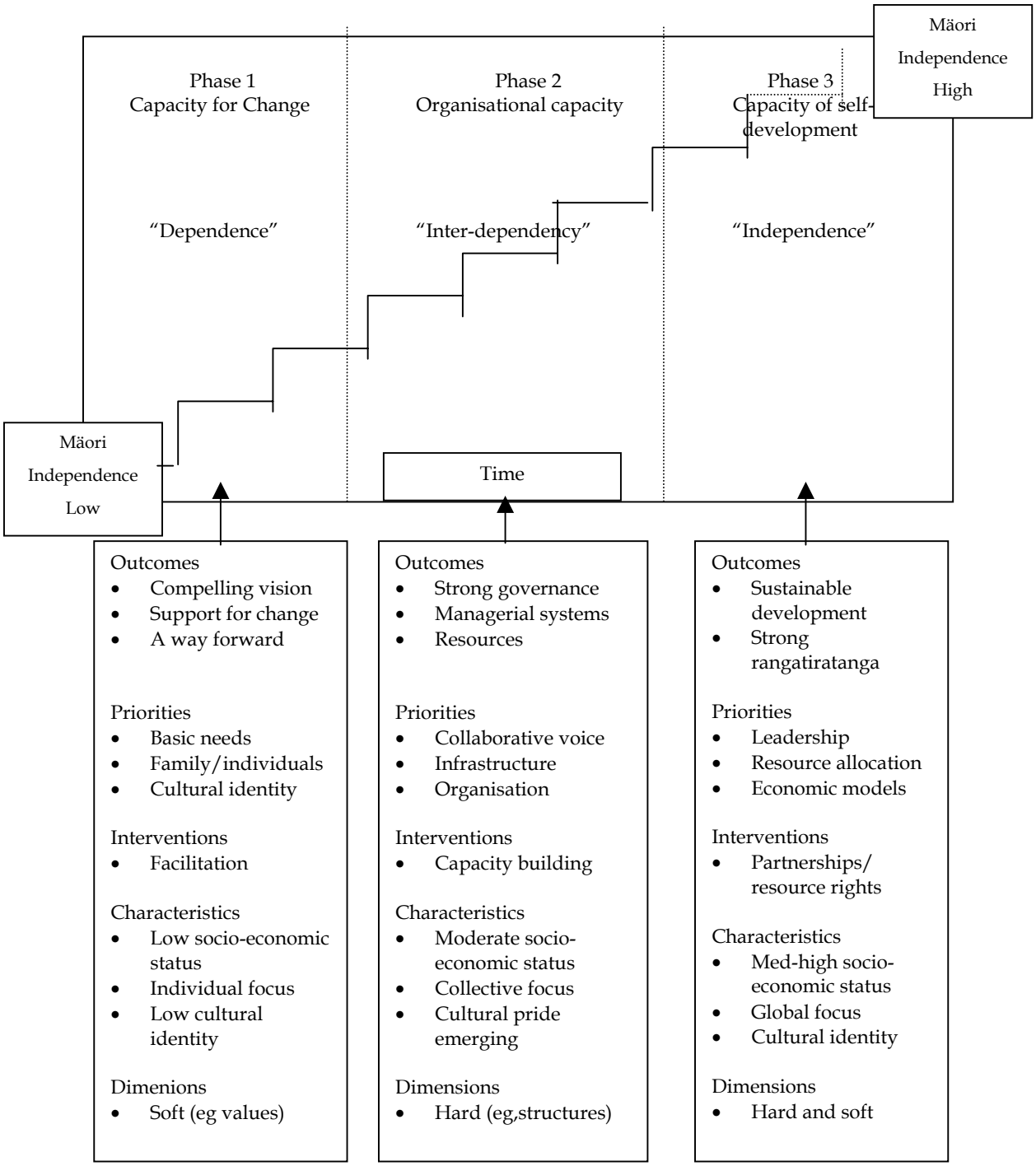
The capacity building intervention at this phase will relate mainly to accessing resources, acquiring assets and lifting the productivity of existing assets. Thus partnerships with the public and private sectors becomes paramount and a premium is placed on leadership adept at negotiating and sustaining relationships at this level. Māori at this point are experienced at managing government programmes as well as implementing their own models of economic and social development. These initiatives provide a basis to advance Māori development aspirations through internally generated resources, thus high levels of independence are sustained.

The continuum of course makes a number of assumptions. Firstly, that Māori may not develop in such a sequential fashion. Capacity building may be triggered by a social crisis as much by an opportunity to develop an economic asset, implying a need for different interventions. Secondly, the scale of independence is ill-defined, making it difficult to precisely locate Māori along the continuum, and between phases. Thirdly, the effect of externalities on Māori development, such as government, the marketplace, and the diversity of Māori existence are not directly accounted for in the continuum.

Nevertheless, the continuum provides a useful framework in my view for showing the linkages between capacity building and Māori development. At a minimum the continuum highlights the types of capacity building interventions that may be relevant for Māori at different stages of their development. Ultimately, however, the continuum seeks to illustrate the concepts of Māori independence, self-determined development, and capacity building as strongly related and necessary to achieving successful Māori development over time.

There will be some iwi and Māori entities already operating within phase three of the Māori development continuum. They may already experience high degrees of independence, indicated by, for instance, a high proportion of revenues generated from internal sources and established infrastructures. Partnerships and access to resources of the state may be all that is necessary to sustain their position of relative independence and development. Māori organisations such as the large urban authorities are another type of Māori entity approaching phase three, requiring similar interventions. The distinction here is that they may lack the characteristic of economic self-sufficiency due to relatively higher reliance on government contracts for revenue generation.

Figure 6 – Māori development continuum



Key attributes underpinning the Māori development continuum

The proposed model of Māori capacity building, in light of the continuum is not complete without an explanation of the attributes, which will underpin any change to the present policy. The four attributes are identified as:

- Self-determined development
- Self-management
- Partnerships
- New public management

Self-determined Māori development

Self-determined development is the first and most critical element to successful Māori capacity building, and in turn, Māori development. This conclusion is supported by the interviews with agencies, Ministers and Māori. It is also supported by the international literature on capacity building and the domestic literature around Māori development frameworks. The only area where such a view is not openly and actively supported appears to be official government policy relating to capacity building.

In a practical sense, self-determined Māori development will involve at the national, regional, tribal, family and individual level, discussion and debate about the strategic objectives of Māori development. It will extend to the processes of decision-making, conflict resolution, unification among and conversely, boundaries between Māori. When responsibility for these processes has been conferred upon tribes, the experience in North America shows that the response in development terms has been positive over time. Equally, the same could be said of some of the tribal organisations within New Zealand.

Thus, a first step would be to support 'self-determined' Māori development as a central theme of Māori capacity building, and secondly, to ask Māori what this might entail and how it should be implemented. The Māori development literature and interviews with Māori respondents suggests what some of these elements may be. That is, effective infrastructure, good governance, strong cultural identity, and an economic base.

Self-management

Self-management in this context implies management of programmes by Māori for Māori. Rather than 'state-led' bureaucracies Māori are commended as preferred leaders and managers of capacity building programmes and interventions. Obvious implications are decisions about which Māori entities will deliver capacity building assistance, on what basis will they allocate funding, and to whom will they be accountable for the distribution and performance against such funding as appropriated? If Tamihere's view is adopted, the appropriate bodies would be regional Māori organisations akin to the Waipareira Trust.

Two major preconditions of self-management therefore arise. One is ensuring allocation and distribution of funding is fair, transparent and accountable. Two is the avoidance of capture. International experience[11] shows that assuming responsibility for such decisions and problems is a natural part of the capacity building process. The indigenous experience implies that unless Māori are given control over these decisions, they will never develop the level of institutional capacity necessary to implement such policies and programmes among their people, a view supported by many of the Māori respondents. Thus, part of the answer is to be found in the simple notion that Māori know best what Māori need, want and aspire to, as Shand and Mackie suggest. Māori should be entitled to determined how self-management could be achieved on a local, regional and national basis, and accorded the opportunity for self-management. It is not uncommon for programme definition, design and delivery to be tendered to the private sector. However, in the case of Māori capacity building, self-management might imply a slightly greater level of discretion than mere 'contracting out' would suggest. This recognises that Māori independence is not absolute.

11 See for example, Cornell (2000).

Partnerships

The third attribute to the Māori development model is partnerships. Partnerships were expressed at length by several Māori respondents as an essential mechanism by which to obtain access to resources, capacity, opportunities, and support that would not otherwise be available. Agency respondents suggested that the underlying nature of the present relationship between Māori and the Crown needed to change to a more equal one. Partnerships between agencies and Māori are a strategy presently being pursued in some governmental sectors. However, it is suggested that a higher level of formality and consistency in partnership arrangements is expected to facilitate the process of resource transfer, accountability, and mutual benefits. Such partnerships would tend to emerge in phase two of the continuum, but are more likely to mature in phase three.

A new public management model

The fourth attribute of the Māori development model is a requirement for new practices in public sector management to accommodate Māori capacity building as defined in the model. Interview results suggest that the public sector is not configured for effective resource transfer nor shared accountability for Māori capacity building.

There are two opposing views relating to resource transfer to Māori of relevance to public sector management. One suggests that government should simply hand-over funding to Māori with few conditions in the expectation that Māori will deliver on development initiative, learn from their mistakes and develop institutional capacity to minimise these. This implies a reliance on the notion of self-determined development, self-rule, and Māori know best what is good for Māori. The alternate view suggests a high level of accountability be imposed by specifying processes and outcomes for any appropriation. This latter approach assumes the relationship between the state and Māori is in the nature of a normal contractual arrangement between funder and provider.

Instead, this attribute of the Māori development model suggests the balance is to be found in sequencing Māori capacity building to ensure 'self-imposed' accountability systems are in place before resource transfer takes place. This does not imply that assistance is not given to achieve minimum accountability requirements. On the contrary, agency performance should be measured against its ability to assist Māori to achieve these standards. This state of organisational preparedness among Māori would be an expected outcome of phase two of the continuum.

The next public management practice of relevance relates to inter-agency collaboration. While key to capacity building in the literature, neither agency respondents nor Māori respondents offered significant comment on this. Tamihere and Turia however placed significant emphasis on the role of the state sector in building Māori capacity, both seemingly acutely aware of the potential impact access to substantial mainstream departmental resources could have on Māori development. Despite this, it is not clear to what extent Māori capacity building is followed by successful access to mainstream funding and programmes for development and service delivery.

One of the problems with the present framework, may be that incentives and sanctions to encourage agencies to respond positively to Māori aspirations are either inadequate or inappropriate. This is despite the operation of a policy encouraging state sector collaboration in support of Māori capacity building initiatives. A suggested instrument to incentivise responsiveness to Māori and 'ministerial' expectations of leverage, may extend to arbitrary targets for baseline spending on Māori development. An example of this, could be setting a minimum of 15% of agency budgets to be expended on Māori development. Whilst this carries with it the problems of distinguishing between Māori and non-Māori clients and programmes, distinguishing appropriations between those which are solely for Māori, target Māori and target Māori and others has already been applied by the Treasury (see Treasury, 2000). Thus, it would not seem a great leap to setting baseline targets given the existence of such benchmarks.

Finally, evaluation of capacity building poses a number of not insignificant challenges for public sector management generally. One of these challenges relates to evaluating intangible or soft dimensions of capacity building, as well as the tangible dimensions to give a complete picture of capacity building. A further challenge relates to the linkage between capacity building and development outcomes, including Māori independence, and associated drivers. Whilst greater emphasis on measuring impacts and value for money are likely, there is a corresponding need to effectively communicate the results on a continuous basis to key stakeholders. The continuum may be useful in that it provides a view of the interrelationships between concepts such as capacity building, rangatiratanga, and socio-economic status, as a basis to develop specific indicators of each of the development phases.

CHAPTER 5 – CONCLUSIONS

The purpose of this research project was to add value to public policy knowledge about capacity building by exploring different perspectives of what capacity building means for Māori, the Crown, and agencies. An important feature of the research was how these perspectives compared with the international and domestic literature defining capacity building and in particular the attributes of successful capacity building. More specifically, the objectives of the research were to:

- examine definitions and attributes of successful capacity building
- examine Māori and Crown views of definitions and attributes
- examine whether the policy demonstrates these attributes; and
- identify and discuss lessons for capacity building policy.

The research involved a series of semi-structured interviews with respondents from government agencies, a Member of Parliament, and several respondents from Māori organisations. These interviews provided valuable primary evidence of the different perspectives of Māori capacity building. All interviews were conducted in accordance with an approved Ethics Committee application.

In my view, the purpose of this research has been clearly satisfied and demonstrated in this paper. The international and domestic literature on capacity building and related subjects was extensively reviewed in Chapter 1. The review highlighted similarities between the Māori position and international literature on capacity building that it be locally controlled and driven. The review also revealed gaps between this approach and the New Zealand policy on Māori capacity building. The review also highlighted a number of frameworks, notably, the systems and indigenous perspectives, which offer Māori capacity building alternative approaches for design and application.

In terms of the second objective, Chapter 3 canvassed in detail Māori, Crown and agency views on the definitions of capacity building as they relate to Māori, the attributes of successful capacity building, and the respective roles of government and Māori by way of interviews. This Chapter showed that while Māori, Crown and agency understandings of capacity building differ considerably from each other, they are reasonably consistent with the literature on government, indigenous and aid agency perspectives. Māori favour greater ownership and control over the process and outcomes of capacity building. The Crown and agency respondents fall somewhere between supporting Māori control and greater state involvement of Māori capacity building given the resources at its disposal.

The attributes of successful capacity building identified by respondents generally resembled those gleaned from the international literature but with different emphases and interpretations in some respects. For instance, the attributes range from ownership by the group (agency perspective) to self-determined development (Māori perspectives) more akin to indigenous notions of 'self-rule'. Other attributes identified relate to the relationships between Māori and others and the process for transferring and receiving resources for capacity building, as well as achieving effective governance and infrastructure.

Chapter 4 analysed the research results by attempting to locate capacity building in New Zealand between 'state-led' and 'self-determined' notions of capacity building. The analysis revealed that the present Māori capacity building policy tends not to conform completely to Māori, Crown or agencies expectations of capacity building. While appearing to have all the hallmarks of internationally defined capacity building, the policy falls short in several respects. Some of these are the lack of provision for self-management by Māori of programme delivery and a further absence of flexible processes to cope with new relationships and accountability arrangements.

A model of Māori development was constructed in the remainder of Chapter 4, within which the relationship between Māori development and capacity building was demonstrated. The model attempted to demonstrate the phases of Māori development along a continuum moving from low levels of independence to higher levels. The different phases signaled a need for different types of capacity building intervention. Key attributes underpinning the model were 'self-determined development as a central goal of capacity building, self-management by Māori of programmes, partnerships between Māori and others, and a new public management model which provides for different types of accountability, interagency collaboration and evaluation. It may in fact materialise that the public sector is simply taking time to adjust to the role of the 'enabling' state rather than the 'provider' of social and economic wellbeing. The implications for the present policy are self-evident and highlighted within the model and associated attributes. The principal challenge relates to the transfer of ever greater levels of control over the policy and process so that Māori independence is seen as a legitimate goal of government policy, engendered by its approach to Māori capacity building.

In conclusion, suggested areas for further investigation may include the adjustment period for public sector agencies to changes in policy such as that introduced by capacity building. A second area of possible research is a possible set of indices of Māori independence and self-determined development, and measuring their practice among Māori in capacity building contexts. A third area for possible research is the extent to which Māori capacity building initiatives have enabled Māori to access wider resources and programmes of the state sector. Finally, it seems that evaluation methodologies and strategies to measure the practices and impacts of capacity building in relation to Māori development also provides a furtive ground for further investigation.

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