Te Puna Ora o Mataatua

PERSISTING INEQUALITIES AND THE POTENTIAL FOR INTERVENTION THROUGH 'NEW' GOVERNANCE MODELS

An independent research report

Prepared for

Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga

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1. Summary

This report sets out the findings and recommendations from research into Māori governance and its potential to effect change in persistent inequalities that affect Māori. Māori governance is a form of Indigenous governance to be found in Aotearoa New Zealand that gives collective voice and agency to tribal and nontribal aspirations and imperatives at local, regional, national and international levels. Māori governance is, however, constrained by state and nonstate actors, and must adapt accordingly to achieve its development goals.

In this research, we use kaupapa Māori theory, which emphasises 'by Māori for Māori' research processes that are transformative, grounded in mātauranga Māori, tikanga Māori, and te reo Māori. This research asks: what is the potential for new governance structures to intervene in persisting social, cultural, political and economic inequalities that disproportionately accrue to Māori? Three sub-elements were explored: (1) governance structure, form, function; (2) governance and developmental imperatives; and (3) governance and aspirations. We reviewed the Indigenous and Māori governance literature and conducted case study research of Māori governance from three perspectives: community outcomes at a marae level in a Ngāti Kahungunu, health outcomes at a provider level in the Mataatua district, and Māori economic outcomes in the Manawatū.

At the community level, we found that Māori engage in governance using Māori values, Māori knowledge and relationships, in both Māori and non-Māori governance structures to achieve Māori aspirations. Māori governance roles within hapū and iwi need to be more broadly accessible to allow different voices and capabilities to emerge. At a health provider level, we found that health system governance, while inclusive of attempts at partnership arrangements, have not been effective at displacing structural inequities, with particular criticism of the uneven effects of the devolution policy in health for Māori. Covid-19 responses demonstrated that bureaucratic control of Māori governance arrangements could be relaxed with positive effects. In terms of the economic perspective, we found that national policy sees self-determined Māori economic development as effecting change in Māori socioeconomic outcomes. However, Māori representation in the governance of economic development is low, and regionally, Māori economic development is constrained by resource limitations despite the advent of treaty settlements. A focus on collaboration across iwi, capability and intent of Māori business networks, and an equitable share of economic resources will assist.

2. Introduction

2.1 Context

Persisting inequalities seeks to understand how Māori governance at various scales, sites, and sectors, and in its various manifestations can make a sustained and material difference in the lives of Māori people, consistent with their needs, aspirations, and capabilities to lead and effect change. Governance in a general sense has to do with how power and control are exercised to direct and accomplish any kind of activity or outcome for the benefit of defined and undefined groups. Governance operates at state levels, with governments acting on the collective behalf of its citizenry as representatives of its peoples, and in business and community organisations to guide them in the achievement of the interests of their members. Similarly, for Indigenous peoples, governance manifests at national levels where tribes, tribal leaders or affiliated Indigenous organisations congregate and coalesce for common purposes—political, social, economic, cultural, environmental, spiritual, or all of these. Indigenous governance also exists in the social structures of tribal and nontribal Indigenous communities, and Indigenous social and economic enterprises of various kinds to achieve Indigenous aspirations, priorities, and needs.

2.2 Indigeneity and governance

Once free to exist and operate according to Indigenous values, preferences, and circumstances, Indigenous governance, and its capacity to effect change, assemble measures and achieve ends, is subject to state control. While the appearance and effect of state control vary from country to country, and region to region, this generally occurs through legislative, regulatory, policy and funding frameworks imposed on Indigenous peoples. Despite state-level constraints and impositions, Indigenous governance has evolved to contribute to and achieve goals and priorities that matter to their people, including preserving their indigeneity, and the lands, waters, and resources on which their way of life depends. Indigenous governance is confronted by significant challenges, one of which is how to address persistent inequalities and inequities that disproportionately affect Indigenous peoples.

Indigenous governors and organisations must accomplish this imperative while evolving as effective contemporary Indigenous organisations, retaining and revitalising their indigeneity, and doing so in relation to state and private sector institutions, actors whose perception and orientation toward their Indigenous populations may range from indifference to hostility. While state recognition of Indigenous peoples, Indigenous rights, and Indigenous socioeconomic disadvantage is increasingly being recognised and addressed in various ways, the overall tendency is for states to take a minimalist approach to meeting their obligations to Indigenous peoples (Lightfoot, 2016).

2.3 A focus on Māori governance

In this research we focus on Māori governance in Aotearoa New Zealand. We acknowledge other Indigenous groups who are experiencing similar issues in places such as North America, Canada, and Europe. We draw insights and lessons from these international Indigenous institutions and aim to contribute to the wider and shared goals of Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga and other Māori groupings including hapū, whānau, and iwi. These goals include a greater realisation of Māori aspirations and capabilities for flourishing Māori and tribal economies, environment and people; enhancing te reo Māori and tikanga Māori revitalisation, normalisation, and practice within our research settings, communities, and society; and expanding the quality and quantity of Māori research, including Māori postgraduate scholarship and improved career pathways for Māori.

2.4 Research team

We have a small team of interdisciplinary scholars drawn from both the community and academia: Te Puna Ora o Mataatua researchers Fiona Wiremu and Dr Annemarie Gillies, Dr Jason Paul Mika and Distinguished Professor Graham Hingangaroa Smith both of Massey University, and Ms Maria Ngawati, a doctoral candidate at Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi. The research is funded by Ngā Pae o Te Māramatanga (New Zealand Centre of Research Excellence), University of Auckland.

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3. Methodology

3.1 Research questions

The primary research question is:

> *What is the potential for new governance structures to intervene in persisting social, cultural, political and economic inequalities that disproportionately accrue to Māori?*

Three subsidiary questions were devised to guide governance research: (1) who determines the structure, form, function, practice and shape of governance? (2) what are the effects of governance on social, cultural, ecological and political imperatives? (3), how are community aspirations represented at governance?

3.2 Research design

Our research design is based on kaupapa Māori research philosophy, principles and practices—research by Māori, with Māori, for Māori—and is intended to be engaging and transformative according to Māori values, ethics, language, needs, aspirations, and preferences (Smith, 1997; Smith, 1999). The research team are proficient in Māori research methodologies, in particular research that allows people to convey their knowledge and views in individual or group environments. These approaches align well with Māori and Indigenous development goals and the post-treaty development element of this research, which respects local ways of knowing (Henry & Foley, 2018). The project will also contribute to the upskilling of local researchers.

We primarily employ qualitative research methods: a critical review of the literature to establish what is known, and consequently, what is not known; case studies of Māori governance in different communities, sectors, and scales; and thematic analysis of the research to arrive at conclusions and recommendations as to 'new governance models' that have potential to intervene in persisting inequalities. We explore Māori governance structures and practices and the perspectives of communities, as well as the relationships between national and international Indigenous governance and communities. The methodology seeks to gain a holistic perspective and understanding of these practices, perspectives, and relationships (Smith, 1999). This will allow us to overcome one of the weaknesses of the literature—the focus on adapting Western models to suit Indigenous and Māori contexts. We look at understanding similarities and differences in Indigenous national and international locations and experiences and how these might benefit whānau, hapū, iwi, and organisations as well as Indigenous groups around the world in a post-treaty settlement future (Joseph, 2014; Le Heron et al., 2020).

A unique feature of this research is the ability to add a comparative element between similar organisations and tribal groupings rather than always comparing or being compared with Western organisations and modes of governance. As such, there are elements of privileging Indigenous knowledge and ways of doing, even though many of these groups may have started their corporate lives founded on Western ideologies. For example, in Aotearoa New Zealand, post-treaty settlement entities are formed both as not-for-profit entities prescribed by government and as commercial or for-profit entities as they have evolved in North America and Europe (Cribb, 2020; Prendergast-Tarena, 2015). Western systems perceive tensions between economic and cultural imperatives, yet for Indigenous communities, the blending of culture and economic activity was part of normal daily living. This research acknowledges these tensions and explores them further. In addition, there is a focus on theorising the relationship between Māori and Indigenous models of governance.

3.3 Data gathering

Data gathering involved collaboration among the research team to conduct the literature search and review and fieldwork with Māori and Indigenous communities. The literature search revealed a considerable body of literature on Māori and Indigenous governance, but a dearth of empirical research on the impact of governance on the socio-cultural, ecological, and political aspirations of Māori and Indigenous peoples (see Annex 3). The field work involved identifying, engaging with, and interviewing individuals and groups from three case study sites:

1. Governing for hauora (health) gains: Māori health provider perspectives on governance
2. Governing for communities: hapū and marae perspectives
3. Governing for economic development: Māori enterprise perspectives.

In each case, a multi-scalar methodology was used. At the governance level, we critically reviewed governance documents and other relevant literature while also interviewing governance members in person or by video conference or by phone. At the management level, we interviewed executives, managers, and community leaders. In addition, the research team noted observations of the people, places, and social and physical environments. At the national and international level, we consider findings from a review of international Indigenous governance across first nations peoples, tribal, and other forms of Indigenous affiliation.

3.4 Interview schedule

We devised an interview schedule to facilitate kōrero with case study participants and guide analysis of the findings. This interview schedule, along with the research ethics forms we provided participants, is set out in Annex 1. The interview questions are outlined below.

Table 1: Research questions, purpose, and scope of evidence

Main questions	Purpose and scope of evidence
Who determines the structure form, function, practice, and shape of governance?	Document the multiplicity of attitudes, relationships, and practices of Governance Examine different layers of influence - explore the motivations of governance members and executives/managers Undertake textual analysis of governance/ organisational documents Undertake structured observations of governance meetings, executives, employees and community - interviews with tribal/ organisational members and community members.
What are the effects of governance on social, cultural, ecological, and political imperatives?	Document the extent to which local communities value governance practices In what ways does governance reshape Māori and Indigenous development aspirations, livelihoods, and futures Interviews (semi-structured) with community, tribal members Develop tools that allow communities to define their own indicators and strategies for economic development and expectations of governance.
How are community aspirations represented at governance?	Examine motivations and practices of governance Identify where and who exerts the strongest influence Interview community members Structured observations of hui with employees and community members.

3.5 Data analysis

Case study data were analysed by the team member leading the case based on organisational documents, literature review, observations, and interviews. The situating of this analysis within the broader empirical and conceptual literature will allow for new insights and theorisation of the relationship between governance and communities in Māori and Indigenous contexts. The researchers will present findings to the participating groups, communities of interest, and other relevant stakeholders at the conclusion of this research.

3.6 Research ethics

An important element of kaupapa Māori research is maintaining protection and guidance over the researchers, participants, the process, data, and outcomes. A reference group, *He Rōpū Whakaruruhau*, comprising Māori experts and specialists, assisted the research team with advice and guidance throughout the project. The research was reviewed and approved by the ethics committee of Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi (ECA# 09/001) based on a comprehensive application prepared by the research team (see Annex 1 for copy of the consent form, confidentiality agreement, information sheet and schedule of questions).

3.7 Research outputs

A summary of the research objectives and outputs produced from this research is set out in Table 2.

Table 2: Research outputs

Objective	Outputs
Map the problematic of governance, structure, form, function, practice, and values as they pertain to Māori/iwi and their in/ability to serve the social economic, political, and cultural expectations of iwi/Māori.	Three main outputs were produced: a conference paper delivered at a social movements conference at Massey University in Auckland in 2017; a journal article focusing post-settlement governance entities; and a book chapter on Tūhoe self-governance. Mika, J. P., Smith, G. H., Gillies, A., & Wiremu, F. (2017). *Unfolding tensions in the social order of iwi*. Paper presented at the Ka whawhai tonu mātou: Beyond capitalism, beyond colonisation, The fourth annual conference in the Social Movements, Resistance and Social Change, 6–8 September 2017, Massey University, Albany Campus, Auckland. Mika, J. P., Smith, G. H., Gillies, A., & Wiremu, F. (2019). Unfolding tensions within post-settlement governance and tribal economies in Aotearoa New Zealand. *Journal of Enterprising Communities: People and Places in the Global Economy, 13*(3), 296–318. https://doi.org/10.1108/JEC-12-2018-0104 Mika, J. P. (2021, in press). Tūhoe self-governance: Te mana motuhake o Tūhoe In R. Joseph & R. Benton (Eds.), *Māori governance in the twenty-first century: A comprehensive overview*. Te Mata Hautū Taketake—the Maori and Indigenous Governance Centre, Te Piringa Faculty of Law, University of Waikato.

Objective	Outputs
To investigate a select sample of international Indigenous models of governance, structure, and practice to discover innovative and tested responses to some of the problematics identified in objective 1.	Three main outputs were produced for this objective: (a) an annotated bibliography on governance models; (b) a summary of four governance models (see Annex 3); (c) a review of the literature on Indigenous governance. Other investigations included: meetings and observations of one of the researchers with Indigenous groups in Canada America; and observations and research of Indigenous governance in the United States by one of the researchers while on a Fulbright scholarship.
To meet with a selected number of Māori leaders and international Indigenous experts who can provide insights into their models of horizontal governance (a national voice).	Our team have attended meetings with various Indigenous leaders, including the Iwi Chairs Forum, Tribal Health in the United States, National Centre of American Indian Enterprise Development, and Assembly of First Nations, among others. Data from these engagements, research and observations will form the basis of a future publication.
3(a) to examine the iwi/crown relationships that are formed in and as a result of a negotiated governance models (e.g., the economic growth strategy for Tairāwhiti; He kai kei aku ringa); (b) to examine the potential of existing governance mechanisms to effectively impact inequalities; (c) to examine the extent to which persisting social, cultural and economic inequalities are effectively addressed within governance and decision-making structures (final report on a Māori analysis of governance).	Team have presented at the following conferences and events: Indigenous Business Researchers Symposium, Rotorua 8 October 2018 NAISA pre-conference hui with Indigenous leaders, Manurewa, June 2019 Social Movements conference in Auckland September 2017
To produce a report that summarises our overall findings in respect to our two initial aims: (a) a comprehensive examination / overview of governance structure, form, function, and practice as it impacts Māori and iwi; (b) investigate how improving governance will potentially transform and improve the high and disproportionate levels of inequality experienced by iwi/Māori.	This report constitutes the output.

4. Literature Review

4.1 Defining the problem

A significant problem is that the current government emphasis on building better governance is linked to 'devolution' and 'self-development'. This emphasis has seen major reform of legislation and governance expectation. For Māori, devolution policy is often problematic to the extent that it 'neatly' diminishes the Crown/state from its Treaty of Waitangi obligations. There has been a tendency to devolve (abdicate) this responsibility into the hands of quasi 'governance entities' that in the end are merely responsible for implementing policy and therefore have little power or control over funding or resources.

What counts as good 'governance' is an important question to which iwi and Māori need to contribute an answer with respect to transforming their own social, cultural, political, and economic expectations. Important perceptions that derive from a critical consideration of current Treaty of Waitangi settlement processes need to be foregrounded. For example, there are unresolved tensions between such issues as the 'sovereign' positioning of the 'iwi Māori' partner on the one hand and the 'Crown' partner on the other. This partnership recognition is formally embedded in the negotiating processes of Treaty settlement and therefore begs questions about the enduring status of 'partnership'. Māori confidence about 'partnership' has been undermined by Crown/State unilateral declarations around "full and final settlement", "the ending of Treaty settlement", "new constitution discussions", and so on, despite the fact that the judicial process overseen by the Waitangi Tribunal can only recommend its findings to the government.

There are also tensions about what has been 'settled', given that current settlements have tended to focus mostly on 'property rights' related to historical dispossession of physical and material goods and there has been little to no discussion on the future of the 'personal rights' specifically referenced in Article III of the Treaty of Waitangi. These and other matters continue to blur issues related to Māori sovereignty, citizenship and equality as they pertain to governance. There is a need to proceed with caution and to reflect carefully on these matters with research informed analysis and debate.

The multiple accountabilities of Māori governors to whānau and community members, beneficiaries, and external stakeholders, make Māori governance challenges unique. Māori entity ownership characteristics are also collective, ancestry-based, and do not have easy exit mechanisms for owners; and while traditional tikanga Māori (customary law) is a unique consideration, Māori entities are often highly politicised; sometimes subjected to restrictive legislation; often aspire to quadruple bottom lines, and usually include long-term asset ownership and tribal regeneration strategies.

Māori governance therefore poses complex challenges in the design of optimal governance models, processes and structures.

Furthermore, the increase in the number of Māori entities with substantial assets contributing to a growing Māori economy begs the question of effective Māori governance models. Government identifies the opportunities for increasing the utilisation of Māori assets through more effective governance models and through sharing governance best practices. A new approach to excellent co-produced Māori governance research is required to appropriately address Māori governance values, institutions, and aspirations in 21st century Aotearoa New Zealand.

From a starting point similar to Durie's matrix of Māori development is the 360-degree intervention model developed by Graham Smith. Smith's 360-degree intervention model promotes the need for simultaneous interventions when dealing with multiple problems. This model will be a valuable tool for analysing the national and international interviews carried out about Indigenous governance and the challenges it faces in different contexts. Our research includes an examination of the interface between vertical governance (iwi level) and horizontal governance (pan-Māori), adapting the model described in Smith et al. (2015). This interface provides an outcome of a broader and more robust platform to enable more leverage for transforming the Māori/iwi socioeconomic condition. The interviews are analysed from a multi-disciplinary perspective, seeking to find the positive potential of actions that originate from and are likely to be embraced by Māori communities.

Through the 360-degree intervention model (Smith et al., 2015), this study aims to enhance Māori and tribal capacity (Joseph, 2012) to move beyond top-down models of governance and leadership to highlight issues of collective buy-in, active participation, and increased democratic involvement. Although better cohesion is still needed in favour of a national body of governance and policy making, Māori society already displays key elements of nationhood, such as *te reo* as a unified language, the *tino rangatiratanga* flag, and the Māori television channel and radio stations (Dodd, 2003; Walker, 2004). Of importance here is the need to build alternatives to the alienating values of competitive individualism, acknowledging both urban and tribal Māori identities. A critical outcome is to build and maintain the capacity for social cohesion (Jahnke & Gillies, 2012; Stephens & Gillies, 2012) and, therefore, strengthening collaborative and cultural structures such as whānau, hapū, and iwi (Gillies et al., 2007). This move can imply true development for Māori within Aotearoa New Zealand society.

4.2 Indigenous governance

This section outlines four key Indigenous organisations and their governance arrangements. It focuses on their experience with of Western imperialism and colonisation and how this has affected their choice of governance and their associated systems.

Assembly of First Nations

The Assembly of the First Nations of Canada was established in 1982. Although Canadian Indigenous had representation through the National Indian Brotherhood before 1982, this happened through provincial organisations (several of these organisations began as early as the 1920s, and many were based on political traditions dating from before European contact). The Assembly of First Nations was established as a result of a movement to restore chiefs as the voice of First Nations in Canada.

The Assembly of First Nations (AFN) is a political organisation representing approximately 900,000 First Nations citizens in Canada. The AFN advocates on behalf of First Nations on issues such as treaties, Indigenous rights, and land and resources. The AFN's Chiefs assemblies are held at least twice a year, where chiefs from each First Nation pass resolutions to direct the organisation's work. There are over 600 First Nations in Canada.

The Assembly of First Nations is an assembly, modelled on the United Nations General Assembly, of First Nations represented by their chiefs. It emerged from and replaced the Canadian National Indian Brotherhood in the early 1980s. It is dedicated as the sole voice for issues of relevance to American Indians, through mandate by hundreds of nation chiefs outlined in the Declaration of First Nations.

Elections are held every three years by chiefs in their region. There are 10 regions: Northwest territories, Manitoba, Nova Scotia/Newfoundland and Labrador, New Brunswick/Prince Edward Island, Saskatchewan, Quebec/Labrador, Yukon, Alberta, British Columbia, and Ontario. Communities elect the chief of their region, who take position on the national Council.

Each of the 10 regions elects one chief to the executive Board. Chiefs, who are elected by the citizens and members of their respective communities, elect the National Chief every three years. The Chairs of the Elders, Women's and Youth councils are also appointed to the Executive Council, after going through their own internal elections. Total Executive Council membership is 14 representatives.

First Nation leaders (chiefs) from coast to coast direct the work of AFN through resolutions passed at chiefs assemblies held at least twice a year. The role of the AFN is to advocate on behalf of First Nations as directed by Chiefs-in-Assembly. This includes facilitation and coordination of national and

regional discussions and dialogue, advocacy efforts and campaigns, legal and policy analysis, and communicating with governments, including facilitating relationship building between First Nations and the Crown as well as public and private sectors and general public.

The Executive of the Assembly of the First nations utilise a resolution process in setting out their agenda and ascertaining the priorities for their constituents (First Nations People of America). Any nation can put forth a resolution. Resolutions are the essential mechanism by which First Nations provide specific mandates and direction to the Assembly of First Nations (AFN). The resolutions process serves to effectively foster and capture national consensus on significant policy matters and are considered at the Annual General Assembly or at the Special Chiefs Assembly. In 2007, the AFN Executive approved new Rules of Procedure for AFN Assemblies to enhance efficiencies and decision- making at AFN Assemblies.

National Congress of American Indians

Founded in 1944, the National Congress of American Indians (NCAI) is the oldest, largest, and most representative American Indian and Alaska Native organisation in the country. NCAI advocates on behalf of tribal governments and communities, promoting strong tribal–federal government-to-government policies, and promoting a better understanding among the general public regarding American Indian and Alaska Native governments, people, and rights. The mission of NCAI is to protect and enhance treaty and sovereign rights of American Indians, to secure traditional laws, cultures, and ways of life for their uri, and to promote a common understanding of the rightful place of tribes in the family of American governments. The overarching objective of the NCAI is to improve the quality of life for Native communities and peoples.

NCAI was established in response to the termination and assimilation policies the US government forced upon tribal governments in contradiction of their treaty rights and status as sovereign nations. To this day, protecting these inherent and legal rights remains the primary focus of NCAI.

Any person of Indian and/or Alaska Native ancestry in the United States or a native of Alaska is eligible for individual membership. Non-Indian applicants may be admitted to non-voting associate membership. Organizations may be admitted to non-voting associate membership.

Executive committee is elected by the wider membership of NCAI. Twelve regional vice-presidents are elected from their regions: Alaska, Midwest, Pacific, Southern Plains, Eastern Oklahoma, Northeast, Rocky Mountain, Southwest, Great Plains, Northwest, South East, and Western. NCAI members also elect the organisation's Executive Committee—the NCAI President, 1st Vice President,

Recording Secretary, and Treasurer—who are elected by the entire membership. Sitting term for the Executive Committee is two years.

NCAI represents a diverse network of tribal nations, tribal citizens, and Native organisations. As a member-based representative Congress, NCAI is governed by voting members who determine NCAI's consensus positions expressed in resolutions, which are developed in committees and sub-committees and then voted on at national conventions.

The National Congress of American Indians (NCAI) is the oldest, largest, and most representative American Indian and Alaska Native organisation serving the broad interests of tribal governments and communities.

The organisation provides essential information and education on key policy initiatives, enhances coordination and consultation with tribal governments, and leads tribal advocacy efforts to unite tribal advocates to promote progressive, proactive Indian policy. NCAI staff also work to enhance relationships between tribal governments and the federal, state, and local governments to better meet the needs of tribal citizens and uphold the government-to-government principals that are essential to the autonomy of tribal governments.

The National Congress of American Indians hold a relationship with the nation state through its positioning in the embassy of Tribal Nations. The Embassy of Tribal Nations has established itself as the Washington institution that physically embodies the nation-to-nation relationship.

The Embassy benefits tribes and tribal organisations in many ways, including solidifying the presence of sovereign tribal nations in Washington, DC; increasing public awareness of tribal governments and NCAI; improving the efficiency and work environment of NCAI operations and activities; providing housing for and better coordination with our sister organisations; increasing the value, long-term equity, and stability of NCAI assets; and solidifying long-term investment and savings for NCAI.

A resolution is one of the policy mechanisms utilized by NCAI to express the consensus positions of member tribes on tribal, federal, state, and/or local legislation, litigation, or policy matters that affect the welfare and rights of American Indian and Alaska Native governments or communities. NCAI resolutions may address regional or local tribal issues when the issue would set a precedent impacting other tribes. NCAI resolutions are one of the policy mechanisms used to express the organisational positions on tribal, federal, state, and/or local legislation, litigation, and policy matters that affect tribal governments or communities. The resolutions passed by the organisation cover a broad range of topics and are equally important for providing direction to the organisation and as advocacy tools with policy makers.

Alaskan Federation of Natives

The Alaska Federation of Natives (AFN) is the largest state-wide Native organisation in Alaska. It was formed in 1966 in response to the issue of aboriginal land rights. In the late 1980s, AFN turned its attention to social, tribal, and economic issues. At the state level, AFN plays an active role in the legislative process, promoting laws, policies, and programmes in areas such as health, education, resource development, labour, and government.

The Alaskan Federation of Natives work to advocate for Alaska Native people, their governments and organisations, with respect to federal, state and local laws; to foster and encourage preservation of Alaska Native cultures; to promote understanding of the economic needs of Alaska Natives and encourage development consistent with those needs; and to protect, retain, and enhance all lands owned by Alaska Natives and their organisations. AFN organized as a non-profit to solicit government program funds, and eventually came to operate education, manpower training, housing, and health programmes. At the same time, AFN worked tirelessly to press their claims for lands. AFN was structured in a way that represented, and continues to represent, the diverse Native groups within Alaska at the state and federal levels.

Alaskan Federation of Natives membership includes 191 federally recognised tribes, 171 village corporations, 12 regional corporations, and 12 regional non-profit and tribal consortiums. Executive committee is elected by their regions, with each region having 2-3 members on the Executive. The total number of members on the Board of Directors in 38. The Tribal regions and organisations from which these members are elected are Ahtna, Aleut, Arctic Slope, Bering Straits, Bristol Bay, Chugach, Cook Inlet, Interior, Kodiak, Northwest, Southeast, and Yukon Kuskokwim Delta. AFN is governed by a 38-member board, which is elected by its membership at the annual convention held each October.

AFN is organized as a non-profit to solicit government programme funds, and eventually came to operate education, manpower training, housing, and health programmes. At the same time, AFN worked tirelessly to press their claims for lands. AFN was structured in a way that represented, and continues to represent, the diverse Native groups within Alaska at the state and federal levels. In 1966, the president and the board were created to represent the different Native groups within Alaska including tribal organisations, regional non-profits, individual village tribes, urban Native groups, and tribes that had federal reservations.

Alaska Native people began as members of full sovereign nations and continue to enjoy a unique political relationship with the federal government. *We will survive and prosper as distinct ethnic and cultural groups and will participate fully as members of the overall society.* AFN's mission is to enhance and promote the cultural, economic, and political voice of the entire Alaska Native community.

AFN's annual policy activities are informed by the resolutions that are passed by their membership at AFN's Convention every October. The convention is the largest representative annual gathering in the United States of any Native peoples. Delegates are elected on a population formula of one representative per twenty-five Native residents in the area and delegate participation rates at the annual convention typically exceed 95 percent. Strategic planning policy guidelines and advocacy work are set by the dozens of resolutions passed by voting delegates at the Convention every year.

Saami Parliament

Before colonisation, the Sami people were considered a semi-nomadic people and thus the structure of the Sami parliament is unique in that it is the representative body for Sami people across Sweden, Finland, Norway, Russia, and, in some parts, Estonia.

SÁMEDIGGI
SAMETINGET

As a formal Structure, the Sami Parliament operate separate entities in both Sweden and Norway, which are recognised in the respective country's constitution. Russia subscribes to the Saami Parliamentary Council, as they have no democratic representative body in Russia at a state level. The Sami Parliamentary Council is the co-op body for Sami Parliaments in Sweden, Norway, and Russia. In Finland, the Sami Parliament is an independent legal entity of public law, which, due to its self-governmental nature, is not a state authority or part of the public administration; however, it is the supreme political body for Sami in Finland and represents Sami interests in Finland.

The Sami Parliament is both a publicly elected parliament and a State agency. The tasks of the Parliament are regulated by the Swedish Sami Parliament Act, and their role is more advisory to issues affecting Sami in Sweden as opposed to being binding. The Sami Parliament in Norway is an independent body elected by and representing the Sami people living in Norway. The Parliament deals with matters that specifically concern the Sami.

The Sami Parliament's electoral roll determines who can vote and run for office. Inclusion in the electoral roll is for anyone who "perceives themselves" as Sami and who has Sami as their home language, or who has a parent, grandparent or great-grandparent with Sami as their home language.

The Sami Parliament in Norway has 39 representatives who are elected every four years, at the same time as Norway holds elections to the national parliament, Stortinget. For the Sami parliamentary elections, Norway is divided into seven electoral divisions. Persons who have signed up to the Sami census are eligible to vote or be elected. In the Sami Parliament in Sweden, there are 31 elected Members of the Parliament. It is the Sami people who elect their political spokespersons,

the Members of the Sami Parliament. Since Sweden does not register the ethnicity of Swedish citizens, a Sami person must first apply to the electoral register in order to vote.

The electoral system for the Sami Parliament is based on the principle of proportional representation in multi-member electoral divisions. Proportional representation means that the representatives are distributed according to the relationship to one another of the individual electoral lists in terms of the number of votes they have received. Both political parties and other groups can put up lists at elections.

Referred to in Norwegian as the 'Sámediggi', this entity works to strengthen the Sami political position and promote Sami interests in Norway, contribute to an equal and fair treatment of the Sami people and work to facilitate conditions for the Sami to secure and develop their language, their culture, and their social life. The Sami Parliamentary Council is responsible for the cross-border relationships for Sami people in Russia, Norway, Sweden, and Finland.

The Norway Department of Sami and Minority Affairs in the Ministry of Labour and Social Inclusion coordinates national affairs with the Sami Parliament. The Sami Parliament is consulted when state government issues affect Sami interests. The Norwegian Sami have more influence over politics in their country than do their counterparts in Sweden. The Norwegian Sami Parliament can decide which issues it will take up, a right that is enshrined in Norwegian law, while the Swedish Sami Parliament is more limited in the issues it can address. In Norway, both Sami parties and national political parties offer candidates for election, while in Sweden, only Sami political parties offer candidates for election. This means the Norwegian Sami have closer ties to the national political system.

4.3 Māori governance

Traditional Māori governance

Māori governance, which pre-dates European settlement of Aotearoa, was based on tikanga (cultural values) and mātauranga (Māori knowledge). Before 1769, the Māori governance system was grounded in whakapapa (lineage) and seniority (Mahuika, 1975). At that time, Māori social organisation was based on whānau (extended families), hapū (subtribes), and iwi (tribes) (Buck, 1949). Each of these groups had their main leader: kaumātua, rangatira, and ariki. The kaumātua (elders) had primary responsibility for whānau guidance and leadership. The rangatira, considered a noble, was the chief of the hapū. Finally, the ariki, as the iwi leader, was the highest chief (Mead et al., 2006). In this social structure, mana (power and authority) was the obvious means through which to control any capitalist venture (O'Malley, 2013, p. 131). However, there was also a rise in more individualistic attitudes to service and recompense as some Māori moved away from their social units to work with sealers and whalers overseas (O'Malley, 2013, p. 132). Contact between Māori and

non-Māori people in the form of trade, work on sealing and whaling ships, and other opportunities created a broad awareness of alternative values and systems of social and commercial interaction (Mika & O'Sullivan, 2014). Within this changing Māori world, concepts of communally organised engagement needed to be considered as Māori began to participate in capitalist activities.

The rangatira actively directed their people to join commercial crews to gain more knowledge of the non-Māori systems. Usually, recompense for such service would be shared with the wider group (O'Malley, 2013, p. 133). O'Malley identifies that redistribution, rather than accumulation, remained the hallmark of a rangatira in the 19th century. However, tensions certainly grew between the capitalist ethic and communal responsibilities after European settlement (O'Malley, 2013, p. 133). "Pākehā benefited enormously as New Zealand developed after the Treaty of Waitangi," in opposition, Māori turned out to be not only economically deprived but also "politically marginalised [and] culturally and racially attacked" (Bishop & Glynn, 2003, p. 15).

Māori governance in early colonial times

In the colonial context, the Kīngitanga was set up as a political institution aimed at uniting Māori under a single sovereign. Jones (2016) argues that the Kīngitanga was an innovative way through which Māori leaders approached Western-style constitutional forms and structures that were applied to ensure legal authority was exercised in a way that acknowledged Māori constitutional traditions. In the Kīngitanga we can see a syncretic approach: the blending of two systems and an expression of both Indigenous and settler constitutionalism. The rise of the Kīngitanga movement has been seen by some as a failure by the Gore-Browne administration to provide Māori with governance. Indeed Keenan (2009) states that for Taranaki Māori there was no consideration for customary law in government policy. Others come back to the point that the Kīngitanga was a move to reassert Māori values and constitutionalism rather than the full adoption of English or European concepts of authority and sovereignty (Jones, 2016). Kīngitanga was not a new concept (Jones, 2016). Indeed, Wiremu Kīngi Te Rangitāke insisted that the concept of tribal rights, particularly over land, pre-dated European settlement (Keenan, 2009). Such debates draw attention to the long history of the development and adaptation of Māori values, and as such, the importance of tikanga Māori in the context of governance in the post-treaty environment.

Once embedded in traditional values, Māori governance needs to deliver more than profit as the main goal. For Wiwini Hakaraia, it needs to reach into the social, economic, spiritual and environmental spheres (Gray, 2011). Māori governance developed over time in three main ways: Māori-centred governance, based on traditional culture, language, and knowledge; bicultural governance, as a mix of both Māori and non-Māori cultures influencing practices and structures; and unmodified governance, with full adoption of the non-Māori model. Consequently, there are common themes and issues when considering Māori governance, either from a kaupapa Māori

approach (based on communal rights and family-based institutions) or from a non-Māori perspective (individual rights and Western institutional models). At present, Māori governance has a dual task: it needs to maintain traditional practices and values while at the same time adapting to a Pākehā Western model and environment. So, it needs to succeed in a competitive market while at the same time reinforcing tino rangatiratanga (self-determination).

4.4 Iwi governance

Analysis of the three iwi using Durie's Durie (2003) matrix of developmental goals and required capabilities provides an assessment of tribal aspirations. In his paper *Te Hoe Nuku Roa*, Durie (1995) makes four assumptions to address the position of contemporary Māori in terms of: (1) Māori diversity; (2) dynamic change; (3) multiple affiliations; and (4), self-identification. Based on that, Durie underlines Māori diversity while recognising common aspects of kaupapa Māori. His matrix is divided into two columns—developmental goals and required capabilities. The goal headings relate to the community, society, wealth creation, and Māori knowledge, language, and culture (Durie, 2003). Of relevance is how iwi decide on tribal aspirations and incorporate them into governance and management processes using Durie's matrix. When assessing iwi aspirations against the (Durie, 1995) model, it becomes clear that there is a strong foundation on pre-settlement and post-settlement traditions applicable to both Māori and non-Māori enterprises that look to sustainable governance and social responsibility.

Ngāti Awatanga

Ngāti Awa, an iwi located in the Bay of Plenty region, comprising 22 hapū and 15,258 people affiliated (Statistics New Zealand, 2013), set their tribal aspirations on manaakitanga (caring) and kaitiakitanga (guardianship) framed within the context of Ngāti Awatanga (tribal language and culture). Each concept is articulated in kaupapa Māori terms and has a longstanding foundation in te ao Māori. Ngāti Awa sees manaakitanga as vital in shaping tribal aspirations as it supports notions of caring for each other, which is understood as a shared obligation, particularly emphasising the youth and elders of Ngāti Awa. Kaitiakitanga addresses long-term strategies and is based on tribal concerns for the guardianship of the next generations while also recognising its obligations to protect the culture, environment, resources, and people now and in the future. Ngāti Awa cultural practices underscore these aspirations. Ngāti Awatanga derives from a shared ancestry, and the unique identity of Ngāti Awa represents the basis on which language and culture are protected and upheld. Ngāti Awatanga recognises the tribe's unique character and lineage. It also shows a confidence in the diverse landscape of the autonomous groups that make up the iwi.

Considered according to Durie's matrix of developmental goals and required capabilities, Ngāti Awa demonstrates the functional application of these factors through manaakitanga, kaitiakitanga,

and Ngāti Awatanga. Furthermore, some of Durie's tenets can be identified. In manaakitanga, Ngāti Awa addresses social and community responsibilities and ideas about shared obligations. Ngāti Awa articulates the nexus between elders and youth in their strategic focus on and observation of manaakitanga. The intentions of Ngāti Awa to protect future generations, the environment, and resources are expressed through kaitiakitanga. Here we see deeper aspirations linked to long-term strategies. While wealth creation is not implicit in the articulation of kaitiakitanga, there is an implication that ideas about protecting future generations are certainly a focus for Ngāti Awa. Ngāti Awatanga recognises the rich tribal diversity thriving in Aotearoa New Zealand in general but highlights the unique place Ngāti Awa holds in the vitality of this country. Ngāti Awatanga speaks of the mana and shared whakapapa of a people who recognise the value in the preservation and growth of their distinctive identity.

Whakatōheatanga

In the second case, the Whakatōhea iwi is located in the Eastern Bay of Plenty region. It has six hapū and 12,174 people who identify as Whakatōhea (New Zealand Statistics, 2013). Whakatōhea (2015) articulates principles of tribal strategy as mātauranga (knowledge) and the cultural identity, language, and heritage of Whakatōhea. The vision is entrepreneurial and strives for its people to be socially and economically thriving, with good access to education and health. The aspirations set out in the Whakatōhea Māori Trust Board (2016) annual report for 2015 came from the *He Oranga o te Rohe o te Whakatōhea Wellbeing* survey that collected data from 750 Whakatōhea descendants. This survey covered attitudes on the future, demographics, cultural knowledge, education, and employment as well as social and health service utilisation and housing. To promote the well-being of the iwi, the trust board developed six strategic goals to be achieved by 2060, on culture, health, education, economy, and environment.

Whakatōhea articulate tribal aspirations that fit well within the tenets Durie's development matrix. Their cultural expression, preservation, and empowerment are seen in Whakatōheatanga. Whakatōhea express their cultural identity and customs through their shared whakapapa, language, and tikanga. Whakatōheatanga is linked to cultural empowerment and aligns with Durie's ideals of self-determination. Hauora (health) and mātauranga (education) are addressed, with a focus on community well-being and achievement located within a broader context of national averages and educational standards. Economic prosperity and wealth creation are identified as collective responsibilities realised through collective strength.

Whakatōhea sees its social responsibilities as an expression of manaakitanga, where strong relationships are encouraged. Whakatōhea identifies the importance of how their people fit within the national averages socially, and manaakitanga creates the conceptual framework for articulating

such social aspirations for their people. Within their kaitiakitanga, Whakatōhea expects that their tino rangatiratanga is acknowledged and respected. Within toi ora the natural resources are the taonga (treasures) of the people.

Kīngitanga

In the case of Waikato-Tainui, which encompasses 33 hapū and 55,995 people (New Zealand Statistics, 2013) the broad principles of Kīngitanga are invoked in their tribal aspirations and how they may be achieved. A strong component of the approach of Waikato-Tainui to tribal development is to uphold the principles of Kīngitanga set down in 1858 (King, 1992). These principles are fundamental to achieving cultural, social, environmental, and economic goals for Waikato-Tainui.

Kīngitanga has its foundation in kaupapa Māori concepts of manaakitanga, whakapono (trust and faith), whakaiti (humility), rangimārie (peace and calm), aroha (love and respect), mahitahi (collaboration), and kotahitanga (unity). These concepts are a guide for the people to follow in all endeavours that have a social and community focus. There are, however, clearly stated points of focus for wealth creation in the areas of job creation and business support in the establishment of job opportunities: helping drive prices down, creating organisational efficiency, and finding better ways of operating through kotahitanga and manaakitanga (Waikato-Tainui, 2017). Furthermore, tribal aspirations are shown in the following areas: pride in their tribal identity and commitment to upholding it through mātauranga, te reo, tikanga, identity and cultural integrity; diligence to succeed in education and beyond; self-determination for socioeconomic independence (personal growth, building the capacity of the people, utilising growth and capacity for the collective benefit of the marae, as well as hapū and iwi (Waikato-Tainui, 2019).

Kīngitanga is a seminal expression of tino rangatiratanga in the post-treaty era and an example of dynamic change and self-determination. There is also a desire to utilise its various affiliations. Waikato-Tainui has outlined its aspirations through acknowledging the value in its tribal identity and cultural integrity. Ngā Tohu accounts for tribal responsibilities in issues of environment and economic development. Kīngitanga has a deep philosophical component (Mahuta, in King, 1992) and is a standout expression of tribal spirituality that binds all activities under the figurehead of the king or queen. As such Kīngitanga is consistent with the tenet's of Durie's development matrix (Durie, 2003).

The complexity of Māori development is captured in Durie's matrix. It acknowledges broad goals while simultaneously emphasising human capital as a fundamental opportunity for economic inclusion and the flourishing of Māori society. In other words, Durie's model emphasises the importance of Māori people's development from a Māori perspective. In Table 3 we adapt Durie's table to create a simplified version that includes the three iwi previously mentioned. The table situates the iwi in relation to the four development goals that resemble Durie's matrix of balanced development:

Table 3: of developmental goals and required capabilities

	Balanced development goals			
Iwi	Individual	Socio-economic	Environmental	Cultural
Ngāti Awa	✓	✓	✓	✓
Whakatōhea	✓	✓	✓	✓
Waikato-Tainui	✓	✓	✓	✓

Note: Adapted from Durie (2003)

Ngāti Awatanga, Whakatōheatanga, and Kīngitanga are all evidence of what Durie (2003) defines as diversity. Each group displays a rich understanding of its uniqueness and autonomous tribal whakapapa and mana. The core tenets of individual, whānau, socio- economic, environmental, and cultural aspirations can be found in all three iwi. Common expressions, such as manaakitanga, kaitiakitanga, and mātauranga, are used to express tribal aspirations. The rich and solid foundation of tikanga and kaupapa Māori attitudes are clear for all three iwi. The articulations of tribal aspiration show great vision in terms of the complexity faced by iwi to achieve balanced development that includes more than simply adaptation to Pākehā society; there is also the intention to secure identity and the improvement of te ao Māori. Tribal strategy is used to communicate the intent of the governing boards, and in this way, some measurement of the the activities to see tribal aspirations realised can be made.

Confirming Durie's (1995) assumptions for these three iwi—as for Māori society as a whole—one of the biggest challenges is shifting from a commodity economy to a knowledge-based economy, developing human capacity and Māori participation in technology while ensuring that traditional knowledge can evolve and be adapted rather than remaining unchanged. Another important point is Durie's (2003) proposal to shift from an economic 'deficit model' that underlies inequalities between Māori and Pākehā, as if reducing these inequalities would solve everything, to a 'value-added model' as an active process of celebrating Māori identity and society. To conclude, Durie advocates that to better articulate Māori aspirations there is a need to create a national body able to develop Māori polices and create partnerships with the private and public sectors at the national and international levels.

In the post-treaty settlement era, there has been a paradigm shift in how iwi approach the future with fiscal agreements creating a need for financial responsibility (Story, 2005), and a desire for economic security for whānau, hapū, and iwi. With fiscal responsibility comes a rise in aspirations. What this means for iwi is that the boards that govern issues of fiscal management and economic development need to clearly outline iwi aspirations. Moreover, such aspirations involve consultation and the implementation of goals that set out to meet such expectations and aspirational outcomes.

5. Governing for Māori Community Outcomes - Case Study 1

5.1 Introduction

Māori communities at varying levels have always had formal structures that guided their decision making. Traditional leaders of communities were hapū chiefs and kaumātua and nothing happened without their agreement. The focus was always on the total well-being of the whānau and hapū. More recent governance has been dictated by a Western ideology and even our more traditional structures, such as whānau, hapū, and iwi/Māori organisations, have adopted Western frameworks but have overlayed these with a Māori cultural lens. Māori committees have their mandate from an act of parliament and, therefore, some advocates of this system believe the Māori committee carries the voice of the hapū and their communities to government. The urban hapū collaboration takes the hapū voice through to the iwi who advocate for Māori communities in a different national forum. Finally, a local government organisation has some ability, if you persevere, "*to see what we see and to know and understand what we know and understand"* to make change. Ka nui ngā mihi ki tōku tuakana me ōku tūngane mai i Ngāti Kahungunu.

5.2 Māori governance and persistent inequalities

There is a large body of existing and emerging literature on social indicators that describe a widening gap of inequality between Māori and Pākehā (Marriott & Sims, 2014). We explore two critical sites where there is potential to change outcomes of persisting inequality. First, an examination of governance form, structure, and practice, and second, investigate whether changing the approach to governance will ultimately alter the realities of iwi/Māori trapped in high and disproportionate levels of inequality.

The continuing marginalisation of things Māori over time reinforces the glaring disconnect in perceptions of governance between the state or Crown and Māori. While many tribal and hapū groups in Aotearoa New Zealand have completed Treaty of Waitangi settlements and have strong tribal entities, the state has determined how the assets returned will be managed and administered by those entities or indeed by the new entities (post-settlement governance entities, PSGEs) prescribed by the state. There are several firsts in more recent settlements, such as the recognition of the Whanganui River (Mika & Scheyvens, 2021) and Te Urewera as legal personalities in their own right (Mika, 2021; Ruru, 2014). The Crown acknowledgement of marae and hapū as claimants rather than the larger iwi groups with whom they normally prefer to engage is another first. Even with these major acknowledgements of Māori perspectives the Crown still prescribes the entity that receives assets on behalf of settled groups.

On an international level these disconnections also remain a reality in countries such as the United States, Canada, and Australia (Cornell, 2006). While Indigenous peoples around the world still have unmet goals for self-determination and self-governance, they have made some significant advances in endeavouring to meet these aspirations (Kalt et al., 2008; Katene & Taonui, 2018). In some instances, there has been success in levels of control over some decisions that affect their lives; however, the terms self-determination and self-governance are interpreted in a radically different way from those definitions ultimately determined by the state. So, although the state might allow Indigenous self-management or Indigenous administration of services, quasi-control of power and decision-making in communities, which is how they have interpreted aspirations for self-determination and self-governance, the ideal of self-determination and self-governance remains a contested site rather than a reality for many Indigenous groups (Cornell, 2007b; Hunt & Smith, 2006; Smith, 2005). On one hand there is perpetuation of the "historical displacement of Indigenous populations", on the other, "the vigorous and contemporary Indigenous pursuit of self-determination" (Cornell, 2007a, p. 159). There is also a realisation by many Indigenous governance groups that when the power does shift, even in a small way, so too does the level of accountability, responsibility, and obligation—with their constituents holding them to account.

5.3 Māori autonomy and Pākehā governance

New Zealand has carried over the Westminster system of governance and government. Therefore, all local, regional, and national governance (district councils, regional councils, school committees, community committees, parliament) come under this system. The system overtime continues as much as it can to ignore and marginalise Māori ways of organising, governing, managing, and being involved in the decision making that impacts directly on them. Māori have also found it hard to participate in these fora:

> *I have been in governance a long time Chair of PHO for 4 years, Chair of a subcommittee of Institute of Directors and elected to City Council at last election. Before that I spent a number of years chairing our Māori Committee and hapū, school and community committees. It took me a while but I learnt to read up on the Westminster system rules, regulations and procedures, standing orders in council—I know it by heart—that is what they [Pākehā/non-Māori] use to put barriers in your way—they refer to orders in council so any Māori in this system of governance has to know how to do that in a professional and respectful but determined way—don't be a hot head—otherwise no one will listen—I have seen some very ugly behaviours but as a Māori trying to put your take, stay calm but resolute and just know the rules, open your waha—kaua e wahangū otherwise moumou taima—but be prepared, know your stuff, and do it with integrity and dignity.*
> (Research participant, 1103)

Even though it has taken some years there are some examples of Māori whānau and hapū upholding their cultural and spiritual values. For one community having the stream diverted straight out to sea during the 1960s impacted severely on the fresh fish life, the maara kai, the school, the marae, and the urupā. The diversion impacted on the local eel population for the particular stream because the mouth of the river had moved, and new generations of eel could not find the entry point to their stream to follow their ancestors' path. This mātauranga is carried with them over generations—mature eels leave their homes here in Aotearoa and travel to the Pacific islands, they give birth and their offspring as babies make their way back to their home. The stream originally flowed past maara kai and was used to nurture and support growth of kai. Along its path was the Marae where water was gathered for the range of uses that sustain a community in daily living—it was also used as a refrigerator to keep things cool and fresh. Further along was the urupā where water from the stream was used to complete rituals and ceremonial aspects of tangihanga. For 50 years this part of the community had to source water from a town water supply and sometimes in really hot summers and large events at the marae water had to be purchased and trucked in.

The fight to have the stream re-instated started in the 1980s but it was not until 2004 that the Māori Committee representing hapū formally started pushing for it to happen. For this community this was sovereignty and autonomy expressed, for example, in iwi/tribal, hapū, whānau, community through their own governance models. It was about the two systems meeting in the middle and still having mana:

> *As a hapū, marae we worked hard to return the stream—the Māori view of having the water pass by the marae, gardens and urupā that is pūtaketanga he whakaaro Māori tuturu. So, for years we the hapū said whakahokia te wai—but actually making it happen was hard because there was all these local and national government rules and regulations about waterways, etc., so we had many years of working within those crown constructs to fulfil all of those aspirations. We had to help crown colleagues to see what we see and then invest time and resources to make it happen—it is how you deliver the kōrero—get them* ***to see what we see and understand what we know****—and get them to invest the resources to get what we want—the time and energy. Took many, many years—but all in how to deliver the korero.*
>
> (Research participant, 1103)

5.4 Governance structure, form and function

In the sections already discussed there have been some strong assertions made locally, regionally, and internationally that state governments and the Crown dominate systems of governance although there have been some very notable success stories at community, organisational, whānau, hapū, iwi level, local, regional, national, or international levels. The wider expressions of community

were explored with participants who agreed that community encompasses residential locations, networks, organisations, marae, whānau, hapū, and iwi, as well as the ability to engage at local, regional, national, and international levels. Each of these have distinct socio-cultural nuances attached to their functions and structure. While Indigenous people accept and respect the differing Indigenous notions of organisation and governance, non-Indigenous peoples do find it difficult to understand because they think their way is ultimately the correct and only way.

5.5 Community concepts and meanings of governance

The wider meaning and concepts of governance were discussed at length with the participants. They suggested that if the concept of 'governance' is to be a useful organising perspective for bringing together core issues and dimensions for analysis, then its many different meanings and uses need to be clearly articulated. As presented above, 'governance', both Indigenous and Western, are in opposition. Indigenous models have goals of self-determination and self-governance; Western governance has a history of maintaining power and control over others. Both sides contest the other's language of governance being used in policy contexts, and in Indigenous contexts, for example, the conceptualisations of self-determination versus self-management and self-governance versus self-administration.

Indigenous community perspectives on governance suggest that the concept of governance is always about having a long-term vision for future generations –always having a focus on the furthest horizon and determining the pathway for reaching that horizon. For example, the Ngai Tahu vision statement Mō tātou, ā, mō kā uri, ā, muri ake nei (for us and our children after us) was mentioned by participants. They felt it was important for Indigenous people, Māori in particular, to always have a focus on future generations. One participant referred to te titiro o te kaahu or te karu o te kaahu (seek the long-term vision as what can be seen through the eye of the hawk) referring to both the height that the hawk can soar and its unwavering view of the horizon from different heights and therefore starting points. Māori whakatauāki or whakatauki are infused with metaphors (pictures with words) and describe much deeper thought, whakaaro rangatira (chiefly thoughts). This means in a few simple words a story is told or a person's name brings forth generations of lineage, and sometimes these will explain why people are chosen for governance or leadership roles. In the past, whakapapa may have had more of a role in a choice of leader or governance, currently the vote of te people is hugely important.

5.6 Māori community participation in governance

Participants (1101 & 1102) described the different ways of being part of governance. For many Māori communities (whānau, hapū, Māori committees, some Māori land trusts) and local rural and school committees, being on governance was voluntary and depended on the commitment of those putting themselves forward. Some are chosen because of their rangatira lineage or mana whenua

status, others for skills and expertise. One participant suggested there need to be more Māori in governance, especially more Māori women, as Māori bring a uniqueness to governance roles through their perspectives and understanding of Māori values or values generally, which is missing in Pākehā governance at all levels. Organisations claim they are values driven and talk about the values being important, but they do not understand them, for example, they tend to provide literal meanings to words like manaakitanga (many organisations even government departments utilise these) without understanding their customary or traditional meanings.

At a district council level, and for many organisations including government, being elected gives mandate – being voted in by the people, but there are time constraints, in New Zealand that might mean a 2- or 3-year term. One participant noted that tribal governance group members in Alaska had been in their roles for over 30 years, which he felt provided Indigenous governance continuity and a vision that was automatically long-term focused. They had also been elected because of their whakapapa, that is they were descendants of previous leaders and members of the tribal governance.

Other participants also mentioned the lack of continuity as a result of the relatively short two- to three-year terms on the Māori committee; they could recall some chairs being on committees for 20–30 years. Māori committee membership is completely voluntary. It is difficult to plan succession because young people are often too busy bringing up their families and cannot spare the time. Members of the Māori committee see themselves as the enactors of kaitiakitanga—keeping an eye on what is happening in their community, keeping the hapū informed about issues that impact on them, supporting the marae, whānau and hapū in times of need; providing advice and support with whānau who need cultural, tikanga or spiritual support. For example, an issue came to the committee about moving koiwi (bones): a whānau wanted to take the bones of a whānau member from the urupā because he and all his family were now living somewhere else. He arranged for all his whānau to attend a wānanga with the Māori committee and kaumātua to discuss how he could do that in a way that was mana enhancing for all. The final decision was by consensus not by majority vote, no motion was moved, through an inclusive tikanga process a consensus decision was made by the whānau themselves, the committee and kaumātua were there to support whatever decision they made.

5.7 Māori community voice

The Māori committee provides a strong local voice and has membership on a regional committee where issues of regional importance are discussed. They also have a national voice through the Māori Council. The Māori voice should always come through those three committees because they get their mandate through an act of parliament, the Māori Community Development Act 1962. No other Māori organisation has that relationship with the Crown (Research Participants, 1101, 1102, 1103).

5.8 Configurations of Māori community governance

The way governance groups are configured in local Māori communities is similar in many ways to traditional tribal governance. Kaumātua elders represent their whānau at hapū wānanga and the rangatira of the hapū represent at iwi governance. Even in customary traditional governance, there were tikanga that were followed. However, there was still opportunity for Māori voices at different levels to heard. Decision-making in difficult times was often swift and unforgiving but, in most cases, made sense.

Māori committees still represent whānau, hapū, and iwi at different levels and therefore have a national reach. Many organisational governances are set up to represent marae and hapū, under an umbrella, for example, health, education, social services, often under iwi or hapū auspices, as are schools, where governance is set up by a government act. Māori Committees are set up by an Act of Parliament and members are not necessarily elected because of skills or expertise, rather they are people who put their hand up and commit to representing the marae and hapū.

Now it has become quite political when people represent marae or hapū. There are so many government agencies that require Māori consultation processes in their engagement with the range of Māori and non-Māori organisations. Certain skills are required when elected to these whānau, hapū, and iwi boards because of the obligation to report back to constituents, for example, from the organisation back to Māori committee or marae committee back to the people (hapū and whānau). Other skills might involve being able to digest/decipher the information from the meetings and summarise that for the people. External views of people representing marae on hapū organisations see them as often lack experience and therefore in need of training in governance. Participants talked about governance members having training in governance with the Institute of Directors (IOD), but this is an expensive exercise for many Māori organisations. For some people, training with IOD went against the grain, because the IOD practice from a Western perspective; others, however, believed it was good place to learn and understand the framework and enable them to make use of their Māori lens, rather than the other way around.

The chairs, alongside the treasurer and secretary, have a large role in governance, with more and more responsibilities to respond to activities occurring daily. In a Western system, governance rarely interferes with operations/management, but their constituents are not normally members of their whānau, hapū, and iwi, nor are they shareholders, owners, or trustees, and there are no familial conflicts. Māori organisations, however, wrestle with both systems, and for some it is clearly a challenge. With many Māori organisations the chair is on site and works closely with management, which, depending on the issues involved, can sometimes be both an advantage or a hindrance.

Despite the Westminster system discouraging the blending of governance and management or asserting culture has no role in governance, there has been a focus on bringing Māori values and concepts into non-Māori organisations. In New Zealand, the chief executive is chosen by the board and is the employee of the board. Other key roles in governance are treasurer, company secretary: more recently, an expert in human resource management has proved to be beneficial. Governance members need to speak up on behalf of their constituents and participate in the governance.

One participant often wondered why people were on the governance because they just didn't participate:

> *At our own hui we invite anyone to come to meetings and they all have equal say. Information goes out—we deal with things like moving bones, or listening and advising local Pākehā farmers who have wāhi tapu or wāhi tīpuna sites or registered archaeological sites. Another example is gang patches on marae—our hapū set the kawa and we help/support to maintain that. We have more people at our monthly meetings than any other marae in the rohe. We have a strategic plan, a te reo Māori strategy, environmental, social, cultural, education and economic development strategies.* (Research participant 1102, 1103)

While all cultural and or social aspects or issues might come through to the committee, it is the whānau and hapū who make the decisions. The participants maintain there are many whānau who are very talented, innovative, and creative, with a broad range of expertise who come to meetings and provide input. They insist their model is really working from the bottom up not top down.

The chairs of the organisations interviewed practice manaakitanga, whanaungatanga, kaitiakitanga, each claiming that their culture comes first. They encourage whakaputa kōrero, whakapapa is important, and the development and maintenance of relationships and key alliances is integral to the roles on governance for their organisations. They particularly emphasised shared decision making in Māori organisations, but not so much in Pākehā organisations. All participants agreed that for Indigenous/Māori governance you do need to set up under the Western system because the government controls the purse strings, so they prescribe the structure and dictate the separation of management from governance, and the socio-cultural elements from economic development.

Behaviours, attitudes, and practices of governance members—participants were clear that while there is perceived power and control in being on governance, people do not or cannot commit to attend, while some are far too young and without experience. They suggested that Māori should be members on Pākehā boards, councils, and community committees but because Pākehā are experienced in the Westminster system they have the advantage of it being their own system. There is a definite need to educate Māori in this area: keep the rule books handy on standing rules in council—to get your kaupapa through you need to know those rules.

Māori bring something different to the administration: they bring their culture, their connectedness to the Māori community, and their language if they have it. A key requirement is that they should be able to read financial statements, be open to learn other skills, and take up training if offered.

Māori governors can definitely bring influence to bear on decisions of boards and there are a range of the types of influence individuals have within governance arrangements and decision making. For example, one participant on a district council, chairing a standing committee, wanted to push for the inclusion of *Māori vote*s on standing committees but needed a majority vote to achieve this. He required 8/15 votes so had to be strategic, spending over a month engaging with fellow committee members and counsellors negotiating to get votes. His message is clea: in those situations you need to know how to deliver your messages. You are not going to get support if you are negative.

Participants identified that governance can have positive impacts on the direction of an organisation, whānau, hapū or iwi. Always focus on the strategic vision and leave the detail to management—the strategic side of governance is what is my favourite.

Not everything about governance is beneficial. Participants all indicated that the politics part of governance is cruel and unforgiving at times, even at Māori or marae committee level. There is bad behaviour, some viciousness, and people get personal. There is a need to maintain a professional ahua because there is always a temptation to react and attack, as well as pressure to lower personal standards. The aim should always be to maintain personal mana ahua ake. While some behaviour is bad at the board table, but Māori excel at good values. One participant asserted that it is always good practice to remember values such as manaakitanga and rangatiratanga because people come to know and respect those attributes in a person; they keep people grounded yet sends signals of high standards. Do not to get caught up in kauae raro stuff stay in the kauae rūnga regardless of the situation although this can be difficult. Actioning the creation of a values base in governance would be very helpful, and Māori organisations strive to enact and maintain such a values base even while grappling with the requirements of the Western system. It is the values base that is missing in most Pākehā governance. While they incorporate values, even using Māori values in many organisations, they do not analyse or interpret those values with their staff—they do not wānanga the values. People in organisations such as government departments often complain that managers and senior managers do not practice what they preach, that much behaviour inside organisations does not convey the organisational values:

> *Your safety net is the Māori values—not natural for all Māori but need to bring those to table, that is the difference*

As mentioned above, the expression of cultural legitimacy conceptualised in governance models in many Māori organisations, government, and local government agencies utilises Māori values

in their vision and mission statements. They attempt to operationalise Māori values and language in their organisations to such an extent that outwardly everything looks satisfactory. However, in many respects this inclusion is not reflected in the behaviour of upline and downline managers or in leadership team environments. Cultural elements in governance are where Māori can make an impactful difference and influence both governance and management. Areas of increasing importance include health and safety, well-being, and the human resource element of organisational development. People with expertise in these areas of governance are essential.

5.9 Influencing the governance of governments

There is considerable opportunity for Māori communities to have influence on the governance of governments. More than any other community, Māori have been able to move the Labour Party out of power and back into power: Māori voting power brought about the Māori Party, and in 2017, Māori voting played a role in removing the National Party by turning away from the Māori party. The potential remains for Māori communities to have major influence and vote who they want into government. The two current two major political parties (National and Labour) have both experienced the impact of the Māori vote. Although there is evidence that many Māori have not yet realised they can be a powerful influence on who will govern Aotearoa every three years, they have the opportunity to make a difference. However, on occasion Māori do not have a good election day turn out, even with their own Māori organisations. Participants believe that all the power lies in the hands of the voter. Māori could actually be king and queen makers for all elections.

International influences on the governance of government are emphasised earlier in this report but participants at community level have referred to some Indigenous governance models in the United States and Canada that may provide good examples for change in Aotearoa New Zealand. Some of these organisations have government-prescribed structures that allow the blending of culture and economic development, encouraging Indigenous groups to make as much money as possible to provide infrastructure and law and order on reservations. Other important aspects are the longevity and continuity in their governance people who have been involved with tribal governance for many years. In New Zealand, elections are held annually or every three years—clearly not a long-term local focus. Although many iwi groups are planning in generational cycles or longer this planning must play out around a three-year cycle. Government objectives of the day also influence how Māori organisations may structure themselves. For example, an increased focus on mental health reduction at a government level will see organisations in the community preparing to compete for funding to offer mental health services even when they have no previous experience in providing such services. Given the aim is to reduce or eliminate mental health incidence and/or prevalence in communities, funding a new inexperienced provider could be seen as defeating this purpose by, perhaps, supporting notions of growing mental health problems in communities.

This report mentioned earlier that the New Zealand government has acknowledged Māori connection and whakapapa to the natural environments by giving legal status to places such as Whanganui River and Te Urewera of Tūhoe. Other tribal groups are undertaking similar processes to have their tīpuna acknowledged in similar ways.

The role international mechanisms (e.g., UNDRIP) have on local, national, regional, and international Indigenous communities can be enabling for some communities, especially in the sharing of common experiences and learning from those experiences. Some tribal groups in New Zealand have created brother/sister-like relationships with tribal groups in Canada, Alaska, and other US tribal nations. There are marae, hapū, and iwi structures built on Pākehā constructs that are prescribed in legislation, and in most situations these constructs will suffice. Indigenous groups often find it less time consuming to take on board a non-Indigenous model. Further, it is difficult to dream up Indigenous constructs because they all have elements of Western influence.

Traditional leaders of hapū laid down the kōrero, now everyone wants a democratic process. In many instances, the democratic way is exclusive, and access to leadership roles at iwi levels are coveted, with layers of gatekeeping to maintain certain people in power. Such practices also occur in a wide range of Māori organisations—not that many are transparent. There is a need to remove the barriers to make our own Māori Indigenous leadership roles more accessible. We need to bring down the gates or open them wide because *we are limiting voice, choice, opportunities, everything*.

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6. Governing for Māori Health Outcomes - Case Study 2

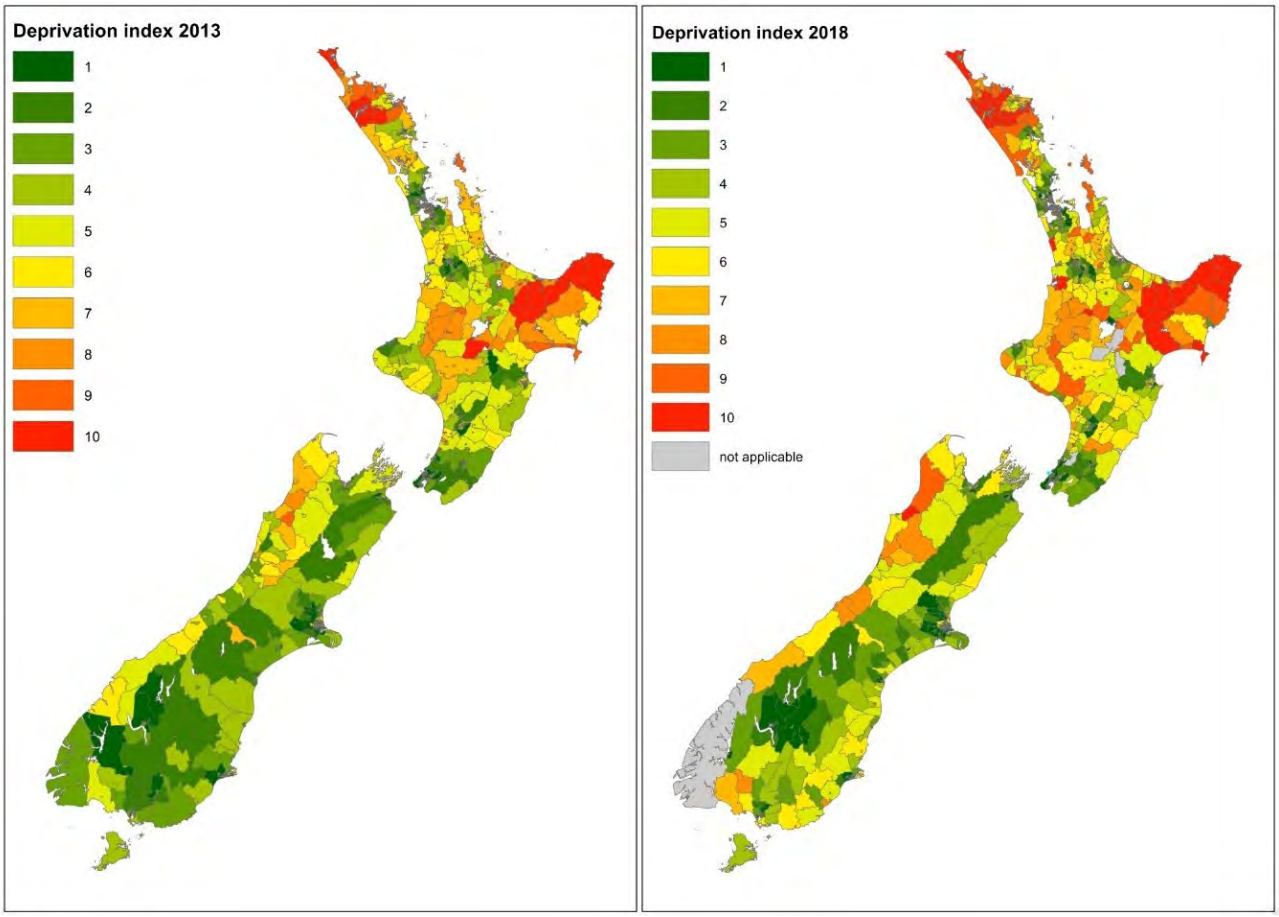
6.1 Introduction

For this case study, we would like to acknowledge key informants whose knowledge included membership of and first-hand expertise from the Māori Covid-19 expert advisory group; Health and Disability review panel; Māori Council network; a district health board chair; and a Kaupapa Māori regional and local hauora (health) provider chief executive. Their expertise in the health sector and in cross-sectoral governance was enhanced through their knowledge of the political structure and dynamics within society. Their insights shaped the basis of this study in validating the need for transformational change and new governance structures to intervene in persisting inequalities that continue to disproportionately accrue to Māori.

6.2 Positioning the study

Fiona Wiremu led this case study. Fiona resides in the Eastern Bay of Plenty, one of the most deprived socioeconomic regions (Figure 1) in Aotearoa New Zealand. She has had the privilege of serving on governance boards in the health sector (Māori and Western) as chair, deputy chair, and a board member for the past eight years. Currently she holds governance positions situated in the Eastern Bay of Plenty, including: chairperson of a kaupapa Māori local/regional provider that delivers a suite of integrated health, medical, social and employment services; chairperson and director of a Māori general medical practice; deputy chairperson and chairperson of the Finance and Audit Committee of a Primary Health Alliance (PHA); area representative for the Waiariki Māori Women's Welfare League alongside a number of other governance roles. She mentions these things because the collective responses from participants and her own experiences have supported the findings in this case study.

Figure 1: New Zealand deprivation index (2013, 2018)



Source: BERL (2020)

6.3 A focus on Māori health governance

The focus of this study has been primarily on the health sector, although two examples are used outside this sector to highlight similar issues. Discussions with a selection of Māori participants who are board members or advisory board members within the health sector were undertaken to gain a local, regional, and national perspective on governance structures. The study highlights levers that can be *v* to action change in the form, function, practice, and shape of governance structures that benefit Māori. Recommendations arise from this study, and the conclusion examines whether the time is right, right now, for a paradigm shift in the construction of a 'by Māori, for Māori' governance structure that intervenes in the persisting social, cultural, political, and economic inequalities that disproportionately accrue to Māori.

6.4 Overview of health sector

Nationally, the Ministry of Health (2018) is responsible for advising the Minister of Health, and government, on health and disability issues. It is responsible for ensuring that entities deliver on its objectives and are held accountable in accordance with its legislative and policy obligations. During

the mate urutā (Covid-19 pandemic), advisory boards and advisors were appointed to assist ministers with timely and relevant information, to navigate through a world-wide, unprecedented phenomenon. Appointment to these boards was through a closed but targeted selection process; the structure of these boards was based on existing government models. The devolution policy is a statutory delegation of power, resources, and funding from a central government position to a regional or local level. District health boards (DHBs) were set up by government to deploy regionally based services to its constituents. Membership on the Board is through election, from a representation of constituents that reside within that region and ministerial appointees. The deficiencies of the national health system were highlighted in the final audited financial loss for the year 2019–2020 of $1.049 billion dollars (Table 1), across 19 of the 20 District Health Boards. This loss indicated the health sector structure was not fit-for-purpose; and it particularly does not serve Māori well.

Table 4: District health boards' financial position 2019–2020

DHB (all in $000s)	Unaudited Result	Audit and other adjustments	Final Audited Result
Auckland	-101,873	-1,893	-103,767
Bay of Plenty	-23,677	-9,999	-33,676
Canterbury	-241,894	-1,542	-243,436
Capital & Coast	-44,173	0	-44,173
Counties Manukau	-56,571	-23,100	-79,671
Hawke's Bay	-43,287	-19,617	-62,903
Hutt Valley	-21,454	-17,330	-38,784
Lakes	-12,924	-2,119	-15,043
MidCentral	-17,681	0	-17,681
Nelson Marlborough	-14,976	-47,484	-62,460
Northland	-21,007	0	-21,007
South Canterbury	96	300	396
Southern	-49,007	-41,446	-90,453
Tairawhiti	-13,144	-1,280	-14,424
Taranaki	-29,035	407	-28,628
Waikato	-72,390	1	-72,389

DHB (all in $000s)	Unaudited Result	Audit and other adjustments	Final Audited Result
Wairarapa	-8,440	-9,927	-18,367
Waitemata	-68,198	0	-68,198
West Coast	-19,032	63	-18,969
Whanganui	-15,401	-3	-15,404
Total all DHBs	**-874,068**	**-174,969**	**-1,049,037**

Primary health authorities, primary health organisations (PHOs), commissioning agencies, and local health provider boards serve a regional constituency (i.e., within pre-determined boundaries set by government or DHB policy). Members are appointed or elected depending on their constitution or deed from a larger pool of candidates, and in some cases the pool to appoint candidates is small and local. The membership of boards can be 100 percent Māori. Some of these governance boards have implemented 50:50 partnerships with iwi, whereby decision-making and voting rights are equitable. An example of this is the Western Bay Primary Health Organisation (2018) where 50 percent of the governance board is represented by general practice owners and 50 percent of the governance board is represented by iwi, Ngāti Ranginui and Ngāi Te Rangi.

Hauora (health) providers in this study are local operators, but in some instances they deliver services regionally and for the very few, nationally. Local providers are not always limited by boundaries as to where they can operate, but more so financial constraints (or funding models) limit their delivery across communities and regions.

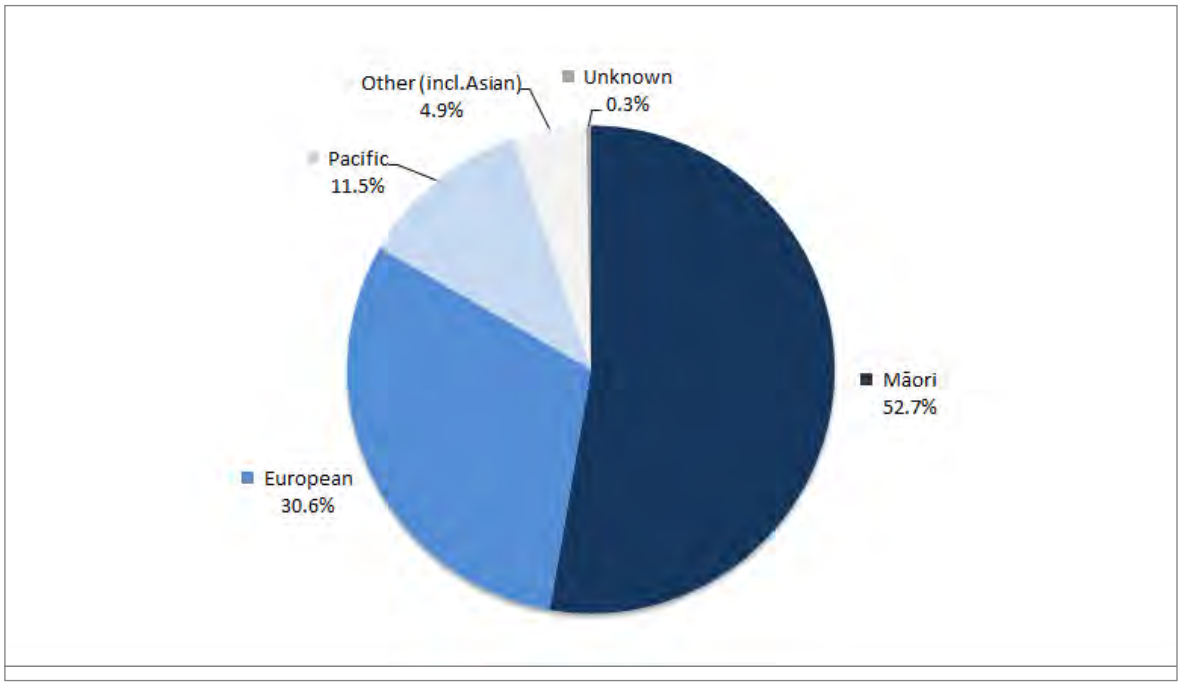
During this period of this research, the health sector in Aotearoa New Zealand has been navigating the ongoing challenges of the mate urutā; a Health and Disability Review (2020 and 2019) of the New Zealand health sector; and a Waitangi Tribunal (Wai 2575) health services and outcomes inquiry (2019). We use one of the recommendations with the Health and Disability Review and the Health Services and Outcomes Inquiry (Stage one) as an example of a new national governance structure that is being constructed 'by Māori, for Māori'. In this study we will not be discussing Health New Zealand, another governance structure to be set-up as part of the reviews. However, it would be strategic for the chair of the Māori Health Authority to also sit as a member of Health New Zealand, to ensure we can leverage off any synergies in policies and strategies.

Irrespective of whether it is a public sector or private sector organisation, small, medium, or large, company or charitable trust, a Māori or non-Māori organisation, the structure, form, function, practice, and shape of governance is influenced by legislation and Western practices. In the case of the new national governance model, new legislation is being proposed for royal assent in 2022.

6.5 Structural inequities

Notwithstanding these, the inequities for Māori are also represented in the prison system (Figure 2), worsening outcomes for Māori in education (Marriott & Sim, 2015), and other social and economic standards (Robson, Cormack & Cram, 2000) such as lower income, higher unemployment, and housing deprivation. All these are an indication that current structures, systems, models, and practices are not working well for Māori. These Western constructs are in fact perpetuating the structural inequities that contribute to the social, cultural, political, and economic deprivation of Māori. While some may say Māori have constructed their own governance structures, such as in the case of post-treaty settlement entities, they are still obliged to comply with Western informed legislation and processes.

Figure 2: Ethnicity of the New Zealand prison population



Source: Department of Corrections (2021)

Another example outside the health sector is the Tertiary Education Sector, Education and Training Act 2020, where s275(1) states "The constitution of a council must provide that it has 8, 9, 10, 11, or 12 members". The number of ministerially appointed council members is determined by s276(1), which states 4 of these members will be appointed if the council comprises 10–12 members; or 3 members if the council comprises 8–9 members. The three wānanga were essentially developed 'by Māori, for Māori' with iwi; however, the council on each of these wānanga is required to adhere to these sections within the act. Further funding from the Tertiary Education Commission and programmes monitored by the New Zealand Qualifications Authority are subject to government policies—changeable by agency policy.

6.6 Devolution policy

A short summary of the devolution policy is needed here because it is one lever that has set the impetus for change. The policy itself devolved accountability to regional and local bodies but created (i) a model of competition, whereby funds were allocated to those who could deliver within a prescribed budget that did not always account for variants in location, deprivation or need; and, (ii) a 'one-size-fits-all-policy' that 'shared' out resources using a formula driven by averages; in essence this results in under-resourced services in areas of disproportionate need; (iii) communication was downward and patriarchal; (iv) power was exploited and distributed unevenly, particularly for Māori; (iv) the system was not agile to make decisions that would afford greater rewards and opportunities; and (v), funding for organisations downstream would be 'clipped' for administrative purposes, leaving little funding or resource for delivery of the service. Weber's bureaucracy theory is extensive in this policy, fostering layers of administrative bureaucracy and creating challenges for grass-roots localised interventions to be resourced effectively (Robbins et al., 2009). The decline in available cash flow and diminishing equity creates a challenge in enticing new board members, with experience and diverse skills onto a board. This influences the type of governance structure an organisation can financially carry.

Many issues in the devolution policy were nullified during mate urutā as the government relaxed rules and distributed equitable funding and resources direct to local providers. While this distribution did not take funding away from regional providers, it did highlight that during crises, national and regional administrative bureaucracy could be circumvented, and the needs of the people addressed quickly and safely. Another example that arose from the mate urutā is tangihanga on marae. Marae trustees' terms and conditions are shaped under s338A of Te Ture Whenua Māori Act 1993 (Māori Land Act 1993). An issue that was not taken well with some marae was the tikanga (practices) and kawa (protocols) of tangihanga (funeral process). The government's logic was that crowds at tangihanga could not be managed to contain mate urutā. Trustees at marae had to close the marae doors and shut down their tikanga—their rights as trustees were over-ridden through the Covid-19 Public Health Response Order. Once again, this highlighted that real power, control, and decision making was wielded by central government.

6.7 Transforming governance models

Organisations that were agile and able to 'pivot' during mate urutā had developed governance and operational synergies through mutually beneficial and reciprocal relationships and partnerships to leverage each other's strengths to integrate a diversified portfolio of services, which at the same time was creating political leverage. One participant spoke of a framework that supports a governance model that is characterised by the mana given by the constituent iwi and communities it serves. As a local kaupapa Māori provider, its credibility was enhanced because of its Treaty based, kaupapa Māori centric approach, with hāpori Māori (communities)

needs responded to and regional and national objectives achieved. The framework reinforced that culture, identity, relationships, ūara (values), ngā mātāpono (principles), tikanga Māori, and mātauranga Māori (Māori knowledge) were valuable in a time of crisis.

A transforming equity-based framework used by a local and regional provider changed the iniquitous structures as it is premised on ūara Māori (Māori values) such as: whakawhanaungatanga (people come first), kanohi kitea (integrity), wairuatanga (spirituality), mahitahi (inclusivity), and pono ki te kaupapa (accountability); and ngā mātāpono, such as rangatira (leadership with integrity), puna (collective approach), te reo Māori (Māori language), manaakitanga (caring, honour and respect), wairua, and tino rangatiratanga (sovereignty). Te Poutokomanawa o Te Puna Ora is a framework developed 'by Māori, for Māori' at a localised level that informs governance, management and operations (Te Puna Ora o Mataatua, 2019). A participant recommended that governance boards normalise this framework in their operations because it applies the ideals of a whānau ora approach: a holistic and integrated version of hauora in practice, accentuating the collegiality of mainstream and Māori organisations working in partnership toward a common goal. The leverage gained allowed governance boards to expand, to bring on skilled, experienced, and culturally competent members to lead committees that could ensure the vision and mission would be achieved in accordance with its board strategies.

While this framework is actively intervening in the persisting social, cultural, political, and economic inequalities that disproportionately accrue to Māori, the Health and Disability Review and the Health Services and Outcomes Inquiry (Stage one) has recommended a Māori Health Authority be developed—an example of a new national governance structure that is 'by Māori, for Māori'.

6.8 Māori Health Authority

One solution that has been progressed by government that is aimed at intervening in the high and disproportionate inequalities for Māori, has been the overhauling of the governance structure in the health system; in particular, the investment and establishment of a Māori Health Authority recommended by the Health and Disability review and the Waitangi Tribunal (Wai 2575) report, which has recommended that the government "design a draft term of reference to explore the possibility of a stand-alone Māori health authority" (p. 166). Four recommendations on the construct of the Māori Health Authority were also published in a joint discussion paper commissioned by Te Puna Ora o Mataatua and others in April 2021.

A Māori Health Authority has the potential to transform the health sector in the construction of its governance structure and appointment of boards members, determined by a panel led by Tā Mason Durie. The appointment panel will determine the board structure, form, function, practice,

and shape of governance that will best meet the needs of Māori, and, just as importantly, determine the skills appointments must have to serve as board members. All participants were unanimous that a Māori Health Authority must have autonomy to set up its own structure, determine its functions and practices, make its own decisions, and be appropriately resourced. Moreover, that each board member should have te ao Pākehā (the Pākehā world) skills and attributes (Institute of Directors, 2017, p. 006; and te ao Māori (the Māori world) skills, expertise, and cultural competencies (TPK, 2018; Mead, 2016).

As this is a 'by Māori, for Māori' approach, with all the intentions of a Treaty partner, with full power and control, that is, fully resourced, equitably funded, and autonomous in its decision making, this national governance construct for Māori development has the potential to be rolled out across all ministerial portfolios and functions of the executive.

Photo by adrian krajcar on Unsplash

6. Governing for Māori Economic Development - Case Study 3

7.1 Introduction

This case study sets out findings on the governance of Māori economic development at a regional level, but with connections to national and iwi perspectives. The case first provides a theoretical discussion of the concept and practice of economic development from Western and Indigenous perspectives, and how Māori economic development is incorporated into public policy. The case study then introduces the three levels of governing for Māori economic development by reference to the literature, followed by participants' perspectives relevant to each development level. The goal of this case study is to highlight aspects of governing for Māori economic development and the capacity of governance at multiple levels to effect change in persistent Māori inequalities. Jason Mika led this case study.

7.2 A Western view of economic development

Economic development concerns how a people can prosper from their economy. The concept's modern form emerged as a post-World War Two effort by the United States to improve the lives of people devastated by the war (Todaro & Smith, 2020). As a process, economic development addresses both the productivity and growth of an economy (the quantitative dimension) and the quality of life of the people of the economy (the qualitative dimension). While growth and development are often used interchangeably, they are different but related concepts. Economic growth is measured in terms of increases in production and aggregate income, whereas economic development tends to focus on improvements in the socioeconomic position of a people. Economic development relies on well-functioning political, social, and economic institutions, broad support for and participation in economic activity among people, and the interactivity of economic development agents, agencies, and intermediaries with producers and consumers. Thus, on the one hand, economic development is concerned with increasing the productive capacity of an economy's resources—its land, people, capital, and physical and social infrastructure. On the other hand, economic development is concerned with the well-being of its people and the ability of future generations to achieve the same degree of well-being (the sustainability dimension).

Todaro and Smith (2020) categorise theories that have been developed to explain economic development as classic and contemporary. Classic theories emphasise economic growth and include stages of growth theory (where savings and investment are assumed to drive growth),

patterns of structural change theory (where institutional change is necessary for economic growth), dependence theory (addressing institutional constraints to growth), and neoclassical theory (free-markets and low intervention are favoured means of organising economic activity) (Todaro & Smith, 2020). Contemporary theories view economic development as a problem of coordinating economic agents, requiring systematic effort, and complementary actions and interventions, but still must contend with the uncertainty of unpredictable outcomes (Todaro & Smith, 2020). In this view of economic development, governance occurs at several levels— state, industry, and firm. State-level governance involves the promulgation of policy, which helps establish a favourable environment in which to do business, for example, monetary policy, industrial policy, and tax, trade, and investment policy. Industrial or sector policy may include developing the capability of people and firms through, for example, education, training and advice, and subsidisation of infrastructure and incentives for clustering enterprising activity in particular localities. Like much of the Western world (Anand & Sen, 2000), the prevailing view of economic development in Aotearoa New Zealand is shifting from a singular focus on economic growth to incorporate broader notions of well-being (Weijers & Mukherjee, 2016) and sustainable development (Scheyvens et al., 2021). While there is some critique about whether the shift toward well-being goes far enough to alleviate perceived gender and ethnic inequities (Waring, 2018), the conspicuous absence of Indigenous perspectives on economic development is one policy makers are attempting to correct (McMeeking et al., 2019; O'Connell et al., 2018).

7.3 An Indigenous view of economic development

Economic development is an integral element of the knowing, being and doing of self-determining Indigenous peoples (Anderson, 2016; Iankova et al., 2016; Lewis, 2018; Verbos et al., 2017). Indigenous peoples pursue economic development in ways consistent with Indigenous aspirations, knowledge, values, needs and priorities, and rights and interests, in rural and urban contexts (Carter et al., 2011; Gladstone, 2018; Mika, Colbourne, et al., 2020). As a consequence, Indigenous forms of entrepreneurship, enterprise, and economy are evolving in response to the needs of Indigenous peoples and the nature of the prevailing social institutions and systems in which they find themselves (Altman, 2001; Cornell & Kalt, 1993; Peredo et al., 2004; Peredo et al., 2018). From an Indigenous perspective, economic development is indistinct from social, cultural, environmental, and spiritual development— they are interrelated elements of indigeneity (Davies et al., 2005). This means that the Indigenous imperative of economic development is rarely wealth accumulation (Peredo et al., 2004; Smith et al., 2015); it is more often likely centred on wealth distribution, with wealth defined in broad terms, encompassing social, cultural, and spiritual capital (Hēnare, 2014a). Moreover, an Indigenous belief system that all things, animate and inanimate, are related as common descendants of great spiritual and physical beings (Knudtson & Suzuki, 1997) conditions economic development

as sustaining a socioecological balance between human and environmental well-being that is spiritual and pragmatic in nature (Mika & Scheyvens, 2021; Rout et al., 2021, in press). In this view, entrepreneurs and enterprises function as stewards of natural, spiritual and human endowments to support what it is that Indigenous peoples value and need (Dell et al., 2021; Mika, 2020a; Mika, Colbourne, et al., 2020), expressed in Māori as *kaitiakitanga o ngā taonga tuku iho* (Williams et al., 2011a, 2011b). Taonga in Māori are treasured possessions, which may include flora and fauna, cultural artefacts and knowledge, and people and places, whose use and care requires consideration of their tangible and intangible qualities (Craig et al., 2012). An Indigenous view of economic development does not exclude considerations of growth and development, but these dimensions of human activity consist of varied means applied to meet Indigenous ends rather than constituting ends in of themselves. In practical terms, wherever it is possible for an Indigenous perspective to be the prevailing view, it is likely that differing conclusions will be reached about what constitutes sustainable economic development in any given scale, site or sector because of the imperative for socioecological balance (Mika & Scheyvens, 2021) and a conceptualisation of value as mana-enhancing (Mika, Dell, et al., 2020).

7.4 Providing for Māori economic development in public policy

In present-day policy making for enterprise, industrial, and regional development, an Indigenous view of economic development in Aotearoa New Zealand is not the prevailing view (Barr et al., 2018; De Bruin & Teasdale, 2019; Rowe, 2005; Ruwhiu et al., 2021; Simmonds et al., 2016). It is a marginal view or an isolated view, confined to the customary economy and the social economy (Cole & McCallion, 2014), or it is a view that makes use of the market economy within the institutional, regulatory, and social constraints of Māori and non-Māori enterprise modalities (Loomis et al., 1998; Rout et al., 2020). The governing of economic development in Aotearoa New Zealand by central government, its departments, agencies, and entities, by regional and local governments, and their economic development agencies, and by industry and sector associations, typically involve three kinds of response to Māori aspirations for economic development: first, mainstream responses, which seek to incorporate Māori perspectives into generic and dominant economic development policy, strategies, plans, programmes, and actions (for example, a Māori view of tax policy) (McMeeking et al., 2019); second, partnering responses, which seek to incorporate Māori representation in relevant governance groups (for example, He Kai Kei Aku Ringa) (Activate Tairāwhiti, 2016; MEDP, 2012c; Mika et al., 2016; Simmonds et al., 2016); and third, self-determining approaches, where there is typically moral support and shared resourcing for Māori-centred economic development approaches, for example, the regional Māori economic development strategies of Tairāwhiti, Te Moana a Toi, and Te Tai Tokerau (Bay of Connections, 2014; Cooke, 2019; Hēnare, 2014b; Robinson et al., 2015; Smith et al., 2017).

There are notable limitations with all three approaches. First, an implicit bias against the possibility of Indigenous perspectives constituting mainstream economic discourse because Indigenous knowledge is assumed to be inferior or irrelevant or both for a non-Indigenous populace (Shirodkar, 2021; Winiata, 2017). Second, the nature and extent of Māori representation in government, particularly local government, and Māori in the governance of associated entities, are persistently low, which has the effect of being discriminatory and disadvantageous for Māori (Human Rights Commission, 2010, 2012). Third, while there has been governmental support in the Regional Growth Programme (RGP) for Māori economic development strategies, the need to strengthen the capacity of Māori to engage in regional development with an equitable share of resources is noted as an outstanding expectation of such policies (Oakden et al., 2017). Moreover, there is an unfulfilled need for genuine, meaningful, relevant, and useful participation by Māori and others in the governance of regional development (Oakden et al., 2017).

With a change in government from National to Labour in 2017, the RGP was replaced by the Provincial Growth Fund (PGF) as the preferred initiative to stimulate regional economic growth. The PGF came with an emphasis on direct intervention in the form of grants and loans for eligible projects with a specific focus on rural and regional centres (Connelly et al., 2019). Alongside regional approaches, iwi economic development strategies have emerged (Mika et al., 2019) that reflect the aspirations, capacity, and potential of iwi and their definitions of economy (Barr et al., 2018; O'Regan, 2009; Poyser et al., 2020; Tahana Limited, 2006; Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu, 2013; Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Awa, 2010; Te Uru Taumatua, 2015). An important distinction are differences in organisational configuration, capacity and disposition toward economic development between pre- and post-settled iwi (Cribb, 2020; Mika et al., 2017). While iwi who have yet to settle their treaty claims may wish to act in the manner of iwi who have settled, the absence of a legislative mandate (settlement statute) and settlement assets, and the diffusion of tribal power and authority across two or more tribal governance entities, restrains future-oriented economic planning (Mika et al., 2019). Iwi collaborations for social, economic, and political purposes provide some respite from such limitations, and have in some circumstances met with relative success, for example, Te Hiku in the Far North, the Iwi Collective Partnership, and the Iwi Chairs Forum) (Joseph et al., 2016; Smith et al., 2015).

7.5 Governing for Māori economic development at a national level

At a national level, Māori have been involved in working together with the Crown on setting the direction for Māori economic development and channelling the collective resources of the state and Māori toward realising Māori economic aspirations. The Māori Economic Taskforce is one such example. The then Minister of Māori Affairs established the taskforce, following a Māori economic summit hosted by Te Puni Kōkiri in Wellington on 28 January 2009 (Ngarimu, 2009). The summit was held to bring the views of Māori leaders to bear on the Crown's response to the Global

Financial Crisis (GFC), which was disproportionately affecting Māori (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2009a). Māori representatives on the taskforce came from iwi, industry, enterprise, and community, and included Mark Solomon, Ngāhiwi Tomoana, Bentham Ohia, Daphne Luke, John Tamihere, June McCabe, and Rob McLeod (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2009b). Together, the taskforce initiated several Māori-centric studies to stimulate Māori economic and employment growth. These included iwi co-investment in infrastructure financing (Solomon, 2010); an updated valuation of the Māori economy ($36.9 billion) (Nana et al., 2011); Māori trade with China (Māori Economic Taskforce, 2011); and Māori enterprise and the capital markets (Dickson, 2010a, 2010b; Mika, 2010b; Moore et al., 2011), among other initiatives (Mika, 2010a).

Following the end of the taskforce's role in 2011, the Māori Economic Development Panel (MEDP) was established in 2012 inside the Ministry of Business, Innovation and Employment (MBIE) (MEDP, 2012b) rather than in Te Puni Kōkiri (TPK), which had assisted the taskforce (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2009b). While the taskforce focused on exploring sector, industry, and system-level solutions to Māori economic problems, the MEDP was more strategic—influencing and mobilising Crown and Māori attention, resources and action across the public sector on strategic priorities over a timeframe of nearly 30 years. This timeframe was unusual but devising a strategy "to improve economic development outcomes for whānau, hapū and iwi Māori" was a long-term aim (MEDP, 2012b, p. 3). The panel members were Ngāhiwi Tomoana (chair), Greg Whittred (deputy chair), Debbie Packer, Graham Stuart, Gina Rangi, Glen Tupuhi, June McCabe, Mark Solomon, and Bevan Graham. The members were a combination of Māori and non-Māori leaders from iwi, industry, and academia. The panel consulted widely on what they considered were fundamental challenges to improving Māori participation in the economy (MEDP, 2012b), before publishing a strategy for Māori economic development (MEDP, 2012c) and an action plan (MEDP, 2012a). The panel has since become the Māori Economic Development Advisory Board [MEDAB] (2016), which is still supported by MBIE (2020) as the lead agency for He Kai Kei Aku Ringa, the Crown Māori economic strategy and action plan. The members of the advisory board are Robin Hapi (chair), Harry Bukhardt, Sasha McMeeking, Shay Wright, Tania Pouwhare, and Hinerangi Edwards. Their role is to provide stewardship of He Kai Kei Aku Ringa.

A participant perspective—Participant 1

Participant 1 (P1) is involved in the governance of business, policy, and educational institutions from a Māori perspective because both he and the entities identify as Māori. The structure, nature, and practice of governance in these various entities differs according to their kaupapa (philosophy), structure (government, nongovernment, private), and relationships. For instance, governance of a wānanga is of Māori nature because that is the nature of the organisation, but the governance process is largely conducted in Pākehā (the English language) according to accepted industry norms. In another organisation, which has a statutory responsibility for te reo Māori policy, board meetings are conducted in te reo Māori and in accordance with tikanga Māori, even though the

organisation is a Crown entity, because that is the nature of its business and a reflection of the capability and preference of the board members.

Participant 1 is also a governor on a Māori economic advisory board, which has dual relationships with Māori and the Crown. While the advisory board can be kaupapa driven, contributing from a Māori lens, in reality it is reliant on the government's willingness to deliver on recommendations the group makes (P1). The board advises on a "joint strategy [He Kai Kei Aku Ringa] between Māori and the Crown to achieve equity for Māori in the economic environment and to ensure that Māori participate in all streams of government activity and benefit from this" (P1). With He Kai Kei Aku Ringa, the advisory board needs to be cognisant of the Crown's expectations and aware of Māori expectations at any particular point in time (P1). With a change in government, the five previous pou under the term Erere were retained, but three others were added: (1) zero carbon emissions; (2) regional development; and (3) social procurement (P1). Crown contracts are worth about $40 billion annually. "If we could get 5 percent of that targeted towards Māori, it's two billion dollars into the Māori economy. It's more than we've seen for ever!" (P1). An expectation from government is that, in addition to its advisory role, the board lead more policy developments (P1).

Economic development, according to Participant P1, actually starts at home, with making sure your whānau and whare are on good foundations, that your children and grandchildren understand the importance not only of being Māori but also the sustainability aspect. Economic development is important in that context, then it expands (P1). Many Māori are interested in developing their own small to medium enterprises—that's where the bulk of our people are, and then they grow from there (P1). Governance is about being able to sustain the operations of enterprise without recourse to the Crown because the Crown can be very compliant-focused, when sometimes you need agility to adapt as challenges occur (P1). Māori governance of economic development requires balance, agility, adaptability, and holding to a longer view—te pae tawhiti—while being quick to act on opportunities that are consistent with the entity's kaupapa and context (P1). As an entity that is both Māori and the Crown, the government was asked to assess the board's performance. The advice from government was to be a little more visible, to look at how to better collaborate with agencies across the whole public sector to focus on things Māori (P1). One of the advisory board's members is a member of the Iwi Chairs Forum, so feedback is received from that perspective (P1). Then the government departments have got performance measures for things Māori, and they report on these in their annual reports (P1).

In the case of the wānanga, the organisation is governed by legislation and its constitution, and the board that is appointed to represent the iwi of the ART confederation (Te Āti Awa, Ngāti Raukawa, and Ngāti Toa Rangatira), three government appointees, the tumuaki (chief executive) (P1), and one person appointed from Ngā Pūtanga Mauri who are the custodians of the mauri of the organisation.

The board adheres to and includes the institution's kaupapa—a set of Māori values that include manaakitanga, kotahitanga, whakapapa, te reo,—in decision-making alongside financial and nonfinancial considerations to ensure the entity's sustainability (P1). For example, when considering capital expenditure, the board asks how this investment advances the organisation's kaupapa, how it meets normal returns on investment, and how the organisation has ensured appropriate expertise was involved (P1). Another aspiration is for the wānanga to be self-sufficient to the extent that it is generating returns sufficient to meet its operating costs without recourse to the Crown. This means keeping a focus on "te pae tawhiti" (the distant horizon, or long-term vision), while also remaining alert and agile enough to pursue immediate opportunities that fit with the broader kaupapa. The Māori economic advisory board relies on hui with Māori to ascertain Māori community aspirations and expectations, along with a national hui, which was last undertaken in 2017 (P1). It's likely time to go back to discuss with Māori a refresh of the strategy to ensure we remain relevant (P1). No consideration has been given by the advisory board as to whether its current structure is still the most appropriate one, but there has been a change in emphasis of its role with changes in ministers (P1). Although engagement with iwi is also part of the advisory board's process, a whānau-centre approach is still the focus (P1).

7.6 Governing for Māori economic development at a regional level

At a regional level, the governance of Māori economic development occurs in several ways. First, through economic development agencies (EDAs) and the mandate they receive from their main funders—local and regional councils—to engage with Māori and support Māori economic development. While the national association of EDAs, Economic Development New Zealand (EDNZ), has a strong and growing commitment to Māori economic development (Mika, 2020b), there is no national policy statement or uniform directive for councils and EDAs to engage Māori in economic development aside from general requirement in the Local Government Act 2002 to take account of the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi. In the city of Palmerston North and the Manawatū district, the Central Economic Development Agency (CEDA) (2020) is the EDA covering both municipalities. CEDA's vision is for the Manawatū to be New Zealand's most progressive region in partnership with Māori, iwi, and other stakeholders by 2025, underpinned by a recognition of the treaty principles (CEDA, 2020) and Te Pae Tawhiti, the region's Māori economic development strategy (Mika et al., 2016). In terms of Māori economic development, CEDA's focus is on Māori sector development, funding for Māori entrepreneurship, skill development, and relationships with tangata whenua.

A remnant of the RGP is Accelerate 25 (or A25) (Horizons Regional Council, 2017). A25 is a governance group originally comprising senior government officials, the mayors of Tararua, Whanganui, Manawatū, Palmerston North, and Ruapehu, regional councillors, industry, and Māori leaders. It was established to act on the findings of a regional growth study (Eaqub et al., 2015) and

to govern the implementation of an economic action plan (Henley et al., 2016). Accelerate 25's 'Lead Team', the term given to their governance group presently comprises Horizons Regional Council chief executive Michael McCartney as the group's lead facilitator, Horizons Regional Council chair Rachel Keedwell, Palmerston North City Mayor Grant Smith, Ngā Wairiki-Ngāti Apa chair Pahia Turia, GDM Group founder Michael Eden, CB Norwood Distributions Limited chief executive Tim Myers, Rangitāne o Manawatū Investment Trust chair Ruma Karaitiana, and Atihau Whanganui Incorporation chair Mavis Mullins (Horizons Regional Council, 2017). Horizons Regional Council hosts A25, which has become an established brand signifying regional efforts aimed at increasing job opportunities and quality of life (Horizons Regional Council, 2020).

An independent review of A25 found that the region's growth over the last five years had been satisfactory, but not spectacular (Henley, 2020). The real gains, the report argues, have been more favourable stakeholder perceptions about the region's economic prospects, a willingness of the region's leaders to work together, and a strong focus on the unrealised potential of the Māori economy. Several changes to A25 were suggested: more private sector capability on the lead team; keeping the focus on engagement and influence rather than power and control (that is, no separate entity or funding); focusing on partnering with Māori and iwi collectives (e.g., Te Ranga Tupua, Te Tihi o Ruahine, and Māori business networks); adhering to Te Pae Tawhiti, which was seen as still valid; and supporting Māori to form a "single point of engagement" in the region (Henley, 2020, p. 73). It is important to note that the Henley review of A25 represents a mainstream assessment, albeit with Māori stakeholder perspectives. A review of Te Pae Tawhiti had been initiated but was disrupted by Covid-19 and its status is unknown.

A participant perspective—Participant 2

Participant 2 (P2) is the chair of a regional Māori tourism organisation, a member of a Māori business network, a director on an iwi asset-holding company, a director in two iwi enterprises, and has established two entrepreneurial firms in the tourism sector. The enterprises operate on a whānau-based model. The participant describes his business model as involving his partner, kids, cousins, and other relations who have the opportunity to make a living while learning about the awa on which the enterprises are based. Participant 2 likens governance to being the coach of a rugby team: it is about having plans in place, but only as a guideline. To him, it is the strength of experience in making decisions that produces intergenerational change from a Māori perspective that is important (P2). This means prioritising the well-being of the people and planet, then profit and power follow: "it's a flipped on its head model… [where] the fundamentals come down to the value-set you place on it" (P2). On structures, Participant 2 notes that iwi entity structures, in addition to having legal form, provide fora in which governors can engage with and take direction from kaumātua, pakeke, and other learned ones on strategic decisions. Two examples of this were given: first, Ngā

Rauru have a pakeke and kaumātua group that feed the governance group of the iwi entity with information and direction from marae structures when formulating strategy on cultural revitalisation; and second, Ngā Tangata Tiaki, while having a governance responsibility under settlement legislation for the protecting the Whanganui River, also have a pakeke group that holds quarterly hui with traditional iwi structures along the river that have more of land focus.

Participant 2 suggests iwi governance structures have "got to keep listening to the people and it's quite hard to do that but they've got to also allocate resource to be able to do that." Iwi entities also need a growth strategy, to balance the social and economic imperatives over time, so iwi have the necessary resource to achieve social development (P2). Iwi entities must also hold the Crown to account to ensure there is equity in their article three and four responsibilities to Māori (P2). For example, the Covid-19 resource allocation to iwi indicates an inequitable distribution of resource across so many iwi (P2).

Participant 2 observes increasing use of social media, surveys, and media interaction with iwi members to gather opinions and match this with other forms of official data to understand community aspirations. More effective measures of whānau ora and whānau strengths are needed, not just reliance on negative statistics, which has much to do with the ongoing effects of colonisation (P2). The solution to addressing colonisation, he believes, lies in achieving true partnership between Māori and the Crown. The constitutional change, which might deliver that will be difficult because it requires political and social change from the current system we have (P2). It also looks like acknowledging Indigenous rights in the governance processes of Crown appointments and the appointments to council-controlled organisations (P2). It requires the Crown to "actually adhere to what they agreed to, with the United Nations, because I just don't think that they are" (P2).

In terms of influencing Māori health and well-being, Participant 2 sees a three-pronged approach where the iwi chairs, district health boards, and the community have "all got to sing off the same song sheet". When governing in the health sector, the focus needs to be on genuine relationships across the three areas of iwi, health boards, and community, and investing in resourcing Māori providers and whānau ora providers to deliver better outcomes, because the existing system is not working (P2). When involved on a Māori liaison group with a district health board, the relationship was tokenistic; there is no joint decision-making about "anything, about resource allocation about projects, about hospitalisation about Māori access to good health" (P2).

In terms of Māori economic development, Participant 2 suggests that A25, being the current mechanism for economic governance in the Manawatū-Whanganui region, could actually put resources into implementing some of its structural aspects. The Māori members on the lead team, for example, are not resourced to be there, but the others are, whether that's the mayor or others

(P2). The economic development agencies (EDAs) and councils need to be "linked up" in some sort of alliance to provide governance across the region. There is still a perception Māori economic development in region is not that significant, but it is, and fora like Te Ranga Tupua, iwi entities and Māori business networks need to be linked up in terms of a long-term view of economic development (P2). The goals of Te Pae Tawhiti are still relevant, but governance and resource are needed to bring it to fruition, "we just need to make it live" (P2). The councils and EDAs have good intentions, but when "it comes down to actually putting money to it" that doesn't happen so the intended outcomes are not achieved (P2). Funders and shareholders (the councils) could put some performance measures in place for providers like the EDAs, business incubators and accelerators and education providers to improve their Māori competencies and Māori outcomes. Social procurement opportunities through relationships with the New Zealand Transport Authority have the potential to be "game changers" for iwi and Māori because of the scale of what is proposed (P2). The environmental rejuvenation from closing the Gorge Road shows that just letting the land rest is important because "if we carry on doing what we're doing to treat Papatūānuku how we're treating it we're not going to have any economic growth" (P2). A25 is driven by an environmental organisation (Horizons Regional Council), but there doesn't appear to be any consideration as to how the environment will look when its economic actions are implemented (P2). There is also a need for more Māori on the governance of the EDAs in the region.

7.7 The role of iwi in Māori economic development

Iwi have an important role in intra-iwi and inter-iwi economic development (Bishop & Tiakiwai, 2002; Cross et al., 1991; Smith et al., 2015). During the development of Te Pae Tawhiti, consultation revealed an unevenness in the capability and propensity pre- and post-settled iwi to engage in economic development (Mika et al., 2016). That view was still evident five years later (Henley, 2020). While post-settled iwi might be more predisposed to economic development because of their access to settlement assets, conservative investment patterns, which typify post-settlement organisational practice, curb enthusiasm for medium to high risk or nonstandard investments (Mika et al., 2019; Newth & Warner, 2019; Poyser et al., 2020). A related issue is that traditional economic frameworks may not adequately account for iwi investing (Poyser et al., 2020), development (Hanita et al., 2016), and enterprise (Haar et al., 2021). Enterprise collaboration has been noted as a key strategy for iwi economic development (Smith et al., 2015). A tradition of iwi collaboration is evident in He Whakaputanga o te Rangatiratanga o Nu Tirene, the Declaration of Independence, the Kingitanga, and the Kotahitanga movement, among others (Henry et al., 2020). Joseph et al. (2016) found that Māori enterprise collaboration centres on whakapapa relationships, a compelling reason to collaborate, good governance, and the managerial capacity to carry out agreed goals. An attempt at solidifying iwi alliances across the Manawatū-Whanganui region encompassing Horowhenua, Manawatū, Tararua, Whanganui, and Ruapehu was made during the formation of Te Pae Tawhiti, but

treaty settlements and other priorities seem to have dissipated these efforts (Henley, 2020; Mika et al., 2016; Mika & Scheyvens, 2021).

Māori business networks are another form of governance by Māori enterprise for economic development purposes (Mariu et al., 1997). Research has found, however, that Māori business networks provide important non-commercial benefits, which Māori entrepreneurs value (Henry et al., 2020). These benefits include cultural capital (tikanga and te reo), social capital (whanaungatanga), spiritual capital (wairuatanga), as well as the more usual economic capital (whai rawa) (Henry et al., 2020; Mika & Palmer, 2017). Māori business networks vary in scale and focus: some focus on small and medium Māori enterprise (e.g., Whāriki in Auckland); some are industry and sector-based (e.g., Ngā Aho Whakaari, New Zealand Māori Tourism, Federation of Māori Authorities); and others are trade-based (e.g., Māori lawyers, accountants, general practitioners) (Mika & Palmer, 2017). In the Manawatū-Whanganui there are three Māori business networks: Te Rōpū Pakihi in Otaki, Te Au Pakihi in Palmerston North, and Te Manu Atatū in Whanganui. Collaboration among them has not progressed to any degree of formalisation.

A participant's perspective—Participant 3

Participant 3 notes that the A25 approach and its planning has been undergoing a refresh through engagement with the lead team and others. However, with Covid-19, the long-term future must be deferred while communities and firms deal with the immediate impact of the pandemic. Participant 3 feels that the EDAs have performed reasonably well in directing assistance like the New Zealand Trade and Enterprise funding to individual firms. Participant 3 believes centralised resources need to be distributed to the regions where decisions can be made locally informed by affected communities. For instance, Māori business networks continue to support Māori enterprise but are not allocated any funding to do this. This includes reallocating non-essential government workers to the regions to mitigate against the impact of an earthquake in Wellington debilitating the functioning of government. Working from home through the lockdown has shown firms that "we don't need an office anymore… people's productivity working from home was better" (P3). Participant 3 notes that it would have been useful to ask Covid-19 subsidy recipients if they were a Māori business to gather data on uptake and impact of the support, but this was not done. While alliances among Māori across the region were envisaged during Te Pae Tawhiti, Participant 3 has found that "everyone's doing their own thing". Moreover, when A25 is getting "99% of the resource", why is Te Pae Tawhiti not happening; having a document is no good without the resources to implement it (P3). The region has not been as successful as others in securing PGF funding for Māori economic development (P3).

Participant 3 (P3) says the government's response to the impact of Covid-19 on firms and the economy has been swift and without the usual bureaucracy that comes with accessing funding. But it is also

important that there is not a return to business as usual because Papatūānuku cannot "just tolerate what we're throwing her" (P3). Participant 2 agrees, noting that nationally, Tourism New Zealand and related organisations need change their approach. From an iwi perspective, one of the lessons of Covid-19 has been the need to have a diverse portfolio of assets because commercial property has been severely affected (P3). Some officials might consider the treaty is not relevant to Covid-19, but Participant 3 disagrees, suggesting that the treaty might be the only leverage Māori have to ensure there is equitable access to treatment and support. The Māori economic advisory board has a role to play but they are not the treaty partner; iwi are and they need to "pick up their game" (P3).

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8. Discussion

8.1 Why focus on 'persisting inequalities'?

For Māori, high and disproportionate levels of inequality persist, despite ongoing concerns expressed by successive governments that they are going to alleviate these issues. Both of these terms, 'persisting' and 'inequality', individually and jointly, need to be critically deconstructed and more profoundly understood.

The issue of 'persisting' needs to be understood against a long history of failure, of unsuccessful strategies to ostensibly intervene in the high and disproportionate levels of inequity and inequality suffered by Māori as a group. The persistent nature of these inequalities is indicative that the analyses of what is going wrong have been fundamentally inaccurate and flawed, and consequently, the supposed intervention strategies have not worked.

'Inequalities' is also a contested term. The definition of equity has been a key struggle, summed up in the internal debate within the fourth Labour Government (in July 1984) and the advent of Rogernomics (the neoliberal economic policies of Roger Douglas). One night on television the Prime Minister David Lange announced that "equity was unequal treatment for equal outcomes"; the next night Roger Douglas, the Minister of Finance, appeared on television and said that the Prime Minister had got it wrong, that equity "was treating every New Zealand citizen exactly the same!" What we have here is a clear differentiation between compensatory equity (Lange) and level-playing field equity (Douglas). The problem with the level-playing field scenario is that this approach enables the status quo of existing inequalities to prevail. Those that are already advantaged are able to reproduce their advantage while simultaneously entrenching the disadvantage of others. This process is often described in the colloquial phrase, 'the rich get richer and poor get poorer'.

It is even more important to be talking about persisting inequalities today as we work through the global pandemic of Covid-19, the rising environmental crisis, and race riots across the United States. These three events are serious enough on their own account, but they also intersect and share common impulses. The point here is that inequitable health provision, environmental exploitation, and racial discrimination are the outward visible signs of a much deeper and more submerged problem. There is a need to clearly understand the genealogical link of these inequalities to neoliberal, free market economics. These and other issues are linked to a legitimacy crisis related to narrow forms of capitalism.

There is a direct link, in our view, between rising inequalities in society and the retreat of the state within the free market, neoliberal ideologies derived from the Chicago School of Economics. Before

the neoliberal, free market reforms of the 1980s, which were strongly advocated by Ronald Regan in the United States and Margaret Thatcher in Britain, democratic jurisdictions such as New Zealand relied on the state to provide support in respect of basic social conditions, for example, support for health, support for education, and provision of social welfare support those who needed it. This was the intention of Keynesian or welfare economics, which was overthrown by neoliberalism.

Keynesian economics held that the democratic state had a responsibility to mediate fairness, justice, and social equality for all its citizens. The emergence of free market economies in the 1980s argued that states' governments could not sustain providing key services to the public and that a 'user pays' system made more sense, that those who used these services whether education, health, or social services should pay for them. Moreover, 'for profit' providers were encouraged to build privatised opportunities.

In the New Zealand situation, as well as other international contexts, the Covid-19 crisis has exposed and reinforced existing inequalities: who gets access to resources, who suffers high and disproportionate levels of infection; who are losing jobs; who do not have proper housing to retreat to; who are needing food parcels, and so forth. In many jurisdictions, it is people of colour who are disproportionately represented in these needy groups. The great majority of those who fall into the category of being, economically deprived, socially disadvantaged, and systemically marginalised, are people of colour. People of colour are among the most vulnerable because they already suffer inequitable levels of poorer health, are more likely to lose jobs, are not in housing they own, and generally suffer a wide range of high and disproportionate social and economic disadvantages.

At the same time, the free market economic system has delivered social and economic advantage and privilege to a smaller group of elites, individuals and corporations. This advantage has been: (1) built on the back of the politics of greed/ exploitation; (2) centred on the capitalist notions of 'possessive individualism' and 'competitive individualism'; (3) produced and reproduced through exercising power through political control; and (4) influenced by societal hegemony, what Noam Chomsky described as 'manufacturing consent', for example, strong market performance will create wealth and prosperity for all and the subsequent (false) promises of 'trickle down' economics. Hegemony derives from Antonio Gramsci's (1971) *The Prison Notebooks*. In our work we draw attention to the dialectic relationship between the promises of the elite and the belief of the disadvantaged. The (false) promise that 'level playing field' equity will deliver equal benefits for all; the (false) belief that the 'poor and disadvantaged only have themselves to blame because they did not work hard enough or take advantage of the opportunities given them because they made poor choices; the (false) promise of 'one size fits all' cultural norms that are manifest within colonising and assimilationist education practices.

What we are currently observing is that the present day Covid-19 pandemic has exposed inequities in both the processes and outcomes within the responses to the Covid-19 crisis in particular and within our health system(s) more generally that have disproportionately impacted large sections of already disadvantaged communities. We reiterate that the persisting inequities that are surfacing within the Covid-19 context need to be read against the backdrop of an economic analysis and be seen as another indicator of a crisis of capitalism and free market economics.

8.2 Persisting inequalities affecting Māori

Māori as a distinctive section of the New Zealand population have a long and dismal history of over representation within crisis statistics, indicating social and economic inequalities. Successive New Zealand governments have had a corresponding history of 'good intentions' toward changing these conditions. Despite these efforts, their record is littered with failure, in fact emerging studies indicate that the inequity gap between Māori and non-Māori is widening (Marriott & Sim, 2014).

The New Zealand story in relation to persisting inequalities is located in the overthrow of Keynesian economics by the neoliberal (free market) reforms linked to the Chicago School of Economics reforms. New Zealand took hold of these ideas and reshaped them to fit the New Zealand context; this movement is known as Rogernomics. While inequities within the Māori population existed before the 1980s economic reforms, the welfare state did provide some alleviation by providing free essential services. One of the subsequent arguments used by free market advocates was that Māori and other 'needs' groups had become so 'dependent' on the state that they were too comfortable to engage in transforming themselves.

The reforms in New Zealand were driven by the ideology that New Zealand as whole would benefit from wealthy entrepreneurs, individuals, and big corporations who could create enormous wealth and job opportunities that would in turn lead to trickle down benefits. Rogernomics also enabled many of what were once public assets to be appropriated by private interests (railways, airlines, lands and buildings). Persisting inequalities indicate that this 'trickle down' system is not working; there has been little benefit for most Māori. From the perspective of those who are waiting for more equitable social and economic inclusion, the current economic system is not delivering. It is seemingly growing the gaps between rich and poor.

As regards our reliance on free market ideologies, processes, and outcomes, some key issues need to be confronted: (1) we need to recognise that we are facing a crisis of the legitimacy of neoliberal formation of capitalism; (2) the 'free market' economy has enabled the politics of greed and exploitation by enabling the rise of growing, monied elite (with the supposed trickle-down benefits having been few, if any); (3) the free market has enabled the appropriation of state assets by an elite group of private interests; (4) notwithstanding that Māori are not homogenous in their thinking, some

predominant cultural values, views, and knowledge are shared by many. Free market economics asserts a particular cultural narrative that is often at odds with how many Māori might culturally view the world. For example, neoliberal economics puts: (a) focus on individual rights and freedoms—collective rights and freedoms; (b) emphasis on the capitalist notion of 'possessive individualism'—shared group responsibility; (c) emphasis on competition—cooperation; and (d) emphasis on privatisation—collective responsibilities.

More recently, Aotearoa New Zealand has attempted to review some aspects of its economy. The New Zealand Treasury has instigated a 'well-being' emphasis through the creation of a living standards framework. This has been done in acknowledgement of persisting inequalities. The approach is underpinned by differentiating four distinct capitals: (a) financial/physical; (b) natural; (c) human; and (d) social. All are interconnected and constantly changing. Together, they directly impact Aotearoa New Zealand's social and economic well-being. This embraces people's skills, knowledge, and health, which will be monitored via a Treasury dashboard.

One might argue, however, that the Treasury model has ignored the disproportionate numbers of Māori (and Pacifica peoples) who make up the bulk of socioeconomically marginalised communities. Treasury has not been willing to enact strategies that locate cultural difference as a significant factor that might transform Māori social and economic conditions. Our point is that understanding the cultural nuances at play here, may well provide potential avenues for making a transforming difference. However, once again, it seems that in spite of ostensibly undertaking wide consultation, the same old 'public service' thinking (that has previously failed to deliver) is again reproducing the same culturally biased and limited thinking that failed to deliver change in the past.

In our view, Treasury has neglected to include cultural capital as a distinctive reference point in its well-being indices. Cultural capital should not be seen as a mere subset of social capital—in fact, social capital might be read as a subset of cultural capital. We argue that the transforming point of difference has been missed in the well-being framework. Cultural capital should be on the dashboard as a significant transforming factor. That is, Māori cultural capital should be read in its own right; at other times it does intersect with social capital. We do not see any evidence or indeed examples of this. Our grounds for this critique come out of research on kaupapa Māori (Smith, 1992, 1997), where social and cultural capital are shown to intersect. This shortcoming, we fear, will simply reproduce continued failure of the system and the disproportionate outcomes in persisting inequalities for Māori.

8.3 Toward some transforming solutions

A kaupapa Māori approach to addressing persistent inequalities among Māori suggests a need to mediate tensions that exist between individual and collective rights and private and public

responsibility of the state. In this view, the government needs to reconstruct itself as a benevolent arbiter, protector, and mediator of equity, social justice, and fairness. Moreover, government needs to help Māori create self-development initiatives and build social capacity and Māori organisations that can lead transforming change for themselves, such as whānau ora, iwi rūnanga, kohanga reo, marae, and so on. In the Covid-19 crisis, the agency of these Māori organisations was vital in reaching Māori communities in ways that more official agencies could not. Given this need to develop new strategies and models of transforming, we identify key principles that individually and collectively have the potential to enhance more successful Māori social and economic transformative outcomes. They draw on strategies for regional Māori economic development, including Smith et al. (2017) and Mika et al. (2016). The principles follow:

- **Buy In.** This principle encourages commitment by as many iwi, Māori, and rural individuals as possible in economic development. Enhancing Māori, iwi, and rural communities to have meaningful buy in to the ideas, planning, processes, and outcomes of economic development is critical. When individuals and groups feel a 'sense of ownership' of the kaupapa (plan) they are more likely to be committed to ensuring its success. Where there is little or no ownership of the ideas, commitment falls away.

- **Bottom-up and top-down development.** This principle connects with the idea of the need for 360° intervention. It is important to critically understand the 'failure' of the top-down investment models that are reliant on the promise of 'trickle down' economic development. On its own, this approach has proven to be inadequate; we need to invest in growing change in multiple sites, including growing change from the grassroots upwards.

- **360-degree intervention model.** This principle moves beyond the policy propensity to develop a 'projects approach' to change. That is, economic development is often targeted at singular projects and seemingly assumes a 'silver bullet' approach. Māori, iwi, rural economic development requires multiple interventions, in multiple sites, often simultaneously. We need to find ways to make economic development everyone's concern. A further connotation of the 360° intervention model is the idea that we need to include everyone in the notion of change, that is, we cannot afford to leave anyone behind.

- **Enactment.** This principle moves beyond rhetorical expressions of transforming intention to enacting transforming outcomes. An important emphasis here is to let one's actions speak and to demonstrate this through 'ringa raupa' (blisters on the hands).

- **Whānau development.** A key learning from te kohanga reo and from kaupapa Māori approaches to building transforming outcomes for Māori in the need to work on the regeneration of the traditional values of whānau and whanaungatanga. These values include respect; nurturing; humility; service; tuakana–teina, whakapapa, collaboration, cooperation, and reciprocity between

whānau, hapū, and iwi. The significant point here is that embedded in these traditional values is a social capital that enables whānau to mediate some of the worst effects of their social and economic condition. In this sense, rebuilding the power of whānau (people) is a more fundamental project than creating economic opportunities. There is an inextricable relationship between whānau cohesiveness and their readiness to participate in economic self-development.

- **Self-development.** Māori have made some of their most important gains from self-development projects, e.g., Te Kohanga Reo, Kura Kaupapa Māori, Māori Radio, Hauora Māori, and so on. Key elements about these initiatives include autonomy and meaningful participation in the planning, processes, and control over outcomes. There is a need to learn from the successful interventions. As one respondent remarked 'our best successes have been when we have done it ourselves'. It is important to understand the need to find ways for Māori to participate more meaningfully in the intervention strategies and to note their desire for more autonomy and control over their own lives.

- **Iwi engagement.** Iwi engagement by government and public authorities is still hugely under-developed and as such offers much potential in terms of building traction to impact on the social and economic condition of Māori in general, and iwi in particular. It is important to recognise that iwi settlement funds and their spend are the prerogative of iwi. Many iwi insist that the 'personal rights' in Article III of the Treaty have not been addressed or settled, despite unilateral declarations by government about 'full and final' settlement statements. The point here is that Māori are still taxpayers, and also have 'personal' rights that are guaranteed within the Treaty of Waitangi that come under the responsibility of public sector funding. In this sense, there is need to unpack the mythology that somehow iwi settlement funding ought to be used to supplement (even replace) public spend in this area; and that iwi funding should be spent on curing the social and economic conditions of Māori/iwi/ rural communities.

In this regard, government, local body, and public service providers need to develop more respectful approaches and working relationships with iwi; respect for iwi autonomy, respect for the elected leadership entities; respect for their development aspirations. Beyond this, there is need to work alongside and in support of iwi aspirations, make no presumptions about how iwi ought to spend its funding, consult regularly and formally with iwi, and seek to help (including with resources) iwi fulfil their aspirations for their people. The sum total of what is being expressed here is the development of a true partnering model—not one loaded with pre-conceived expectations:

- **Innovation and new ideas.** This principle reinforces the idea that we need to be focused on transformation and how we get it. It connects to the previous ideas that we cannot continue to do things that are not effective in making change. Therefore, there is a subsequent need to look for new ideas, innovative approaches, and new technologies that might help. A large number of entrepreneurial ideas came through in our research responses. For example,

establishing and engaging with new technologies such as fibre, high-tech hubs, and providing education in new technologies.

- **Critical alignment.** An important principle is the need for a critical perspective. We need to be able to understand what's gone wrong and what is not working before we can put it to right. We need to critically engage with the prevailing hegemony that reproduces a particular form of economic development (e.g., the belief in the level playing field form of equity) that we must treat everyone exactly the same. However, by failing to recognise that everyone is not starting off in the same place, the ideology of the level-playing field is an idea that in the end sanctions difference, disadvantage, privilege, and an unequal society. In this sense, dominant interest groups who already enjoy advantage are able to reproduce their advantage. There needs to be a critical examination of such thinking if we are to get change within a prevailing societal context of unequal power and social relations between dominant Pākehā and subordinated Māori populations.

8.4 Governance structure in economic development

Each of the case studies emphasised the range and variety of the types of governance models and frameworks utilised in different contexts across and within local, regional, national, and international spheres. Even within these spheres there was a multiplicity of attitudes, relationships, and practices of governance that are manifest within sociocultural, political, and economic sectors. Governance has forged ahead in the arena of corporate business models where mindsets are fixed on the separation of governance, management, and operations. However, even in not-for-profit and non-government organisations the focus remains on maintaining the divide between governance and management mainly for the seamless flow of resources and people in and out of organisations. A much greater focus in many organisations is the financial health of the organisation and maintaining that growth in financial returns to ensure organisations, and, therefore, their employees, owners, shareholders, and potentially communities, prosper. According to participants in this research, a pre-requisite for board membership should be financial literacy or willingness to get up to speed on being able to read and understand financial statements very quickly.

When they were first established, Māori land incorporations and trusts in farming were governed by those in the whānau and hapū who had expertise in farming; their roles were blended with management because they were the experts. Many of those organisations still exist but are often small and struggle to make ends meet. Their governors still have a hand in the management side of the organisation.

Each of the case study organisations and examples provided see governance as being and having a strategic, long-term objective for the organisations or communities they serve, leaving management to focus on operations and none of these organisations noticeably blended the two.

At the community level, organisations like school boards, marae and hapū, clubs and charitable organisations where board membership is mostly voluntary, it was often a challenge to get commitment for community members to participate in governance. Māori committees, though, have a different status to many other Māori organisations. They have been established through an act of parliament, the Māori Community Development Act 1962. The Act set up three main mechanisms relating to Māori community development: The New Zealand Māori Council supported by three levels of Māori associations (Māori Committees, Māori Executive Committees, and District Māori Councils); Māori Wardens; and Community Officers. Other Māori organisations such as the Iwi Chairs Forum or what was the Māori Congress or other similar groups do not have that legal right to engage with the Crown. The Crown is required to engage with the Māori Council and thereby Māori Committees through the established associations. Māori Committees and, therefore, their hapū communities believe that their voice, their needs, and their aspirations are conveyed directly to government through the Māori Council. This approach is considered to be the only bottom-up rather than top-down engagement that government should have with Māori communities. However, many other iwi and Māori organisations have, over the years tried to usurp this requirement; however, while the Act remains, the voice of the Māori community should be heard via this mechanism. It is also acknowledged that currently there is unrest and dissention within this system that has been impacting on the influence or not of the Māori voice at government.

Treaty of Waitangi settlements also bring about different sets of obligations and accountabilities for both Māori groups, hapū and iwi and the various government departments that are obliged to interact in meaningful ways with Māori on a broad range of issues. However, one thing that stands out is that different departments are developing their own separate memorandums of understanding or relationship agreements with settlement groups, which is again confusing because many groups have already spent many years getting to the end of their settlement only to find they need to negotiate separately with those departments with which they want to work.

It was emphasised that even non-Māori businesses and other organisations were attempting to change their governance make-up. Some were embracing diversity in their board memberships, acknowledging the perceived value, for instance, in having Māori representation at the table. Some organisations are embracing Māori values, art, culture, and Māori language in their vision and mission statement; others, like district and regional councils, are required to consider the Treaty of Waitangi in the work they undertake and consult with iwi/Māori groups at different levels. Some local government organisations in New Zealand are more progressive than others who might wish to hold on to their colonial attitudes and behaviour. Even with the more progressive councils, it is still a work in progress, with very few Māori or other ethnic minorities on councils. Behaviour and attitudes on councils, as we have also seen in parliament, leave much to be desired, and many will fight strongly

not to acknowledge what they perceive to be special considerations for Māori or even relent when they know they are wrong. Using their own Western systems to argue a case, staying professional and calm were identified as the best way for Māori members to put their case or kaupapa forward.

Earlier evidence showed clearly that having Māori on boards can make a substantial difference because Māori are usually more connected to their communities, they bring their reo and tikanga with them, and they will be respected if they hold to their values (Panoho, 2012).

The research case study organisations and the people involved in the governance bring different layers of influence, motivations, inspiration, and guidance to bear on their non-Māori and other Māori members. Governance is about power, being able to sway other people's thinking and, therefore, gather their support to ensure decisions made in the boardroom are more impactful. This element is relevant for governance at whānau, hapū, iwi, and organisational levels. If the decisions at these levels are impactful and benefit communities at different levels, if they are inclusive of Māori models and concepts, values and tikanga, then current inequalities in Māori lives should visibly start to diminish. There is always, however, a risk that new governance models may continue to perpetuate these inequalities because at the end of the day people are fallible.

8.5 Māori governance and development imperatives

Local communities value governance practices when they are open and transparent, inclusive of the communities they serve, and allow community input and feedback, and benefits of the decisions and processes to accrue to the communities. Smith et al. (2015) explored the elements discussed in iwi and economic case studies that concentrated on the socio-cultural and political imperatives of their communities and constituents. These included an analysis of the impacts of economic development on the social, cultural, and political well-being of iwi and Māori communities; as economic development increased, the socio-cultural and political well-being of Māori communities decreased, widening the gap between the two. In another scenario, pre-European Māori activities were analysed, and it was identified that equal amounts of resources and time were given to a range of Māori economic activities—inter-tribal trading, as was given to the socio-cultural and political aspects. Coastal hapū traded kaimoana with inland hapū who traded food from the inland regions and often access to these resource were a result of long-term strategic alliances (Petrie, 2006). There were communal celebrations, waiata, whaikōrero and pūrakau, reciprocal activities occurred. Evidence showed that in these times economic development and socio-cultural and political well-being among Māori communities were equal. Before the musket, even inter-tribal warfare was relatively rare. Before iwi were established, hapū chiefs governed with whānau kaumātua and leaders.

To this day Māori, in a similar way to other Indigenous peoples, have an affinity with their natural environments As mentioned earlier, the New Zealand government also has acknowledged iwi connections to rivers, lakes, bush, and whenua. While it has taken a long time to get to a place where the government acknowledges land and rivers such as Whanganui River and Te Urewera, it also helps to reshape Māori and Indigenous development aspirations, livelihoods and futures. Other iwi are coming forward to have their landmarks recognised.

New governance models that incorporate or overlay a Māori lens provide opportunities for Māori communities and non-Māori community organisations to utilise tools (e.g., Te Poutokomanawa o Te Puna Ora, which allows organisations and communities to define their own indicators and strategies for development and the expectations of governance).

8.6 Māori governance and community aspirations

The research examined the motivations and practices of governance and the cases presented showed Māori communities in the forefront of activities. While we observed the wide range of governance groups, each were unique, some were iwi centric, others very much community driven and operating at the grass roots. While it can be argued that iwi governance could exert the strongest influence, others would advocate for those who are involved in economic development who often choose to adopt a Western model of governance. These choices are likely to be heavily influenced by business goals and objectives. The analysis of the economic case organisations and the iwi organisations was interesting and guided by the model that merged from a longitudinal study of Māori households, Te Hoe Nuku Roa (Durie, 1995).

Photo by Luke McKeown on Unsplash

9. Conclusions

Our research explored the different models of Māori and other Indigenous governance to reflect on how these models provide space for the voice of Māori communities and other Indigenous communities to be heard. Models based on Western perspectives of what constitutes good governance have been found to perpetuate the inequalities and the inequities that Māori and Indigenous groups experience. While Māori aspire to reclaim traditional, customary, tikanga-based models of governance, the Western systems remain dominant, and law rather than lore persists in a society heavily weighted towards Western ideologies. This research provides local, national, and international examples of governance models that highlight benefits and limitations, culminating in an agreement that while Indigenous voices are strong, they are not heard where it matters.

In terms of governing for community-level outcomes, our research found governance in local communities does not always work very well. Participants suggested that local school committees, hall committees, etc., are all voluntary and they often struggle. There was also mention of this experience in smaller Māori land trusts and incorporations. Māori are hardest on themselves because there is a tendency to expect people to do governance for nothing and if that is the case then there will be challenges. Furthermore, governance is not remunerated as it should be, there is much risk in governance now, so if people are expected to undertake governance for nothing then nothing is what is returned. The role of governance in communities is not well appreciated and participants agreed that they are required to commit time and energy to Māori governance.

Governance has a definite role in reshaping Māori and Indigenous development aspirations, livelihoods, and futures. Participants agreed that anything to do with hapū and marae needs to go through a governance structure. Examples include the hapū te reo Māori strategy, the health and economic development strategies. The *governance is the glue that binds our community together—there is always a face-to-face element, kanohi ki te kanohi* with Māori organisations, hapū, whānau, and marae. The kaupapa are countless and wide ranging and much work is still to do. Nothing happens without the Māori committee. Māori committee has a direct link to Māori council at national level that is how our voice gets heard. Governments have to listen because it is written in law and dangerous not to listen. Still, politics gets in the way rather than the kaupapa, but that is the link. Currently, marae have no link to iwi leaders/chairs, they are not our forum. Our tīpuna forged that link to government through the Māori Community Development Act 1962.

In terms of governing for Māori health outcomes, the research found a 'by Māori for Māori' approach in shaping governance structures in the health sector. The form, function, and practice of existing and new forms of health sector governance are informed by the Treaty of Waitangi, kaupapa Māori

theory, and are imbued with Māori culture, identity ūara and ngā mātāpono, and involve tikanga Māori and mātauranga Māori. Membership of these Māori health governance structures are expected to be representative of the skills, expertise, experience, and cultural knowledge of their communities. The institutions are expected to be fully resourced, equitably funded, autonomous in their decision making, and, therefore, can intervene in the disproportionate inequities that accrue to Māori, benefitting all New Zealanders. The research also highlights that while current Māori governance structures (form and function) exist, they are still obliged to comply with Western informed legislation and processes. The new Māori Health Authority that is being constructed is seen as a step further in the evolution of by Māori for Māori. The development of new governance models asserts tino rangatiratanga (sovereignty) and mana motuhake (independence) towards equity and is not in lieu of the government's obligations that continue under the Treaty of Waitangi.

The following recommendations are based our analysis and are proposed to assist the government in developing the Māori Health Authority, so that the learning from this process can more generally inform future governance structures across government portfolios. In relation to the Māori Health Authority, it is recommended that:

1. The governance structure should be overt in who it serves –by Māori, for Māori.

2. Treaty partner obligations, autonomy, power, control appropriately resourced and funded, equity, communal ethos, tino rangatiratanga, and mana motuhake are essential.

3. The governence should be agile and responsive to levers that meet the needs of Māori and iwi, and their cultural, social, economic, and environmental imperatives. Additionally, it should develop its own service design, outcomes development, and investment frameworks.

4. Governance should work horizontally across portfolios and vertically toward the localised level. Further, the chair of the Māori Health Authority should be the deputy chair of Health New Zealand.

5. An equity-based frameworks developed by kaupapa Māori providers that have proved successful at intervening in disparities experienced by Māori could be used as guides to develop the Māori Health Authority.

6. Governance members should have skills, experience, and cultural competencies, not just in health but in other sectors with a proven record of implementing transformative development models for Māori. Governance should also include intergenerational and diverse decision makers, and a documented succession plan.

In terms of governing for Māori economic development, and its potential to intervene in persisting inequalities affecting Māori, we found that the theory of economic development from a Western perspective centres on the various ways in which economic growth and quality of life are

contemporaneously achieved. In this approach, there is little explicit consideration of the institutional and governance frameworks that make such achievements possible, particularly consideration of state policy making and regulatory functions. Economic development from an Indigenous vantage, however, integrates social, cultural, economic, environmental, and spiritual development as elements of indigeneity and Indigenous self-determination. Indigenous economic development is influenced by an imperative of socioecological balance because of a belief system that holds to the principle that all things, animate and inanimate, are related. Indigenous economic development is conditioned by this belief system, evident in a focus on wealth distribution rather than wealth accumulation as the reason for entrepreneurship and enterprise. While a recent shift away from a focus on growth toward well-being in economic and policy discourse shares some alignment with Indigenous theories, these perspectives are conspicuously absent or still nascent in public policy. In practice, Māori perspectives may be added to mainstream policy and plans, some partnering between Māori and government may occur, and Māori may develop their own strategies. Limitations arise, including implicit bias, low Māori representation, and disparities in capability.

At a national level, Māori have been served by the Māori Economic Taskforce (2009–2011) and the Māori Economic Advisory Board (2012 to the present) in response to financial shocks and a strategic imperative to support Māori economic growth and productivity, and to address inequality. These have been Crown appointed governance entities intended to provide ministers with advice, information, and direction on Māori economic development, but not action, that remains for government departments and Māori to implement. At a regional level, Māori economic development occurs in the context of EDAs and local and regional councils. Māori engagement at this level occurs through recognition of treaty relationships, Māori representation, and targeted assistance for Māori enterprises. At an iwi level, pre- and post-settlement iwi differ in their capacity to engage in economic planning and development, while Māori business networks generally provide fora to build Māori entrepreneurial capabilities.

At a national level, it was found that an entity's kaupapa, structure, and relationships influence the governance process, and the success of national strategies relies on the willingness of agencies to accept the advice given. Moreover, changes in government result in different priorities and resourcing. Māori small and medium enterprises are an underserved section of the Māori economy, and a whānau-focus remains the national priority. At a regional level, governing for Māori economic development requires a focus on human and environmental well-being over profit and power and engagement, with esteemed elders to inform strategic decision-making. This requires iwi entities to balance social and economic aims in generating growth. At an iwi level, an argument for decentralising policy capability and resources to the regions was made on the basis of more informed, localised, and effective decisions. The Treaty was considered an essential to ensuring the adequacy and equity of funding allocated to Māori economic development. Resourcing to implement Māori economic development strategies is a common issue at all levels, as well as an effective enterprise collaboration.

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Annex 1 - Research ethics

INFORMATION SHEET

PARTICIPANT AND GROUP

RESEARCH TITLE: Persisting inequalities and the potential for intervention through "new" governance models.

Researchers Information – The names and contact details of the researchers for this project are listed below

Distinguished Professor Graham Smith, is Deputy Vice Chancellor at Massey University and provides senior advisory support to this project. He was the lead researcher to the project before moving to Massey University.

Dr Annemarie Gillies, Director Research, Te Puna ora O Mataatua, Māori Health Provider, Whakatāne. Annemarie.Gillies@tpoom.co.nz	Dr Jason Mika, Lecturer, School of Business, Massey University. Palmerston North. J.P.Mika@massey.ac.nz	Ms Fiona Wiremu, Executive Director, Te Pourewa Arotahi: Institute for Post-treaty Settlement Futures Institute, Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi, Whakatāne. Fiona.Wiremu@Wānanga.ac.nz

Type and purpose of project
There is a large body of existing and emerging literature on social indicators that describe a widening gap of inequality between Māori and Pākehā. This proposed research will explore two critical sites where there is potential to change outcomes of persisting inequality. First, a comprehensive examination of governance form, structure, and practice, and second, investigate whether or not changing the approach to governance will ultimately alter the realities of iwi/Māori trapped within high and disproportionate levels of inequality.

Participant Recruitment - Method: Potential participants will be recognised leadership at both local and international levels. They will be approached by the investigators as key informants because of their knowledge and expertise. Number of participants to be involved and the reason for this number – We anticipate approaching 20-50 potential participants, and some of you will be interviewed face to face and others as part of a group at a time convenient for you and the group. These will in most instances take place at international conferences or indigenous meetings of scholars and leaders. Details of gift giving or other payments – we understand that there is gift giving and other cultural practices that need to take place and we undertake to observe such practices where and when required and to observe our own Māori protocols in doing so. Description of discomforts or risks to participants as a result of participation – we do not anticipate risk or harm to come to participants as a result of their engagement in this research.

Project Procedures - Use of data – data will be analysed in aggregate form and you will not be specifically identified by name but may recognise your own korero where quotes are used to highlight findings. What will happen to the data when it is obtained – data will be de-identified (data separated from consent forms and stored separately) all of your data will be stored appropriately and will only be accessible to the research team for the duration of the project after which time (if we have permission from you) it will be archived for future generations/descendants. Method for accessing a summary of the project findings – a project specific website will be developed or summary information, conference presentation on findings, methods, methodologies etc will be made available to you through Ngā Pae O te Māramatanga outlets. We can also provide you with a summary report of the research findings on request. Method for preserving confidentiality and anonymity (if offered) – we cannot assure anonymity as you are a known indigenous leader or spokesperson for your people and therefore maybe known both internationally and nationally however we can treat all information appropriately and with confidentiality to help minimise the impact of any negative effects of participating in this research.

Participants involvement- Procedures in which participants will be involved - You will be involved in interviews either as an individual or in a group or both. You will also be asked to check and approve your transcripts. Time involved - We expect a minimum of two hours involvement in this project over the duration of the project.

Participants Rights - You have the right to:

- Decline to participate;
- Decline to answer any particular question;
- Withdraw from the study (before data analysis commences);
- Ask any questions about the study at any time during participation;
- Provide information on the understanding that your name will not be used unless you give permission to the researcher;
- To be given access to a summary of the project finding when it is concluded.
- I also understand that I have the right to ask for the audio/video tape to be turned off at any time during the interview.

Project Contacts - if you have any questions about the project. Please contact one of the named researchers listed at the beginning of this information sheet.

Ethics Committee Approval Statement

- This project has been reviewed and approved by Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi Ethics Committee, NPM/Whai Rawa/16RF06-3708612
- If you have any concerns about the conduct of this research, please contact the Ethics Committee administrator as below:

Contact Details for Ethics Committee administrator: - Shonelle Wana

Postal address: Private Bag 1006 Whakatāne Shonelle.Wana@Wānanga.ac.nz	Courier address: Cnr of Domain Rd and Francis St Whakatāne

PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM

Please tick to indicate you consent to the following *(Add or delete as appropriate)*

I have read, or have had read to me, and I understand the Participant Information Sheet.		
I have been given sufficient time to consider whether or not to participate in this study.		
I am satisfied with the answers I have been given regarding the study and I have a copy of this consent form and information sheet.		
I understand that taking part in this study is voluntary (my choice) and that I may withdraw from the study at any time		
I consent to the research staff collecting and processing my information,		
If I decide to withdraw from the study, I agree that the information collected about me up to the point when I withdraw may continue to be processed.	Yes ☐	No ☐
I understand that my participation in this study is confidential and that no material, which could identify me personally, will be used in any reports on this study.		
I know who to contact if I have any questions about the study in general.		
I understand my responsibilities as a study participant.		
I understand and agree to this interview or group session being recorded	Yes ☐	No ☐

Declaration by participant:

I hereby consent to take part in this study.

Participant's name:

Signature:	Date:

Declaration by member of research team:

I have given a verbal explanation of the research project to the participant, and have answered the participant's questions about it.

I believe that the participant understands the study and has given informed consent to participate.

Researcher's name:

Signature:	Date:

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

FACE TO FACE AND GROUP DATA GATHERING SESSIONS

Research Title: Persisting inequalities and the potential for intervention through "new" governance models'

Research Question: What is the potential for new governance structures to intervene in persisting social, cultural, political and economic inequalities that disproportionately accrue to Māori

1. **Who determines the structure, form, function, practice and shape of governance?** At community, organisational, whānau, hapū, iwi level, local, regional, national or international levels**.**
    a. **How would you explain the concept of governance?**
    b. **How would you define governance of Governments?**
    c. **In what ways has governance groups been or are configured from your perspective?**
    d. **Who have been or are the main persons in governance?**
    e. **Describe the behaviours, attitudes and practices of governance members?**
    f. **What are the key requirements of an individual to be in governance (at the different levels)?**
    g. **Describe the types of influence individuals have within governance arrangements?**
    h. **How does this impact on individuals and groups?**
    i. **Describe the good things about governance from your perspective?**
    j. **Now describe the bad things you have witnessed about governance?**
    k. **In what ways is cultural legitimacy conceptualised in governance models?**
    l. **How is sovereignty and autonomy expressed for example in iwi/tribal, hapū, whānau, community governance models? i.e. how do urbanised Māori maintain a connection?**

2. **What are the effects of governance on social, cultural, ecological, and political imperatives?**
    a. **In what ways and to what extent do local communities value or not governance practices?**
    b. **In what ways does governance reshape Māori and indigenous development aspirations, livelihoods and futures?**

c. **What tools if any are available that allow communities to develop and define their own indicators and strategies for social, economic, and cultural development and expectations of governance?**

d. **Describe what governance histories or the diversities of governance in our communities have highlighted?**

e. **What is the place of traditional governance systems in current and future governance models?**

f. **In what ways from your perspective, are our indigenous and Māori governance structures and processes responding to the composition of many contemporary communities?**

3. **How are community aspirations represented at governance?**

   a. **Which spheres/groups have strongest influence on particular governance groups?**

   b. **What are the things that are necessary in order to influence governance?**

   c. **How much influence do communities bring to bear on the governance of Governments?**

   d. **What international processes might have influence on governance of our/your Government?**

   e. **What role do international mechanisms (eg UNDRIP) have on local, national, regional, international indigenous communities?**

Te Puna Ora o
Mataatua