

Lincoln University Digital Thesis

Copyright Statement

The digital copy of this thesis is protected by the Copyright Act 1994 (New Zealand).

This thesis may be consulted by you, provided you comply with the provisions of the Act and the following conditions of use:

- you will use the copy only for the purposes of research or private study
- you will recognise the author's right to be identified as the author of the thesis and due acknowledgement will be made to the author where appropriate
- you will obtain the author's permission before publishing any material from the thesis.

AN INVESTIGATION INTO THE PROCESS OF MAORI
ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT.

A thesis
submitted in fulfilment
of the requirements for the Degree
of
Master of Applied Science
at
Lincoln University

by
John Gerard O'Sullivan

Lincoln University

Table of Contents

	PAGE
List of Figures	ix
List of Tables	ix
Abstract	1
1.0 Introduction	3
1.1 The Nature of this Study.....	4
1.2 Reasons for this Study.....	5
1.3 Justification for this Study.....	5
1.4 The Problem.....	6
1.5 Problem Statement.....	7
1.6 Thesis Overview.....	8
2.0 Literature Review	9
2.1 Economic Development Literature.....	9
2.1.2 Defining Economy and Development.....	9
2.1.3 Measuring the Success of Economic Development.....	11
2.1.4 How Should Economic Development be Conceptualised?.....	15
2.1.5 The Role of Culture and Politics in Economic Development.....	17
2.1.6 The Role of Government in Economic Development.....	21
2.1.7 The Role of Society in Economic Development.....	27
2.1.8 Economic Development as a Cause of Social Change.....	28
2.1.9 Social Goals of Economic Development and the Issue of Intergenerational Responsibility.....	29
2.1.10 Macro or Micro Perspective?.....	30
2.1.11 Fundamental Principles of Economic Development.....	32
2.2 Maori Economic Development	33
2.2.1 Pre -Contact.....	33
2.2.2 Contact.....	43
2.2.2.1 Treaty of Waitangi.....	49
2.2.3 Contemporary.....	53
2.2.3.1 Ngai Tahu Treaty of Waitangi Claim	54

	PAGE
2.2.3.2 Maori Economic Development Summits.....	56
2.2.3.3 A Framework for Maori Economic Development	60
2.3 Issues Pertaining to Maori Economic Development	65
2.4 Principles for Maori Economic Development.....	67
3.0 Research Design.....	68
3.1 Research Method.....	68
3.2 Literature Review.....	68
3.3 Analysis of Documents.....	69
3.4 Selection of Interviewees.....	70
3.4.1 Size and Nature of Sample.....	71
3.4.2 Interviews.....	72
3.5 Ethics.....	74
3.5.1 Ethical Guidelines.....	74
3.5.2 Community Verification of Facts and Sharing of Knowledge	75
3.6 Analysis of data.....	76
3.7 Delimitations	77
3.8 Limitations of this Study.....	77
3.9 Conclusion.....	79
4.0 Analysis of Whakatupuranga Rua Mano	
– Generation 2000.....	80
4.1 Background to the formulation of Whakatupuranga Rua Mano	
– Generation 2000.....	80
4.2 The Formulation of Whakatupuranga Rua Mano	
– Generation 2000.....	81
4.3 The Strategy of Whakatupuranga Rua Mano	
– Generation 2000.....	83
4.4 The Implementation of Whakatupuranga Rua Mano	
– Generation 2000.....	84

	PAGE
4.4.1 The Missions.....	84
4.4.2 Te Wananga-o-Raukawa.....	89
4.5 Summary of Whakatapuranga Rua Mano – Generation 2000	91
5.0 Analysis of Te Taumutu Runanga Economic Development Report – 2002.....	95
5.1 Background to the Commissioning of Te Taumutu Runanga Economic Development Report	95
5.2 Negotiating the Scope of the Plan with Te Taumutu Runanga.....	100
5.3 Research Methodology of Report.....	105
5.4 Discussion of the Economic Development Process Outlined in Te Taumutu Runanga Economic Development Report	107
5.5 Summary	114
5.6 Key Messages.....	115
6.0 Analysis of Ngai Tahu 2025	117
6.1 Background to the Formulation of Ngai Tahu 2025.....	117
6.2 Purpose of Ngai Tahu 2025.....	118
6.3 Overview of Ngai Tahu 2025.....	118
6.4 Vision for Ngai Tahu 2025.....	121
6.5 Analysis of Ngai Tahu 2025.....	121
6.6 Comparison of Whakatapuranga Rua Mano and Te Taumutu Runanga Economic Development Report with Ngai Tahu 2025.....	124
6.6.1 Similarities.....	124
6.6.2 Differences.....	125

7.0 Analysis of Interviews

7.1	Overview of the Analysis of Interview Data.....	127
7.2	Question One: How would you define Maori economic development?.....	127
7.2.1	There is an historical dimension to Maori economic development	128
7.2.2	Tikanga is part of Maori economic development.....	130
7.2.3	Maori economic development requires appropriate structures to be in place.....	130
7.2.4	Maori economic development involves identifying the Maori community	130
7.2.5	Maori economic development involves meeting community aspirations.....	131
7.2.6	Achieving tino rangatiratanga and economic independence.....	132
7.2.7	Acknowledgment of mana whenua.....	133
7.2.8	Achieving social outcomes / reducing disparities.....	133
7.2.9	Maori economic development is a process.....	134
7.2.10	No different from non-Maori economic development?.....	135
7.2.11	Establishing a commercial enterprise.....	136
7.2.12	Summary of respondents' answers to question one.....	137
7.3	Question Two: What are your thoughts on incorporating within the process of economic development the tikanga of the Maori community in which development is occurring?.....	138
7.3.1	The need to communicate what is "tika" or correct tikanga.....	138
7.3.2	The relationship between tikanga and the process of economic development.....	140
7.3.3	Tikanga is a commercial advantage.....	142
7.3.4	Concerns surrounding the practice of tikanga.....	143
7.3.5	Summary of respondents' answers to question two.....	145

7.4	What do you feel are the most appropriate structures to be used as a vehicle in achieving Maori economic development in general?.....	146
7.4.1	A community first requires a political model to be in place.....	146
7.4.2	There needs to be a match between the community and the structure.....	146
7.4.3	A structure needs to be formed at the appropriate level of Maori society.....	147
7.4.4	The place of individual rights within collective structures.....	148
7.4.5	Structures need to facilitate community participation in the decision making process.....	149
7.4.6	Structures need to be accountable.....	151
7.4.7	Structures need to identify their stakeholders.....	151
7.4.8	Structures need to have a legal identity.....	152
7.4.9	Limited liability companies as a vehicle for Maori economic development.....	153
7.4.10	Charitable trusts as a vehicle for Maori economic development....	154
7.4.11	Incorporated societies as a vehicle for Maori economic development.....	155
7.4.12	Kinship and economic development structures.....	156
7.4.13	Summary of respondent's answers to question three.....	158
7.5	Do you feel the structures you have identified need to have the approval and support of the Maori community in which economic development is occurring?.....	159
7.5.1	Support is necessary to gain access to information and influence how resources are utilised.....	159
7.5.2	Support is necessary to encourage community participation.....	160
7.5.3	Approval comes from having a structure that will be supported by a community	160
7.5.4	How do you assess a community's approval?.....	161
7.5.5	Degrees of support and approval of a structure and its actions.....	161

- 7.5.6 Approval and support are generated through a community understanding the structure.....162
- 7.5.7 Community support and approval is generated through encouraging individuals to believe in their hopes and dreams.....163
- 7.5.8 Need to move the community from beneficiary mode to a proprietary attitude.....163
- 7.5.9 The purpose of a structure needs to be remembered.....164
- 7.5.10 A structure needs to have a mandate from a political institution created by the community.....164
- 7.5.11 Summary of respondents answers to question four.....165
- 7.6 What do you feel is the most appropriate means of soliciting from Maori communities what they understand the desired outcomes of economic development to be within those communities?.....166
 - 7.6.1 Ensure you have a mandate to collect this information.....166
 - 7.6.2 Develop a community consultation strategy.....166
 - 7.6.3 Provide the community with information that is presented in an impartial manner.....167
 - 7.6.4 Kanohi ki te kanohi – Face to face communication.....168
 - 7.6.5 Hui.....168
 - 7.6.6 Meetings.....170
 - 7.6.7 Interview members of the community.....170
 - 7.6.8 Monthly Newsletters.....171
 - 7.6.9 Survey.....171
 - 7.6.10 Encourage direct approaches from individual community Members.....172
 - 7.6.11 Wananga.....172
 - 7.6.12 Summary of respondents’ answers to question five.....173
- 7.7 How would you go about helping a Maori community develop appropriate measures of success for desired outcomes of economic development within that community?.....174
 - 7.7.1 Engage in community consultation.....174
 - 7.7.2 Determine where the community is now.....175

PAGE

7.7.3 Raise the community’s expectations.....176

7.7.4 Give community members management roles.....177

7.7.5 Ensure there is a timeframe for any plan.....177

7.7.6 Ensure any plan contains progress reviews.....178

7.7.7 Responsibility of structure to develop measures.....179

7.7.8 Measures suggested by respondents.....179

7.7.9 Summary of respondents’ answers to question six.....182

7.8 How would you go about determining what a Maori
community’s priorities are in terms of the desired outcomes
of economic development within that community?.....183

7.8.1 Listen to community members.....183

7.8.2 Need to account for the human factor in decision making.....184

7.8.3 A structure needs to facilitate community control over
decisions.....184

7.8.4 Need to identify constraints.....185

7.8.5 Utilise existing resources.....185

7.8.6 Collate range of outcomes.....186

7.8.7 Utilise outside expertise.....186

7.8.8 Encourage a community to consider more than just financial
outcomes.....187

7.8.9 Why a structure needs to determine economic development
priorities for a community.....188

7.8.10 How a structure could determine economic development
priorities for a community.....189

7.8.11 Respondents’ priorities for economic development191

7.8.12 Summary of respondents’ answers to question seven.....191

8.0 Conclusion

8.1 What is “Maori economic development”?.....192

8.2 How can the tikanga of the Maori community in which economic development is occurring be incorporated at all stages of the process?.....197

8.3 What is the most appropriate means of developing structures to be used as a vehicle for achieving economic development that will have the approval and support of the Maori community in which development is occurring?197

8.4 Do structures need to have the approval and support of the Maori community in which economic development is occurring?.....198

8.5 What is the most appropriate means of soliciting from Maori communities what their desired outcomes of economic development are?199

8.6 What is the most appropriate method of helping Maori communities develop appropriate measures of success for the desired outcomes of their economic development?.....199

8.7 How can the priorities of Maori communities be identified in terms of the desired outcomes of their economic development?.....200

8.8 The challenge to New Zealand.....201

References.....203

Appendices

1. Information Sheet.....213

2. Consent Form.....214

3. Interview Sheet.....215

Glossary.....216

TABLES

	PAGE
Table 2.1 Themes from the Decade of Maori Development.....	57
Table 2.2 Durie's Developmental Matrix.....	64
Table 4.1 Overview of the Confederation's Education Strategy.....	88

FIGURES

Figure 5.1 Economic Development Plan Outline.....	105
Figure 5.2 Economic Development Process Outline.....	113

Abstract of a thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the Degree
of Master of Applied Science

An Investigation Into The Process Of Maori Economic Development.

By J.G. O'Sullivan

New Zealand as a society must support Maori aspirations to develop economically for reasons of both social justice and national economic well being. Within New Zealand society Maori do not enjoy the same share of the "goods of life" as non-Maori. Maori are also growing as a percentage of New Zealand's population with Maori predicted to rise from 15% in 2000 to 18% by 2025. If New Zealand's economy continues to fail Maori then the inability of Maori to reach acceptable levels of "well being" will begin to affect the "well being" of non-Maori, as New Zealand's government through social policies struggles to close the gap between Maori and non-Maori.

The objective of this study was to investigate the process of economic development within a Maori context (Te Ao Maori) in order to identify successful models or processes for economic development that can be utilised by Maori for future economic progress. To this end, six research goals were formulated that sought to define what is meant by Maori Economic Development, determine how to acknowledge and incorporate tikanga in the process, identify appropriate structures to be used as a vehicle for achieving economic development, identify appropriate means of developing outcomes of economic development, determine appropriate measures of success for the desired outcomes of economic development, and develop a mechanism for prioritising outcomes of economic development .

This study followed the “tiaki” or “mentor” model, where Maori authorities facilitate the research process. Secondary and primary data were utilised to help answer the research objectives. Secondary data came from existing literature on economic development, and analysis of three documents; Whakatapuranga Rua Mano – Generation 2000, Ngai Tahu 2025 and an economic development report prepared for Te Taumutu Runanga. Primary data were collected through personal interviews with Maori individuals involved with the process of economic development in the rohe of Te Runanga o Ngai Tahu. An exploration from a western academic perspective of the meaning of the term “economic development” and what the process may encompass enabled the following generic definition of the term to be constructed:

Economic development is a change process initiated by a value judgement that the current state of a community is not as desirable as a future state that can be obtained through restructuring its society to increase economic output.

Drawing these three streams of knowledge together the following conceptualisation of Maori economic development was achieved:

Maori economic development is a change process involving a Maori community, brought about through traditional cultural and political institutions seeking to restore tino rangatiratanga in order to achieve greater well being.

Maori economic development presents a challenge to New Zealand society as a whole because it is a process in which the fundamental driver is the desire by Maori communities to restore tino rangatiratanga. This has implications for the way in which Maori economic development is perceived by the wider community, since the outcomes of such development have the potential to contribute substantially to national economic goals and necessitates a change of mindset.

Key Words: Tino Rangatiratanga, Maori, Ngai Tahu, Taumutu, Raukawa, economy, development.

Chapter One: Introduction

1.0 Introduction

Maori economic development is an issue of great importance to the future of New Zealand as a society, in terms of both social justice and national economic well being.

It is an issue of social justice because within New Zealand society Maori do not enjoy the same share of the “goods of life” as non-Maori. In all categories of these goods, defined by Sharp (1991) as standard of health, quality of housing, level of education, employment, level of income, influence in the state and society, and level of respect from fellow citizens, Maori score lower than non-Maori (Sharp, 1991, Durie, 1998, Te Puni Kokiri, 2000a). An individual’s share of the goods of life influences the degree to which he or she participates in the economy of his or her society, and due to their lower share, Maori participation in New Zealand’s economy is not equal to that of non-Maori.

This lower level of economic participation by Maori brings into question the health of New Zealand’s economy. Traditionally the well being or health of an economy would be measured by its growth, assessed by per capita gross national product (GNP) (Dutt, 1992). This measure however is very limited in determining the economic participation of individuals or groups within an economy. An economy should not be considered healthy if there are serious disparities among the various groups of people whose interactions create that economy. Sen (1983, 1988) has linked “well being” to the ability to do certain things and to achieve certain types of “being” (such as being educated, being free from avoidable morbidity, being well nourished, etc.). The Maori state of “being” is significantly lower than that of non-Maori (Te Puni Kokiri, 2000a).

If the health of New Zealand's economy is measured by reviewing its ability to deliver "well being" to all the participants of that economy, then New Zealand's economy is ill, because it has failed to deliver "well being" to Maori. While GNP growth indicates a growing economy, more important to consider is the level of economic participation of the various groups within that economy.

The percentage of New Zealanders who identify as Maori is growing, with Maori predicted to rise from 15% in 2000 to 18% by 2025 (Te Puni Kokiri, 2000a). If New Zealand's economy continues to fail Maori then the inability of Maori to reach acceptable levels of "well being" will begin to affect the "well being" of non-Maori, as New Zealand's government through social policies struggles to close the gap between Maori and non-Maori (McLoughlin, 1993). The inability of Maori to succeed in New Zealand's economy is therefore not just an issue of concern to Maori, but to non-Maori as well.

1.1 The Nature of this Study

This thesis seeks to investigate the process of economic development from a Maori perspective, and aims to identify a model or process that will deliver successful outcomes which can be utilised by Maori for future economic development.

In order to achieve this goal both secondary and primary data have been used. Secondary data came from existing literature on economic development, and an analysis of three economic development plans; and primary data were collected from personal interviews with Maori individuals involved with the process of economic development in the rohe of Te Runanga o Ngai Tahu.

1.2 Reasons for this Study

Currently Maori do not enjoy an equal share of the goods of life or the same level of “being” as non-Maori. Maori as a section of New Zealand society “face the effects of entrenched and long-term disparity” (Te Puni Kokiri, 2000a, p.1). This disparity occurs in health, education, income, housing, the labour force and in the criminal justice system (Te Puni Kokiri, 2000a).

Labelled as a “gap” by the Labour Alliance coalition government in 1999, this disparity represents the failure of New Zealand society to deliver the same level of economic participation to Maori as to non-Maori. This failure results in not only a waste of human potential but also a very real financial cost to the Crown, a cost that has been termed “the Maori Burden” (McLoughlin, 1993). This burden was assessed in 1993 at a staggering \$1,210,655,000 and consisted of an estimation of the additional cost of Maori ill health (Due to appalling Maori health statistics it was assumed Maori required 20% more per head of health services than non-Maori), family support payments to Maori, the over representation of Maori in the prison system, and social welfare benefits to Maori (McLoughlin, 1993).

The continuing under-development of Maori within a developed economy requires the identification of a model or process that will deliver successful outcomes which can be utilised by Maori for future economic development, because it is clear that existing solutions are not working.

1.3 Justification for this Study

Given the high total fertility rate for Maori (2.47 in 1998), as compared to non-Maori for the same period, it is projected that the percentage of New Zealanders who identify as Maori will rise significantly in the next 25 years (Te Puni Kokiri, 2000a). Department of Statistics projections suggest that, in 2051, Maori could make 22% of the total New Zealand population (Te Puni Kokiri, 2000a).

Given also that Maori are estimated to comprise a significant percentage of the population the continued waste of Maori potential will act as a significant limiting factor on New Zealand's future national prosperity.

The Te Ati Awa kaumatua Professor Ngatata Love, in addressing the Hui Taumata (the Maori economic development summit meeting held shortly after the fourth Labour Government took office in 1984), finished his opening address by stating "what's good for Maori is good for New Zealand" (Ministry of Maori Affairs, 1985, p.5). Maori success adds to the collective wealth of New Zealand society, not only economically, but also culturally and spiritually. The inability of Maori to reach their full potential denies this nation the opportunity to add to its collective wealth and is therefore not just a Maori issue but one that should concern all New Zealanders.

1.4 The Problem

This study seeks to identify a model or process that will deliver successful outcomes which can be utilised by Maori communities for future economic development.

It is important first of all, though, to consider what is meant by success. What are the outcomes that Maori economic development should be trying to achieve? Any Maori community undertaking the process of economic development should consider what specific goal or goals it wants to achieve. Equally important to consider is how the community will go about trying to reach the goal or goals its members have set. The process of undertaking economic development can be compared to going on a journey, and like any journey we need to know what our destination is, so that we know how best to get there and when our journey is over. Also those undertaking the journey should be willing travellers and should have decided before setting out where they wish to end their travels.

It is crucial therefore to identify these successful outcomes through soliciting responses from appropriate representatives of various Maori communities, as opposed to traditional approaches to economic development which impose a developer's "vision" on a community (Staudt, 1991). What would be considered successful outcomes of development may of course vary among Maori communities, and it is important to acknowledge that there may be no definitive answers. A good starting point to consider, however, is Sharp's (1991) "goods of life" and Sen's (1983, 1988) types of "being".

1.5 Problem Statement

This study aims to investigate the process of economic development within a Maori context (Te Ao Maori), to identify successful models or processes for economic development that can be utilised by Maori for future economic progress.

With this aim in mind the following research goals have been formulated:

- 1: Develop a definition of "Maori economic development" within a Maori context (Te Ao Maori).
- 2: Develop mechanisms that acknowledge and incorporate the tikanga of the Maori community in which economic development is occurring, at all stages of the process.
- 3: Identify the most appropriate means of developing structures to be used as a vehicle for achieving economic development, that will have the approval and support of the Maori community in which development is occurring.
- 4: Identify the most appropriate means of soliciting from Maori communities the desired outcomes of economic development within those communities.

- 5: Determine the most appropriate method of helping Maori communities develop suitable measures of success for the desired outcomes of their economic development.
- 6: Develop a mechanism for identifying the priorities of Maori communities in terms of the desired outcomes of their economic development.

1.6 Thesis Overview

Chapter one introduces the topic of this study, and discusses its importance and relevance and a general research question is developed. Chapter two presents a review of the literature, which has been separated into two sections. The first section is an overview of economic development, drawn from western academic sources. The second section is a discussion of issues specifically related to Maori economic development, drawn from a variety of sources. The methodology used to carry out the research is discussed in chapter three, and the results of that research are presented in chapters four, five, six and seven. Chapter eight discusses the conclusions that can be drawn from the results, and implications for future study. A glossary provides definitions of Maori terms used in this study.

Chapter Two: Literature Review

2.0 Introduction

This chapter begins by presenting a review of the literature pertaining to economic development, and then discusses issues related to Maori economic development. The meaning of the term “Maori economic development” is also discussed. The chapter concludes with a discussion of the contribution the present study makes to the current body of knowledge on this subject.

2.1 Economic Development Literature

In this section both the meaning of the term “economic development” and what the process may encompass are explored from a western academic perspective.

2.1.2 Defining Economy and Development

Before discussing economic development it is important to understand what is meant by the words “economy” and “development”. Pass, Lowes and Davies (1988, p.157) give as a definition of an economy: “a country defined in terms of the total and composition of its economic activities.” Economic activities are defined by Pass et al (1988) as being the production of goods and services and their exchange between individuals. Pass et al’s definition however is inadequate as it limits the possession of an economy to a country. This is nonsensical, as the absence of a country or nation state does not prohibit the existence of an economy as individuals were producing goods and services and exchanging them long before they organised into political units as large and complex as countries (Stavrianos, 1991).

Phelps (1985, p.12) defines economy as: "the activity of purposeful actors striving to meet their wants in the face of limited resources." These actors could be the population of a country, a distinct region within a country, a city, town or village. At its smallest unit an economy is a household, and the English word economy reflects this idea as it derives from the Greek word *oikonomos*, referring to an individual in a household who is responsible for stewarding or husbanding resources towards some end (Phelps, 1985). For the purposes of economic development an economy could therefore be considered the sum total of the economic activities of each household that comprise the community in which the process of development is being initiated.

The word development can be defined as growth or evolution, or a stage of advancement (Swannell, 1986). Growth, evolution and advancement all incorporate the idea of change and progression and of a current state being altered to enable the transition to a better future state. Schrijvers (1993, p. 9) states; "the term development refers to economic, socio-political and cultural processes of change in human societies." Mosse (1998) also supports viewing development as a process and advocates a process orientated approach to development as opposed to an outcome approach.

Development as a concept can therefore be viewed as a change process (Schrijvers, 1993, Mosse, 1998). This change can either occur naturally, such as the growth of a seed to a plant, or be initiated by humans and applied to an aspect or aspects of their environment. Development initiated by humans involves the passing of two value judgements, shaped by the cultural filters of the individual(s) initiating and directing the process (Goulet, 1995). The first value judgement is that the current state of what is being developed is unsatisfactory, and triggers the process. The second identifies the nature of a better future state for what is being developed, and directs the process.

The dominant cultural filter influencing these value judgements is a western one, as Adams (1990) stated by:

The dominant paradigm of development, as a direct continuation of 500 years of colonial history, is rooted in a belief in the superiority of the people of the West, of Western knowledge and technology, and of Western civilisation as a whole (ibid, p. 7).

Once the process of development has been initiated measures are required to assess progress and to determine when the desired future state for what is being developed has been reached. Development when conducted by humans is therefore a change process applied to an aspect or aspects of the environment initiated and directed by value judgements, requiring measures to assess progress and determine completion of the process.

2.1.3 Measuring the Success of Economic Development

“Standard of living” and “economic growth” have traditionally been the two measures of assessing the success of economic development programmes (Staudt, 1991, Dutt, 1992, Thirlwall, 1999).

Pass, Lowes and Davies (1988, p.491) define standard of living as “a level of monetary income or measure of consumption,” measured by per capita gross national product (GNP). As Dutt (1992, p.23) states, “If asked to identify a single measure of development, which implies an improvement in the average standard of living or well-being, probably the majority of development economists would point to a rise in per capita GNP.”

There are three major flaws, however, in using GNP as a measure for assessing the success of economic development. The first is that GNP as a measure is generally assessed at the nation state level.

This means that data showing changes in measurable economic output for political units smaller than the nation state usually do not exist. The smaller the political unit the less likely it is that data on changes in its economic output are available.

The second problem with GNP as a measure is that it is an average and thus fails to indicate the distribution of wealth within an economy. Like all averages, outliers also affect it and these may result in a distorted picture of wealth within a society. Staudt (1991, p.24) points out that "GNP and per capita GNP are insensitive to the distribution of wealth by class, ethnicity, and gender and to the quality of life."

The third problem with using per capita GNP concerns the level that a community should strive for. Goulet (1992) states that a country was considered developed in the 1980s by western economists when it could sustain by its own efforts an annual rate of growth ranging from 5% to 7%, after first reaching a per capita GNP level of US \$500 (for some observers) or US \$1000 (for others). While western economists generally repudiate this view of a desired figure today, it still holds some vestigial influence (Thirlwall, 1999). The temptation for economists is that changes in per capita GNP and levels of economic growth are easy to assess and allow for quick comparisons between different nation states.

The second measure referred to earlier, economic growth, is the ability of an economy to increase the amount of goods and services it is producing, and is usually measured in terms of an increase in real GDP over time (Pass, Lowes and Davies, 1988). Traditionally the process of economic development revolved around increasing economic growth, in order to increase per capita gross national product (Staudt, 1991, Dutt, 1992, Thirlwall, 1999). No economist disputes that economic growth is needed to provide new employment and to increase material wealth (Baumol, Blinder, Gunther and Hicks, 1988). What is in dispute is the rate at which an economy should increase its output.

Does an economy's output reach a point where further growth is undesirable for the society whose interactions created that economy? Do the costs to a society's quality of life caused by the process of increasing its economic output start to outweigh the material benefits generated by this increase?

Mishan (1967) criticises the continued pursuit of economic growth by western societies, stating that improvements in their economies have reduced rather than increased social wellbeing:

Technological innovations may offer to add to men's material opportunities. But by increasing the risks of their obsolescence it adds also to their anxiety. Swifter means of communication have paradoxical effect of isolating people; increased mobility has led to more hours commuting; increased automobilisation to increased separation; more television to less communication. In consequence, people know less of their neighbours than ever before in history (Ibid, p. 171-175).

Baumol et al (1988, p.362) also criticise economic growth in the west, stating: "(T)he sheer increase in quantity of products has imposed an enormous cost on society in the form of pollution, crowding, proliferation of wastes that need disposal, and debilitating psychological and social effects." But as it is difficult to assign a dollar value to these costs economic planners often do not consider them. The complexity of trying to calculate a dollar value for such commodities as fresh air or personal space, and concepts such as job security and privacy, make it easier to factor them out of the process altogether (Tietenburg, 1988).

To what degree a society is prepared to trade quality of life for material improvement is a question that should only be answered by the society engaged in the process of economic development, whose principal goal is economic growth.

Often, however, communities are not made aware of the costs associated with economic growth, and have little or no input into the process of developing the economy they are actors in (Staudt, 1991).

An alternative approach to relying solely on increases in “standard of living” and “economic growth” as measures of success has been developed by the United Nations Economic and Social Council and General Assembly who have developed the following specifications for economic development policies and programmes at national and international levels:

- a) To leave no section of the population outside of the scope of change and development
- b) To effect structural change which favours national development and to activate all sectors of the population to participate in the development process
- c) To aim at social equity; including the achievement of an equitable distribution of income and wealth in a nation
- d) To give high priority to the development of human potential, including vocational technical training and the provision of employment opportunities and meeting the needs of children

(www.un.org/esa/sustdev/natlinfo/indicators/isd.htm)

The repudiation by western economists today, that a particular level of per capita GNP and rate of growth is necessary before development can be considered to have occurred, reflects the realisation that there may be no magic figure for these measures. It also reflects the view that development involves more than just increasing the measurable economic output of a community and then maintaining this increase at a given rate (Galbraith, 1967, Goulet, 1971, 1992, 1995).

How the success of an economic development programme can be assessed is now viewed as being a complex problem requiring the consideration of a wide range of criteria. Issues such as increasing per capita GNP and rate of growth, ensuring all segments of society benefit, creating an equitable distribution of income, developing human potential and improving quality of life may or may not be considered as appropriate measures. Ultimately what criteria are finally selected as measures for determining the success of an economic development project are those that are most valued by the entity that initiated and directed the project (Staudt, 1991, Schrijvers, 1993).

2.1.4 How Should Economic Development be Conceptualised?

The traditional view of economic development is that it is an activity by which communities move from an undeveloped or underdeveloped state to a more advantageous or “developed” one (Staudt, 1991, Dutt, 1992, Thirlwall, 1999). This movement is achieved by re-organising the economy of the community, through the implementation of projects using either a blueprint or process approach.

A blueprint approach involves designing a project to be delivered in a specified form (known inputs, activities, outputs and costs) and to a fixed time-frame. In contrast to this a process approach recognises the relationships and contextual elements present in all projects and acknowledges the effect they have on the implementation of a project (Mosse, 1998). The process approach recognises that economic development projects are not undertaken in closed systems but that they occur in open systems which are dynamic, unpredictable and may possess idiosyncratic elements not easily planned for or manageable but which are nevertheless key to the project’s success or failure (Korten, 1980; Uphoff, 1992).

Mosse (1998) states "viewing a project as a 'process' means having a design which is flexible and changes as a result of learning from implementation experience"(p. 4). Conceptualising economic development as a "learning process" acknowledges that all economic development projects, even those initiated with blueprint type designs, have permeable boundaries and are influenced by their wider social and institutional environment (Korten, 1980; Uphoff, 1992; Mosse, 1998).

The permeable boundaries of economic development projects allow for both inward and outward flow of ideas, values and beliefs. The process approach to economic development recognises that economic development projects occur not in a vacuum but in a complex human environment of cultural, social and political factors which both influence and are influenced by the project.

This idea is partially encapsulated in the working definition of development that has been adopted by most social scientists; namely, that:

Development = economic growth + social change

This definition is broad enough to embrace a variety of change processes emphasising economic, social, cultural and political factors (Goulet, 1992).

All processes have a starting point and the process of economic development is initiated by a value judgement being made, often by individuals outside a community (Staudt, 1991), that the current state of that community is less desirable than a future state which is capable of being created (Goulet, 1995). Do individuals outside a community, though, have the right to make this value judgement? Staudt (1991, p.272) states that many institutions involved in development employ staff who are "distant and alienated from the people on whose behalf they are working."

If an individual is not connected to a community how then can he or she know what future state the community would consider more desirable than its current state?

The conventional western view of a desirable future state is one where the community produces more goods and services, and through this increased economic output the incomes of community members are raised. Higher incomes in turn lead to greater purchasing power and thus to a higher standard of living for community members through expanding the range of goods and services they can afford (Baumol et al, 1988) - but is this every community's desired future?

Economic development can be best conceptualised as a change process, initiated by a value judgement, involving more than just the restructuring of a society's economy to increase its output, but which also results in restructuring the society itself to achieve these gains. It is also necessary to recognise that economic development projects are undertaken in a complex human environment of cultural, political and social factors and that while the process of economic development influences these factors they also influence the process of economic development.

2.1.5 The Role of Culture and Politics in Economic Development

Culture is often defined as 'shared values and beliefs', and an individual's culture also influences his or her preferred style of communication and attitude towards conflict with others. Staudt (1991) emphasises the importance of understanding culture as a starting point for learning the meaning of development, and expresses the view that the process of development is inherently political.

Cornell (2000) also agrees with Staudt (1991) on the importance of culture, arguing that a people's culture determines their conceptions of how authority should be organised and exercised, and creates political institutions which are then perceived as possessing legitimate authority. Mosse (1998, p.21) states "development projects are political systems in which different perspectives contend for influence." How an individual chooses to contend for influence is largely culturally determined, as the behaviours they will engage in to promote their viewpoint or defend or further their interests are shaped by their values and beliefs.

Cornell (2000, p.27), in discussing economic development on American Indian reservations, supports Staudt's and Mosse's view of economic development as a political process, emphasising the importance of four key factors, all political, for successful economic development. These are:

- Sovereignty or self-rule
- Effective governing institutions
- Culturally appropriate governing structures
- A strategic perspective

Culture also influences the way in which any group of people will relate to their material world (Marsden, 1981). As a concept culture is difficult to incorporate into economic theories, although "economic models that exclude culture cannot fully account for the phenomena that they attempt to explain" (Casson & Godley, 2000, p.2).

The cultural and political processes of a group cannot be maintained without control as a group of sufficient material resources to sustain that group's way of life (Wilmer, 2000). The continued existence therefore of the unique cultural and political processes of any group is dependant on that group remaining in control of its economy. Any group that loses control of its material resources will struggle to maintain its cultural identity, as it will not be able to support its cultural and political institutions (Durie, 1998).

The maintenance of political institutions is crucial to the success of the process of economic development as the rapid economic, social and cultural changes required by economic development can only be achieved through political action. One individual in a community acting alone cannot bring about these changes; they require the action of an institution. The success of any change, however, is dependent on the degree of legitimate authority the institution is seen to possess, which is influenced by the degree of cultural match between the institution and the community it is meant to be representing (Cornell, 2000, Staudt, 1991). Institutions without legitimate authority attempting to initiate and direct economic development projects will struggle to gain the support of the community they are working with.

Existing institutions are part of the structure of an economy, and economic developers who follow a structuralist approach emphasise the need to understand the structure of an economy before attempting to make any change within the economy. For instance the structure of an economy can inhibit change through obstructions such as: institutions, bottlenecks and constraints, inelastic supply of goods and factors, and imperfect product and factor markets (Knight, 1991).

When reviewing the structure of an economy the issue of whether change is necessary and who might benefit from any changes needs to be considered. Outside observers of an economy need to be acutely aware of any prejudices that their cultural perspective and frame of reference bring to their assessment, as this will affect their view of that economy. Prejudices, especially those based on cultural bias, are often the driving force behind an outside observer believing that the structure of an economy needs to be altered (Wolfe, 1996) states:

From an economic liberal point of view, the 'traditional' groupings are hindrances to a free market and to mobility of capital and labour. Since the nineteenth century, liberal regimes have sought through legislation to weaken the extended family, eliminate communal land tenure and so on (Ibid, p. 95).

Knight (1991) states that while an institution may initially have had an economic rationale, and evolved in response to an economic need, it could fail to adapt rapidly enough to changing circumstances and thus outlive its usefulness.

In situations where an indigenous institution is failing to meet the economic needs of a community cultural evolution as opposed to cultural adoption is the preferred solution (Wolfe, 1996, Casson & Godley, 2000). The process of cultural evolution involves adapting existing institutions or creating new institutions based on traditional cultural values and beliefs. This differs from cultural adoption which involves the utilisation of institutions developed by other cultures, based on values and beliefs which may be incongruent with the adopting culture.

In reviewing the role of culture and politics in economic development the change process of economic development is clearly influenced by the political and social environment in which it is conducted (Staudt, 1991, Wolfe, 1996, Mosse, 1998, Casson & Godley, 2000, Cornell, 2000).

This fact has implications for communities wanting to initiate their own economic development project(s), and individuals or organisations not part of a community who wish to work within that community on an economic development project.

Communities deciding to initiate the process of economic development need to carefully review the structure of their economy and consider whether existing institutions are the appropriate vehicle for carrying out this process. As a result of such a review the community may decide they need to change cultural or political institutions. Any changes however should involve cultural evolution as opposed to cultural adoption to ensure legitimate authority is preserved.

Individuals or organisations not part of a community but wishing to work with that community need to understand the community's existing institutions in order to be able to provide advice on whether these institutions are the appropriate vehicle for carrying out the process of economic development. Understanding existing institutions also ensures that any changes to the community's institutions possess cultural match and are therefore seen to possess legitimate authority (Cornell, 2000).

2.1.6 The Role of Government in Economic Development

A government is the system or entity by which a community or other political unit is governed. A government possesses authority and is recognised as the legitimate representative of that political unit (Heywood, 1998). A political unit can be formed by a people sharing a common culture and/or ethnicity and/or comprise all those people living in a specific geographic location (Wilmer, 2000). The form a government takes is shaped by the cultural and political processes of the people comprising the political unit it represents (Cornell, 2000).

As such, a government can take a variety of forms such as a tribal council, a city council, a parliament or a senate, representing respectively the members of a tribe, the inhabitants of a city, or nation-state. The government of a nation-state also possesses sovereignty (Heywood, 1998, Cornell, 2000, Wilmer, 2000).

The concept of sovereignty originated with the European state-building process, which viewed the sovereign as God's representative on earth who thus had the sole divine given right to administer law to the people. A European monarch thus historically possessed exclusive legal jurisdiction over his or her subjects, or absolute sovereignty (Stavrianos, 1991).

Over time, in European states, sovereigns delegated or transferred authority to institutions, which governed in the name of the monarch, creating and enforcing laws. These institutions had the sole right to exercise sovereignty in the name of their monarch and to enforce exclusive legal jurisdiction (Wilmer, 2000). This process of transferring authority from the monarch to another political institution laid the foundations for today's modern constitutional monarchies (Heywood, 1998).

The removal of monarchs and the creation of republics in other European states resulted in the idea that absolute sovereignty resided collectively in the people who lived within the territorial borders of the state. In republics a political institution such as a senate represents the people and exercises exclusive legal jurisdiction on their behalf (Heywood, 1998). Both types of European political systems viewed sovereignty within the nation-state as being indivisible with the exercising of both internal and external sovereignty as the right of one political entity (Wilmer, 2000).

During the era of colonial expansion nation-states claimed sovereignty over vast tracts of territory outside Europe. In an attempt to avoid conflict with each other, the European colonial powers agreed over time on legal grounds for recognising each other's claims to extend their sovereignty over these new lands (Stavrianos, 1991).

A claim for sovereignty over territory outside of Europe could be based on:

- Right of first discovery – the land is unoccupied and previously unknown by another European nation-state
- Military conquest – the inhabitants of the territory are conquered
- Treaty of cession - negotiated with indigenous inhabitants recognised by other European nation-states as possessing sovereignty
- Land purchases - the indigenous inhabitants of the territory sell their land to an agent of a European nation-state

The right of indigenous inhabitants to claim sovereignty over the territory they resided in was limited by European perceptions of what constituted 'civilisation'. Europeans viewed civilisation as being the product of a linear progression from hunting and gathering to settled agriculture to capitalist economy, with movement along this line indicating superior or inferior forms of social organisation (Wilmer, 2000).

Indigenous societies who engaged in settled agriculture and possessed permanent settlements were recognised as possessing a degree of civilisation and therefore having a claim to sovereignty that a European power would need to extinguish in order to claim sovereignty. Indigenous societies that did not possess these characteristics were viewed as uncivilised or primitive and considered not to be exercising sovereignty over their lands.

The transfer of sovereignty from the indigenous inhabitants of a territory to a European nation-state would initiate a process of colonisation in that territory, resulting in indigenous economic, cultural and political institutions being replaced by the institutions of the colonial power to varying degrees (Wilmer, 2000).

Colonisation resulted in the formal institutions of a European nation-state being imposed on indigenous peoples having quite different pre-existing systems of political organisation and conceptions concerning the sources and functions of authority (Wolfe, 1996). Wilmer (2000) refers to the nation-states imposed on indigenous people such as those of Australia and New Zealand as “settler states,” and argues that they “were created to carry out the process of colonisation, to establish control over the resources and territories colonised and to dispossess the indigenous peoples who were already there” (p. 104).

The ‘nation state’, whether naturally evolved by a people or imposed upon them, is now viewed as the political entity in which sovereignty resides in international relations (Wilmer, 2000). Wolf (1996, p. 63) states that “(T)he ‘nation-state’, unavoidably, has constituted the principle frame of reference within which development objectives have been defined and policies applied. Development projects have largely been conceptualised as the responsibility of the governments of nation-states as opposed to governance bodies of smaller sized political entities.”

Phelps (1985) argues that governments arise organically rather than by design for the primary purpose of supplying on a shared basis, and thus at a reduced cost, the protection of certain rights. For a government to succeed it must offer equal protection to all and it must offer protection of individual rights from violations by anyone else. These rights can be tangible, such as access to fresh water, or intangible, such a sense of security. Some of the earliest rights protected by the world’s first governments concerned the use of natural resources (Stavrianos, 1991).

A government that fails in delivering equal protection to all members of the society it represents risks both its authority and right to be recognised as legitimate (Freire, 1972).

To protect the rights that a society considers important, the government becomes both rule maker and rule enforcer. "Government is needed to establish and enforce one or another system of property right if the economy is to deliver any good" (Phelps, 1985, p.69). Property rights confer the right to exploit resources; although this exploitation is always circumscribed, often by the prohibition of certain actions. As Alchian and Demsetz (1973, p.16) state: "(W)hat are owned are socially recognised rights of action." Governments therefore prescribe the manner in which individuals and organisations can exploit resources. Nevertheless the role of government in economic development is more complex than that of just being an arbiter of property rights.

Thirlwall (1999, p.221) feels that the state has four key roles to play in the development process. These are:

- To provide public goods
- To correct market imperfections
- To protect the vulnerable and ensure an equitable distribution of income, both intra-temporally (between people at a point in time) and inter-temporally (between generations)
- To provide an institutional environment in which markets can flourish (including the maintenance of macroeconomic stability)

A government's role in development can go beyond just providing a suitable economic environment. Wolfe (1996, p.64) argues that the modern state can be conceptualised as three dimensions:

- The state as symbol of nationhood
- The state as 'public sector'. States constitute aggregations of institutions and bureaucracies with their own forces of inertia and momentum
- State and regime. The government or political regime as the expression of dominant forces in society or of a compromise between different forces, expected to convert into reality the ideal attributes of the state and harness the public sector institutions for this purpose

As discussed earlier, development often requires social and cultural change, and governments can be the driving force behind such change. The instrument by which this change is achieved is government policy, and policy is the expression of those forces in a society that possess power (Wolf, 1996). In New Zealand the processes of colonisation have produced the context of unequal power relations where majority Pakeha interests dominate whilst indigenous Maori interests are subordinate (Ellison, 1997, Durie, 2003). This issue of unequal power is of concern to Maori and needs to be addressed. As Ranginui Walker (in Melbourne, 1995, p.6.) states: "Government is only government by consent. If Maori don't consent to government then the land becomes ungovernable."

Social engineering conducted by governments to achieve social and cultural changes they deem necessary to achieve economic development goals is widely carried out (Wolfe, 1996). While governments can initiate the process of social and cultural change, Staudt (1991) feels that the progressive change needed for development not only requires political strategising but also wider empowerment. For change to occur and be accepted, communities need to be organised and ideally feel part of the decision making process.

2.1.7 The Role of Society in Economic Development

One of the primary reasons why individuals are motivated to form a society is the mutual advantages its members find from exchange with one another (Phelps, 1985). By joining together, individuals can collaborate in production, creating synergies and completing tasks beyond the ability of one individual to finish. Societies also encourage the development of specialists and the trade of products (Stavrianos, 1991). These exchanges between individuals create a society's economy, and it is access to this economy that is one of the primary benefits of membership of any society.

Societies not only create economies but also determine the manner in which resources within that economy can be exploited, and individuals accept a limit on their rights "because coercion may be a price they are willing to pay to obtain the coercion of others" (Phelps, 1985, p.183). An individual may wish to have no limits on his or her rights, but may also realise that if everyone was equally free then resources may become exhausted or damaged. The principle of self-interest plays a large part in the support by individuals of limits to property rights.

Davidson and Davidson (1988) acknowledge the underlying principle of self-interest as a governing mechanism for society, but question whether it can stand alone. They promote the ideal of a "civilised society" in which civic values combined with self-interest can provide civilising principles for improving the economic environment.

A civilised society shows compassion and caring for all members of the community. It nurtures sensitivity to the needs of others and the desire to deal honestly and openly with all. A civilised society provides the opportunity for all to earn a livelihood, while it encourages excellence in all endeavours that people undertake independent of the monetary rewards for such activities (ibid, p.3).

In a civilised society, therefore, people are respected for more than their capacity to produce; they have intrinsic value as individual human beings, and if this is not acknowledged the civilising influences begin to erode. A civilised society does not tolerate any of its members being marginalized, as this erodes the society's shared dialect (ibid).

The concept of shared dialect is one of the central attributes of Davidson and Davidson's (1988) civilised society, and the authors describe shared dialect as the use of a common language of actions and terms. This shared dialect reduces transaction costs in economic exchanges, creates trust and encourages future exchanges. Phelps (1985) supports the idea of a shared dialect, stating that the process of exchange is made easier when all members of a society share in common such things as language, beliefs, attitudes and knowledge.

Davidson and Davidson (1988) feel that the erosion of a society's shared dialect fractures that society, and that "a fractured society lacks the social coherence necessary to conduct its affairs without the intermediation of extensive and cumbersome mechanisms to force co-ordination" (ibid, p. 20).

It would therefore seem a logical aim of economic development to foster social coherence, the paradox being that social coherence is threatened by the rapid social change that economic development can cause.

2.1.8 Economic Development as a Cause of Social Change

Traditional approaches to economic development cause social change to varying degrees, and the desirability of this needs to be considered (Goulet, 1992). The strategy of implementing major economic structural reforms, designed to increase output in agriculture and industry, needs to be judged against the high price of social change which accompanies rapid development (Goulet and Wilber, 1992).

Economic development should have the mandate of the society that it is being carried out in and that society needs to consider what it wants to achieve from the process, and what costs it is prepared to accept.

Agents of economic development should work with a community's political institution to obtain a community mandate and develop appropriate initiatives, as Griffin states:

Participation in representative community-based organisations can help to identify local priorities, to determine which needs are essential or basic and which of secondary importance, and to define the content of development programmes and projects so that they reflect accurately local needs, aspirations and demands (1992, p.169).

2.1.9 Social Goals of Economic Development and the Issue of Intergenerational Responsibility

Two common goals of economic development are the elimination of poverty in society and an improvement in the well-being of the members of that society. Poverty can be defined as the failure to meet certain levels of consumption of such important commodities as food, clothing and education (Dutt, 1992, p.24). As noted in the chapter one, Sen (1983, 1988) links well-being to the ability to do certain things and to achieve certain types of "being" (such as being educated, being free from avoidable morbidity, being well-nourished, etc). Ideally, it should be the community that sets these goals (Griffin, 1992).

The issue of what one generation owes the next also needs to be considered. Does each generation have a responsibility to ensure that the following generation will be wealthier? Does the current generation have a responsibility to conserve resources and protect the environment for their heirs?

The position of Griffin (1992) is that “if development is to have meaning it must be long term; it must be sustainable” (p.173). In terms of western history this call for economic development to be sustainable is a recent phenomenon (Stavrianos, 1991). Widespread public support for development to be based on renewable resources, with minimal adverse effects on the environment, only occurred in the west towards the close of the twentieth century (Tietenburg, 1988, Wolfe, 1996).

2.1.10 Macro or Micro Perspective?

There has been a trend since the early 1990s to move from a macro-economic perspective to a micro-economic perspective in economic development.

People in the 1990s should be placed firmly in the centre of development. The most compelling reason for doing so is that the process of economic development is coming increasingly to be understood as a process of expanding the capabilities of people (Griffin, 1992, p.162).

This makes sense, as an economy is the summation of individuals' activities conducted to meet their needs and wants (Phelps, 1985). As Staudt (1991) states, people, not objects or machines, are the basis of development. The issue then becomes how best to enhance the capabilities of each individual actor contributing to the economy, or enough individuals within the economy, to generate positive change.

There are two approaches to this issue. The indirect approach emphasises the importance of encouraging economic growth, the rationale being that a by-product of economic growth is a more skilled work-force. This approach seeks to use macro-economic management to achieve the micro-economic goal of motivating individuals to invest in education to improve their skills. Griffin (1992) however cautions that "economic growth should be seen as merely one means among several to the end of enhancing people's capabilities" (p.162).

The direct approach favours intervention in the society undergoing development through the vehicle of programmes to encourage education. Not only does education have value in its own right, but human development also has instrumental value in accelerating economic growth (United Nations, 1988). As Griffin (1992) states, changing the focus of economic development from a macro goal of increasing economic growth to "an emphasis on human development has the virtue of forcing policy makers to ask themselves the question, growth for what?" (p.162).

2.1.11 Fundamental Principles of Economic Development

From the review of literature pertaining to economic development, the following fundamental principles can be identified:

- At its smallest unit an economy is the sum total of the economic activities of an individual household
- Development is a change process initiated by a value judgement
- A person's culture influences his/her value judgement
- Increases in an economy's GDP or rate of growth have been the most common measures of the success of economic development, although achieving social wellbeing is now viewed as a more appropriate measure
- Economic development is a change process initiated by a value judgement which restructures a society to increase its economic output
- Culture and politics influence the process of economic development
- A community's economy supports its cultural and political institutions
- A community's institutions will have initially had an economic rationale but may through change become outmoded
- A government is the system by which a political entity is governed
- Nation states in the Western paradigm are recognised as possessing sovereignty i.e. the sole right to make law within their territory
- Governments exist primarily to protect and regulate property rights
- Governments can initiate the social and cultural change necessary for economic development through policy
- A society creates an economy and individuals are motivated to form a society for the mutual benefits it provides
- Societies determine the manner in which resources can be exploited
- While the principle of self-interest is the underlying governing mechanism for a society that society should strive to be a "civilised society"
- A "civilised society" respects people for more than their capacity to produce, and recognises the intrinsic value of people
- Economic development requires social change and a community needs to consider what changes it views as acceptable
- The issue of intergenerational responsibility needs to be considered when utilising resources
- The focus of contemporary economic development is a micro perspective

2.2 Maori Economic Development

To understand the process of economic development for Maori, it is necessary to first review their economic past. Maori economic development was badly disrupted from about the mid 19th century; in the North Island through conflict with the Crown and land confiscations (Hargreaves, 1959, Sorrenson, 1995), and in the South Island through Crown land purchases whose terms were not honoured (Evison, 1987). What their immediate post contact history shows however is that Maori had the ability to initiate and pursue economic development.

A review of New Zealand history also enables researchers to understand the social, cultural and political constructs and processes that have influenced how Maori reached their present state of economic development. A review of the literature in this section is divided into three time periods. "Pre-contact" refers to the time period before Maori came into contact with Europeans, "contact" discusses the influence Europeans had on the Maori economy, while "contemporary" examines the current issues of economic development relating to Maori.

2.2.1 Pre-Contact

Maori prior to European contact had developed an extensive knowledge of New Zealand's environment. "In matters affecting animals, minerals, plants, or heavenly bodies the economic lore of the native was full and varied" (Firth, 1973, p. 58). Celestial phenomena were used to determine when best to hunt and gather, plant and harvest their crops. "The Maori of olden times was a close and accurate observer of celestial phenomena, and gave names to a great variety of stars and planets" (ibid, p.62). Maori learned the changing rhythms of the land where they lived and the resources it could provide, and adapted their behaviour to utilise these natural cycles.

In the South Island Ngai Tahu developed a complex economy, with kinship groups moving between permanent coastal settlements and temporary inland kainga to utilise a range of natural resources, including plants, animals and minerals, to meet their economic needs. Pounamu was quarried, along with silcrete, a form of bonded quartz sandstone and porcellanite, a mudstone, to produce tools that could be of a considerable size, a process requiring substantial skill and organisation (Wai 27). The movement of kinship groups was made possible by an elaborate system of trails, which linked various settlements into the social and economic life of the tribe and tied them into networks of trade, which extended well beyond the South Island (Wai 27). Long distance travel allowed Ngai Tahu to trade among themselves and to keep their rights to distant resources.

The primary economic unit of pre-contact Maori society was the whanau, or extended family group. "The whanau functioned as the unit for ordinary social and economic affairs. Besides common occupation of the dwelling-house, its members, under their head man, followed many industrial pursuits together" (Firth, 1973, p.111).

Economic activities that required more labour or skills than possessed by one whanau were conducted by the hapu: a grouping of related whanau. "The more inclusive group, the hapu, was correlated with the major village activities. More important species of property, such as a war-canoe; a meeting-house; a large eel weir; were regarded as property of the whole hapu and were used by the members as a body" (ibid, p.139). Ranginui Walker (in Melbourne, 1995) defines hapu as autonomous political groups which held land.

Related hapu would group together as iwi, which was more a political unit than an economic one as resources were owned and managed by hapu. "The iwi or tribe was the functional macro-political entity" (O'Regan, 2001, p.43).

Firth (1973) states that hapu would organise as iwi in times of war. Ranginui Walker (in Melbourne, 1995) describes iwi as the largest kinship group in Maori society comprising a number of related hapu descended from a common ancestor.

In the challenging environment of New Zealand membership of a whanua was vital for survival, and Maori prior to European arrival defined themselves in terms of the kinship groups which they belonged to:

The traditional Maori view of the self is quite startlingly nonindividualistic, to the point where what we would think of as an individual is identified with the kinship group. This unity is expressed in Maori by the use of the personal pronoun "I" (au) to refer to either the individual or the tribe (Perrett and Patterson, 1991, p. 195).

Many contemporary Maori still gain their identity from their kinship groups. A quote that explains the mindset of those who use their iwi or hapu to identify their group loyalty is outlined below:

"When outside New Zealand I would be Maori, when outside my iwi I would say my iwi, when in my iwi but outside my hapu I would say my hapu, and in my hapu I would say my whanau." (H. Johnson, personal communication, October 1, 2001)

How many Maori describe themselves depends on where they are and with whom they are interacting, but at the core of their identity is whakapapa. "I am Tuhoe because I am a descendent of whakapapa that relates me to Tuhoe land" (H. Johnson, personal communication, October 1, 2001).

A rangatira or chief headed kinship groups, and this position was usually inherited. Rangatira descended from the founder of their hapu and could whakapapa back to revered ancestors and ultimately to the Gods. Ranginui Walker (in Melbourne, 1995, p.26) states, “rangatira held mana whenua – sovereignty over tribal lands – and were channels to receive goods and services for redistribution among their hapu.” Perrett and Patterson (1991, p. 191) state that the eight qualities of a wise and able chief traditionally were:

1. Industrious in obtaining or cultivating food
2. Able in settling disputes, etc
3. Bravery
4. Good leader in war – an able general
5. An expert at carving, tattooing and at ornamental weaving
6. Hospitality
7. Clever at building a house or pa, and in canoe-making
8. A good knowledge of boundaries of tribal land

Many of these qualities contributed in significant ways to the economic wellbeing of the group and a rangatira who demonstrated them added to his or her personal mana (Ranginui Walker in Melbourne 1995). Conversely, rangatira who failed to demonstrate these qualities diminished their personal mana. In situations where a rangatira proved unworthy or incompetent the leadership of the hapu would be transferred to a close relative who was considered suitable (M. Roderick, personal communication, April 26, 2002).

Competent participation in economic pursuits, including a deep understanding and knowledge of the natural environment, was a distinct asset in increasing the influence and authority of an individual (Pere, 1982, p.22).

Rangatira were advised in their duties by tohunga, experts in various areas of tribal lore (Walker, 1990). Tohunga often travelled widely, sharing their time between different hapu and thus contributing to a sharing of cultural expressions. (M. Roderick, personal communication, April 26, 2002). The leadership of Maori political units was open to utilising knowledge possessed by specialists who were outside of the kinship group. This cultural tradition of being willing to assimilate knowledge generated outside of the kinship group helped Maori communities when they first encountered Europeans.

While knowledge would vary from hapu to hapu there were shared cultural constructs (Patterson, 1992). These were central to social control (Ranginui Walker in Melbourne 1995), and still play a role in the management of natural resources (Durie, 1998; Matunga, 1994; Pere, 1982, 1995). Understanding how a society governs itself and manages its natural resources are both issues crucial to initiating and implementing a successful economic development project within that society (Cornell, 2000).

Matunga (1994), in his four-part framework for understanding Maori conceptualisation of the environment, recommends that individuals responsible for environmental management decisions take into account the four elements: taonga, tikanga, mauri, and kaitiaki. Roderick also acknowledges the importance of these elements, but adds mana, tapu, rahui, noa, tohatoha, and ahi ka roa to the list of concepts that contribute to an understanding of traditional Maori approaches to resource management (personal communication, February 22, 2002).

Ryan (2001) translates taonga as treasure while Cormack (2000) translates it as treasured, prized, or valuable. While an English translation implies a focus on physical objects, taonga covers cultural properties such as language, social properties including children, and environmental properties such as rivers, birds, and special land sites (Durie, 1998).

Taonga also embraces the wise use of resources and the maintenance of the health of a resource (Tau, Palmer, Goodall & Tau, 1990). Sustainability and the need to preserve options for future generations are also recognised in the term (Ministry for the Environment, 1988).

Tikanga is often roughly translated into English as “custom or culture” but this only captures part of the meaning of the term. The root of tikanga is “tika” which translates as “right” (Cormack, 2000; Ryan, 2001). Practicing tikanga means behaving in the manner expected of you for any given situation (Cormack, 2000), and meeting your obligations and any conditions that a situation may impose on you (Ryan, 2001). Matunga (1994) states that tikanga is used as a guide to moral behaviour. Within an environmental context tikanga “refers to the preferred way of protecting natural resources, exercising guardianship, determining responsibilities and obligations, and protecting the interests of future generations” (Durie, 1998, p. 23). Tikanga was not and does not denote a set of static rules but rather a set of values that should be applied to any given situation (Ministry of Justice, 2001).

Pere (1982) defines mauri as the life principle of animate and inanimate things. According to Maori belief every individual has a mauri that remains throughout the existence of that individual (Pere, 1995). All living things: lakes, rivers, the sea, the forest and buildings also have a mauri (Pere, 1995). “Damage to a resource not only creates physical impairment but also causes spiritual damage and in the process impinges on the mauri of other objects, including people” (Durie, 1998, p. 23). Mauri is a difficult concept for most non-Maori and many contemporary Maori to understand, but can be equated to vitality, energy or the capacity of a resource to support life.

Kaitiaki is the burden incumbent on tangata whenua to be guardians of a resource or taonga for future generations. The act of guardianship, kaitiakitanga, requires clear lines of accountability to whanua, hapu and iwi.

Traditionally, however, because the act of kaitiakitanga is location specific it was less likely to involve iwi as they were a political institution of a larger area and did not directly manage resources. Moreover, transfer of the ownership of a resource away from tribal ownership does not release tangata whenua from exercising a protective role over the environment (Durie, 1998). The kaitiaki approach to environmental management is holistic and has mechanisms that enable the restoration of damaged ecological systems, restoration of ecological harmony, increased usefulness of resources, and lessen the risk to present and future generations (Matunga, 1994).

Marsden (1981) defines mana as spiritual authority and power, while Barlow (1991) describes it as power, authority and prestige. Mana is intangible, a quality possessed by people, animals and objects (Pere, 1995). Barlow (1991) states that mana can be conferred on an individual by either:

- performance of sacred rituals (Mana Atua)
- birthright (Mana Tupuna)
- ownership of land (Mana Whenua)
- development of skills and gaining of knowledge (Mana Tangata)

In terms of resource management mana can be equated with the concept of value, with the value of a resource based primarily on its usefulness (M. Roderick, personal communication, April 26, 2002). The more useful a resource the higher its mana, with access to resources regulated by the cultural institutions of tapu, rahui and noa.

An analysis of the institution of tapu in its economic aspect shows then that it has distinct practical effects. It expresses the recognition of the social value of things to man, of their importance in his scheme of existence.

It provides also a valuable system for the regulation of conduct; it sacralises and sets apart things with which the ordinary individual should not meddle, and by the associated belief in supernatural punishment for infringement imposes a religious sanction upon these rules. Moreover, in the production of the more important economic goods the tapu often imposes an adherence to work and a concentration of energy which are of the utmost value (Firth, 1973, p. 249).

Uses of tapu include:

- a protective measure
- a way of imposing disciplines, social control
- a way of developing an understanding and awareness of spirituality and its implications
- a way of developing an appreciation and a respect for another human being, another life force, life in general

(Pere, 1995, p. 40)

Areas, objects, people, or processes recognised as tapu were treated with respect by pre-European Maori as they were protected by “the mana of the atua, of the spiritual powers” (Jackson, 1988, p. 43). The institution of tapu thus allowed Maori communities to have a high degree of social control and discipline. A specific form of tapu of relevance to economic development is the cultural institution of rahui.

Firth states that a rahui “was instituted as protection for actual rather than potential fertility of resources and took the form of a mild prohibition, a ban placed upon taking the products of any particular area of forest, stream, or fishing ground” (1959, p. 259).

Durie (2003) describes rahui as a prohibition of activities instituted by a tohunga, either because of danger to humans or serious depletion in food resources. Roderick adds to this explanation by stating that rahui were a temporary ban placed on an activity or range of activities at a specific geographic location (personal communication, February 22, 2002). As a resource management tool, rahui provided a mechanism to protect resources from overuse; for example, a rahui placed on collecting shellfish from a particular beach would allow stocks to replenish.

Noa as the opposite of tapu has the meaning of ordinary, neutral and free from restriction (Pere, 1982). Areas, objects, people or processes recognised as noa did not have restrictions placed on their access, use, contact or application. The principle of noa was complementary to the principle of tapu. Used together noa and tapu ensured a reasonable balance was kept (Pere, 1995).

The concept of tohatoha is described by Roderick as an institution that facilitated the exchange of goods and services between kinship groups (personal communication, February 22, 2002). A similar concept ohaoha is described by Pere (1995) as "relating to the production, distribution, and consumption of goods" (p. 23). Both concepts involved the gifting by one whanau to another within a hapu, or from one hapu to another within the same iwi of goods or services peculiar to their community but scarce in others (Pere, 1995; M. Roderick, personal communication, February 22, 2002).

Key to this process of gifting was the concept of reciprocity and the creation of mana through demonstrating generosity. Gifting goods or services was viewed as an obligation necessary to build up a network of gift obligations in favour of your group, which would ensure the group's future access to scarce goods and services (Pere, 1995).

Ahi ka roa can be translated into English as 'constant burning fire', according to Roderick, who describes it as the mana and freedom to practice and enjoy the benefits of tino rangatiratanga over land and your people (personal communication, February 22, 2002).

The principal of ahi-ka-roa entails the occupation of an area of land by a group, generally over a long period of time. This group is able, through use of whakapapa, to trace back to primary ancestors who lived on the land. This group holds influence over the land and is able to exercise tino rangatiratanga over their land and themselves – thereby keeping their fires burning (Mead, 2003, p. 7).

Pre-contact Maori possessed a comprehensive understanding of the physical environment of New Zealand. They developed social structures that enabled efficient social organisation and ensured the survival of the group in an environment more physically challenging than the Pacific Islands their ancestors had come from. Leadership while generally inherited was based on ability, and incompetent individuals would be bypassed or removed from the position. Leaders were prepared to utilise the knowledge of recognised experts within the kinship group and to use knowledge possessed by individuals outside of the kinship group. A range of cultural institutions had been developed which resulted in sustainable environmental management practices and a world view in which Maori saw themselves as part of nature rather than superior to it. This worldview was significantly different from the Judaic/Christian tradition of the later European arrivals, who as part of their cultural baggage brought with them a belief that man was separate from nature, being created in the image of God, and possessing from God the right to subjugate nature to his wishes (Durie, 1998, 2003).

2.2.2 Contact

Labels allow for ease of identification of groups of people and for one group to differentiate themselves from another (Kornblum, 1998); and one of the first results of European contact with the indigenous people of New Zealand was the creation of labels. When Europeans first arrived in New Zealand they sought a label for the indigenous people living here. Likewise, when faced with the new arrivals, the indigenous people sought a label for them in their turn. The label "Maori" became the commonly used term to describe the indigenous people, and "Pakeha" to describe the European arrivals (O'Regan, 2001). Thus began a process of both groups seeking to integrate the other group into their world-view, a process necessary for any two groups to maintain their sense of security and power (Kornblum, 1998).

For Pakeha the cognitive challenge was to incorporate Maori within their world-view in a manner that did not challenge their existing beliefs or perceptions of superiority over non-European peoples (Durie, 1998). In order to rationalise their need to engage with Maori as equals early Pakeha settlers and traders conceptualised Maori as being the most noble of native peoples, possessing a degree of civilisation but in need of assistance from Europeans (Owens, 1995).

Europeans brought new technology, resources, and a different set of values and customs to New Zealand. Maori were quick to adopt new technology and made use of introduced food plants and animals. An example of this adoption is the growing of potatoes, which were "introduced by Captain Cook or Marion Dufresne and were quickly traded among the Maori tribes" (Wright, 1967, p.67). Potatoes became an important component of the Maori economy as their cultivation was similar to traditional crops such as kumara, taro and yam (Owens, 1995) but had the advantage of a much more extensive growing range and longer growing season. Maori in their first dealings with Europeans chose what they wanted to accept and integrate into their world.

There was no widespread indiscriminate adoption, however, of European goods and ways. As Wright (1967) points out, “when Maori did accept Western articles, they altered them in form and function to fit their Maori purposes” (p. 128).

Maori initially saw the arrival of Europeans in New Zealand as an opportunity to accumulate mana, and before 1840 there was a vigorous commerce between Maori and Europeans. After 1840 the New Zealand Company settlements and Auckland provided new opportunities for trade and Maori responded eagerly. “Some tribes pooled money to create capital with which to buy mills for grinding wheat and ships for transporting heavy cargoes” (Wright, 1967, p. 195). Maori agriculture and commerce burgeoned, especially with the opening of export markets in agricultural produce to the Californian and Victorian gold-fields (Sorrenson, 1995).

As Hargreaves comments:

Particularly in the earlier years, large quantities of Maori grown produce played a significant part in feeding the European population of the Auckland Province, and provided an important contribution to the exports of the young settlement (1959, p.63).

The partial adoption of European goods and agriculture practices however resulted in many Maori farmers possessing incomplete knowledge of new food plants, domesticated animals and agricultural technology. Hargreaves (1959), in his examination of Maori agriculture in Auckland Province in the mid-nineteenth century, identified the problems caused by this knowledge gap as:

- Wheat and maize planted too late resulting in crop failure
- Wheat harvested too late and thus overripe
- Bone dust or manure not added to crop lands thus exhausting the soil
- Crop rotation not practiced thus exhausting the soil

- Water flour mills run continuously resulting in the grind stones being ruined
- Potatoes stored incorrectly resulting in them rotting before they reached market
- Pigs allowed to feed on fish and seaweed which resulted in the meat being too salty for European tastes

By the 1850s the Maori economy was unstable due to the high levels of debt accumulated by various hapu and rangatira. Large-scale investments in schooners and flourmills, as well as their lavish spending in some cases on hakari, caused many Maori to be frequently in debt in the 1850s (Monin, 1995). Maori in the 1800s viewed schooners and flourmills as visible symbols of mana and invested in building them even when there was little economic rationale for doing so. The accumulation of mana and the honouring of obligations created under tohatoha resulted in rangatira hosting ever more sumptuous hakari. Europeans were happy to extend rangatira credit to enable this spending, using tribal land as security with a view to eventually securing the land when the debt could not be repaid.

In 1856 there was a slump in the Victorian market while at the same time European settlements in New Zealand began to become self-sufficient in food production. Wheat prices collapsed from ten to twelve shillings a bushel to three shillings (Miller, 1940). At this price it became uneconomical for Maori to harvest their wheat crops as the price fetched would not remunerate them for their labour. European farmers engaged in cropping responded to the fall in agricultural prices by switching to pastoralism, which required larger areas of land and capital investment in stock, fencing and buildings (Sorrenson, 1995).

Maori for a variety of reasons did not follow non-Maori into pastoralism, because as Hargreaves (1959) states, "livestock farming proved unattractive to the Maori in this period largely because of the lack of suitable pasture" (p. 68).

Maori land holdings were also often dispersed, of a small size and unfenced. The dispersed nature of these holdings was caused by the way in which communally owned land was usually allocated, giving each family a number of holdings located at various locations within the tribe's land. While these conditions enabled small scale cropping they were not suitable for economical pastoralism. Maori also possessed a number of dogs, which resulted in uncontrolled and often half-wild dogs running loose in Maori settlements that might attack a flock of sheep or herd of cows (Hargreaves, 1959). A further barrier to switching to pastoralism was the unwillingness of lenders to accept land held in multiple ownership as security, preventing Maori from raising the capital necessary to consolidate land holdings and purchase stock, fencing and buildings.

By 1892 Maori retained less than one-sixth of New Zealand's land and most of this was remote, rugged, and bush-clad. This dramatic change in land ownership was due to Maori being forced to sell land to pay debts; Government land purchases; and confiscations by the Crown after the New Zealand Wars (Evison, 1987; Durie, 1998, 2003). This dramatic decline in land ownership resulted in Maori moving from being the main agricultural producers of the 1840s and 1850s, to precarious subsistence farming. "Maori grew scarcely enough crops for their own needs and relied increasingly on seasonal labour on European farms and public works" (Sorrenson, 1995, p.165).

The process of European colonisation in New Zealand not only involved the transfer of resources from the indigenous people to the new settlers but the establishment of new European institutions. Christianity replaced traditional beliefs and eliminated the tapu of rangatira, diminishing their authority (Ranginui Walker, in Melbourne 1995). In 1907, the Tohunga Suppression Act outlawed Maori knowledge and Maori methodologies as well as providing the Crown with a way to silenced Maori leaders, who criticised assimilationist policies under a clause in the Act in which it was an offence to foretell Maori futures (Durie, 2003).

In 1865 the Native Land Court established by the 1862 Native Land Act began operation, becoming the only institution through which Maori could prove a connection to a piece of land which would be recognised by the Crown. The court had the power to investigate, determine and record titles of Maori customary land, and its rulings promoted individual land title as opposed to collective title to Maori land. The court's judgements were based on the premise of an individual having exclusive ownership of a piece of land and its resources, as opposed to guardianship and the acknowledgement that other parties might have rights to manage a resource on that land (Durie, 1998, 2003; Sorrenson, 1995).

The court's primary purpose when first established was to facilitate the alienation of Maori land by extinguishing native title through creating a transferable title that would expedite land sales. The 1865 Native Land Act allowed the court to begin the process of investigating title to a block of land at the request of only one claimant. As part of this process, owners were required to nominate ten or fewer individuals whose names would appear on the certificate of title to the block. Maori viewed these nominated individuals as trustees representing all the owners, as often stated at land court hearings. However, the certificate produced by the court would state that they were absolute owners of the land according to native custom, and the Crown grant issued in their name vested an absolute estate of freehold in possession, unencumbered by any trust or condition. This situation allowed any of these individuals to dispose of their share of the land should they wish without having to seek the approval of the community as a whole.

The 1865 Native Land Act was not only a tool for speeding up the transfer of Maori land to Pakeha but it also sought to undermine existing Maori social and political institutions. As Henry Sewell, the Attorney-General at the time that both the 1862 and 1865 Acts were passed, later stated:

The objective of the Native Lands Act is twofold. To bring the great bulk of the lands in the northern island which belong to the Maori people, and which, before the passing of that Act, were *extra commercium* – except through the means of the old land purchase system, which had entirely broken down - within the reach of colonisation. The other great object was, the detribalisation of the Natives - to destroy, if it were possible, the principle of communism which ran through the whole of their institutions, upon which their social system was based, and which stood as a barrier in the way of all attempts to amalgamate the Maori race into our social and political system

New Zealand Parliamentary Debates, 29 August 1870, vol. 9, p.361.

The aim of the Crown at this time was to assimilate Maori into the newly created Pakeha social and political institutions, a process that required the elimination of a Maori economy based on collective initiatives utilising collectively own assets. Maori were to participate in the economy of New Zealand on the same basis as Pakeha settlers, as individuals or small family groups relying on their own skills, labour and privately owned resources, to succeed or fail.

2.2.2.1 Treaty of Waitangi

On 6 February 1840 at Waitangi, and later at other locations throughout New Zealand, Maori signed the Treaty of Waitangi. Two versions of the Treaty of Waitangi were produced, an English version and a Maori version referred to as Te Tiriti o Waitangi, which was signed by approximately 500 Maori chiefs. The treaty was to be the basis of a new understanding between Pakeha, represented by the British Crown, and Maori, clarifying the rights and responsibilities of both parties, yet this process of treaty making promised two different futures for New Zealand.

The treaty was first drafted in English and used phrases borrowed from previous treaties entered into by England with other indigenous peoples (Ross, 1972). From this borrowing it appears that the treaty drawers were inexperienced, and this inexperience was again reflected in the manner in which the whole process of treaty making was conducted (Durie, 1998). While the exact authorship of the treaty is now unknown, from historical evidence available it appears that Hobson, Freeman and Busby all contributed to its drawing, and several English versions were drafted. A te reo version was then drawn through translating one of these English draft versions of the treaty (Ross, 1972).

This process of treaty making, in which the English version was the source document and the te reo version a translation resulted in two very different treaties. The translation did not convey perfectly the concepts expressed in the source document and resulted in the articles of Te Tiriti differing significantly from the final English version (Orange, 1989).

As expressed by Cleave, “translation between languages always requires reconciling different modes of thinking more than finding equivalent terminology” (1989, p.26).

Unfortunately this capacity for shared thinking was not possessed by the translator of the treaty (Ross, 1972, Durie, 1998), resulting in ideas expressed in the English Treaty not being accurately expressed in Te Tiriti, such as kawanatanga being used for sovereignty, taonga for tangible possessions and tino rangatiratanga for ownership.

These differences have resulted in different interpretations of the role of Maori in contemporary environmental and resource management and planning in Aotearoa/New Zealand. The English version of the Treaty of Waitangi secured sovereignty over New Zealand for the British Crown, and recognised Maori ownership of tangible assets such as land, buildings, forests, and fisheries, leaving the Crown responsible for creating the legal framework under which these assets could be managed. Te Tiriti extended to the Crown kawanatanga or governorship, delegating authority conditional upon the Crown recognising tino rangatiratanga. "In their understanding of the Treaty of Waitangi the Maori, by and large, had conceded the direction of relations between Maori and the white people [sic] to the colonial government. They expected to be able to run their own affairs themselves" (Wright, 1967, p.196), an expectation based on tino rangatiratanga being enshrined in Te Tiriti.

The first article of the English version of the Treaty states that the signatories agreed to "cede to Her Majesty the Queen of England, absolutely and without reservation, all the rights and powers of sovereignty ". In return the Crown in article two "guarantees to the Chiefs and tribes of New Zealand, and to the respective families and individuals thereof, the full, exclusive, and undisturbed possession of their lands and estates, forests, fisheries, and other properties". The Crown however gained the right of pre-emption over such lands that the signatories wished to dispose of. In the context of the Treaty, pre-emption gave the Crown the sole right to purchase land off Maori. Article three, often called the citizenship article, extended to the natives of New Zealand "all the rights and privileges of British subjects".

Sovereignty as exercised by the English Crown was a concept unfamiliar to Maori. There was no Maori nation state in 1840, though the 1834 Declaration of Independence of New Zealand by the United Tribes of New Zealand was a move towards a pan-Maori political identity. The political reality of New Zealand in 1840 was rather a collection of iwi, with each iwi comprising several hapu. Each of these hapu was headed by a chief who exercised power with the support of his or her people. Power flowed from the people up, with their approval needed for major decisions. The English model of all power flowing from the sovereign and being delegated to individuals who acted in his or her name was alien to Maori. The chiefs could not actually cede sovereignty as it was conferred upon them by their people and not theirs to give.

If such a transfer of power from the chiefs to the Crown was possible however it would have involved the signatories ceding personal mana (power) and rangatiratanga (chieftainship) (Durie, 1998). Yet in the te reo version the signatories only ceded kawanatanga (governorship or governance). The Crown was being given “a limited concession of power” (Orange, 1989, p.12), not absolute sovereignty.

The limited nature of this power was reinforced by article two of the te reo version, which referred to the signatories being able to exercise “tino rangatiratanga” with regard to their lands, villages and other taonga or treasures. Tino is a superlative and can be translated as “very” or “quintessentially” (Cormack, 2000), therefore this article strongly protects the signatories’ rights to chieftainship. It negates much of the strength of article one of the English version, in that the Crown guarantees the chiefs’ continuing authority (Durie, 1998).

In extending tino rangatiratanga over taonga or treasures, article two of Te Tiriti also had the unforeseen effect of extended the Crown's recognition and protection of chiefly authority over non-tangible resources such as language (Durie, 1998, 2003).

The recognition of tino rangatiratanga in article two of Te Tiriti is difficult to reconcile with the Crown's claim to absolute sovereignty in article one of the Treaty. Absolute sovereignty confers on the Crown a monopoly on the creation of law, and allows the Crown to create the legal framework under which all natural resources would be managed, yet the exercise of tino rangatiratanga involves determining how a resource will be managed.

Article three in both versions of the treaty extended the benefits of English citizenship to individual Maori. The English version imparts all "the rights and privileges of British subjects" but does not mention anything about the corresponding duties that accompany these. Interestingly, the translation of Te Tiriti does, using the phrase "same rights and duties of citizenship as the people of England". It is doubtful, though, whether many of the signatories would have understood what these rights and duties were. The complexities of English tikanga were just as foreign to most Maori in 1840 as was te Ao Maori to the English drawers of the treaty. "No Maori could have had any understanding of British tikanga" (Kawharu, 1992, p.32)

Thus in 1840 the Crown entered into two very different treaties with Maori, though the fact that the English text of the Treaty was signed by only 39 chiefs at Waikato heads and at Manukau Harbour. Orange (1989) suggests that greater weight must be given to the te reo version of the treaty which attracted over 500 signatures. It is also a generally accepted international convention that in treaty making with indigenous people a treaty drawn in the indigenous people's language takes legal precedence over any versions of that treaty drawn in another language – the contra proferentum rule (Durie, 1991).

Neither version of the Treaty was ever ratified by the Crown, however, through incorporation into legislation. In 1877 Chief Justice Prendergast, in the case *Wi Parata v Bishop of Wellington*, referred to the Treaty as a “simple nullity”, and the significance of the Treaty was largely forgotten by non-Maori until increasing Maori political pressure resulted in the 1975 Treaty of Waitangi Act (Durie, 1998).

2.2.3. Contemporary

In 1975 the Treaty of Waitangi Act sponsored by Matiu Rata, then Minister of Maori Affairs for the third Labour Government, provided for observance and confirmation of the Treaty of Waitangi. This Act established the Waitangi Tribunal to investigate grievances against the Crown from the date at which the Act came into force, namely 10 October 1975. The Act referred to the principles rather than provisions of the Treaty although these principles were not defined in the legislation. As well, section 5 of the Act stated that the Tribunal was to have regard to both versions of the treaty, although after investigating claims the tribunal could only make recommendations to the Crown regarding a remedy.

Initially the Tribunal attracted little attention from Maori. Then in 1983 the *Motunui* case demonstrated that the Tribunal, with or without the power to make binding recommendations, had the potential to influence the government’s attitude and policy. After that, Maori interest escalated and the number of claims increased considerably (Durie, 1998).

In 1985 the Treaty of Waitangi Amendment Act was passed. Sponsored by Koro Wetere, then Minister of Maori Affairs for the fourth Labour Government, it extended the Tribunal’s jurisdiction back to February 1840. The principles of the Treaty still remained undefined by statute, and the Tribunal’s recommendations continued to remain non-binding on the Crown.

The tribunal, however, continued to gain acceptance by Maori as a means by which their concerns and grievances against the Crown could be addressed. "Not content to accept a jurisprudence shaped only by western custom and practice, the tribunal has interpreted concepts of justice, fairness and ownership from Maori perspectives" (Durie, 1998, p.186). An example of this is the tribunal's definition of "taonga" as "all dimensions of the tribal estate, including material and non-material possessions".

2.2.3.1 Ngai Tahu Treaty of Waitangi Claim

As a result of the 1985 Treaty of Waitangi Amendment Act Ngai Tahu's grievances against the Crown, regarding land purchases in the South Island, could be heard. Ngai Tahu argued that the terms of the purchase agreements Ngai Tahu entered into with the Crown had never been fully honoured, and sought acknowledgement of this fact and redress from the Crown to compensate for its loss.

Ngai Tahu's key grievances were that reserves of one-tenth of the total purchase area of each block were not set aside for the use of Ngai Tahu as promised, and that what land was assigned to Ngai Tahu was generally not suitable for agriculture (Wai 27). Ngai Tahu also stated that the Crown had agreed to exclude traditional food gathering sites or mahinga kai from land being sold and set them aside as reserves. This was also not done as the Crown translated mahinga kai as 'cultivations' and only set aside as reserves areas where crops were being grown (Wai 27) .

With only a fraction of the land that European settlers were allowed, Ngai Tahu were unable to compete as farmers. They also lost most of their traditional food sources. Thus most were reduced to poverty, while the Europeans who occupied their former lands became prosperous. (Evison, 1987, p.32)

The Waitangi Tribunal after hearing Ngai Tahu's evidence and that of the Crown came back with a ruling that the Crown had breached its Treaty obligations to the iwi. As a result of the process of negotiation and the tribunal's report, WAI 27, the Crown entered into negotiations with Ngai Tahu. These negotiations resulted in three key events:

- the passing of Te Runanga o Ngai Tahu Act in 1996, establishing the iwi as a legal entity free from Crown control
- the signing of the Deed of Settlement in 1997
- the passing of the Ngai Tahu Claims settlement Act 1998, which provided a final settlement of the iwi's Treaty of Waitangi Claim.

The iwi's settlement involved the Crown:

- apologising to Ngai Tahu
- transferring ownership of Aoraki back to the iwi, who would then gift it to the nation
- agreeing a cash compensation of \$170 million
- creating the deferred selection process, a mechanism which allowed the iwi to purchase Crown assets from a defined "pool" within 12 months of the settlement legislation being passed, up to a total value of \$250 million
- establishing a permanent "right of first refusal" for the iwi over certain Crown assets should the Crown ever choose to dispose of them
- agreeing to a "relativity clause" in that should Treaty settlements exceed \$1 billion, Ngai Tahu's settlement would be adjusted upwards

(Te Runanga o Ngai Tahu, 1998).

While the monetary value of the settlement did not reflect the estimated economic loss to the iwi of \$20 billion (Te Runanga o Ngai Tahu, 1998) the associated rights over Crown assets have provided a means for the iwi to enhance its ability to grow its economic base. Ngai Tahu as an iwi have had their economic success publicly lauded by the Minister of Maori Affairs, Parekura Horomia, for exponentially increasing its asset base, turnover and net worth since signing the Deed of Settlement (Ryder, 2001). The iwi is once again a key player in the South Island's economy. Ngai Tahu have used the \$170 million they received under their settlement to become the South Island's third-biggest business (Wellwood, 2001).

2.2.3.2 Maori Economic Development Summits

In recent history there have been two important Maori economic summits; namely, the Hui Taumata and Hui Whakapumau, held at the beginning and end of the decade of Maori Development as proclaimed by the fourth Labour Government.

In 1984 the fourth Labour Government of New Zealand convened a national Economic Summit Conference to review the current state of the economy, identify economic priorities, and develop strategies for achieving them. The Hui Taumata (Maori Economic Summit Conference) followed this because it was felt the earlier national summit did not address seriously the concerns of Maori (Durie, 1998, 2003). The then Minister of Maori Affairs, the Hon. K. Wetere, invited representatives from a wide range of sector interests to discuss four objectives. These were:

- To reach an understanding of the nature and extent of the economic problems facing New Zealand as they affect Maori people;
- To examine the strengths and weaknesses of the Maori people in the current position;

- To discuss policies for Maori equality in the economic and social life of New Zealand;
- To obtain commitment to advancing Maori interests.

Launched at the hui, the policy of the “Decade of Maori Development” prescribed pathways for Maori cultural, social and economic development. In keeping with the mood of the times the emphasis was on greater commercial awareness, positive development, and reduced dependency on the State. Six themes that emerged from this hui were central to the philosophy of the decade. These themes and their implications are shown in table 2.1 below.

Table 2.1 Themes from the Decade of Maori Development

Theme	Implications
The Treaty of Waitangi	Maori-Crown relationships Settlement of claims Biculturalism
Tino rangatiratanga	Maori self-determination Constitutional review Maori mana motuhake
Iwi development	Tribal development as a vehicle for Maori advancement
Economic self-reliance	Development of a sound economic base Reduced state dependency Developmental funding
Social equity	Elimination of disparities Iwi social delivery systems Maori perspectives Iwi-state partnerships
Cultural advancement	Maori language Maori educational systems Marae focus

Source: Durie, 1998, p.8

Hui Whakapumau was held at the conclusion of the “Decade of Maori Development” and provided an opportunity to revisit the years 1984-94, to assess progress made by Maori and then to consider future directions. Kia Pūmau Tonu, the proceedings of The Hui Whakapumau outlined the importance of economic development, stating that a sound economic base was a crucial step towards achieving any real political autonomy or even cultural survival for Maori (Department of Maori Studies - Massey University, 1995).

Ngatata Love at the Hui Whakapumau stated “Maori have suffered disproportionately from the restructuring within the New Zealand economy. High unemployment, imprisonment and psychiatric illness bear witness to this.” (Department of Maori Studies - Massey University, 1995, p. 25) He also expressed the concern that “Maori must work collectively and urgently to bring about change or accept the inevitable social stratification which is in full flight today. Acceptance of this will result in the vast majority of Maori being left at the bottom of the social and economic strata of New Zealand society” (Department of Maori Studies - Massey University, 1995, p. 27).

While no single conclusion emerged from the Hui Whakapumau, Professor Mason Durie felt that from the debate and discussion six themes had arisen which could be used as consensus points for future Maori development. These were:

1. Haere tonu: Build on gains already made
2. Nga Ahuatanga-a-Maori: Address contemporary Maori realities
3. Te Ao Hurihuri: A changing world
4. Te Ao Hou: Embrace new technologies
5. He Maori Ano: The right to be Maori
6. Tino Rangatiratanga: Take charge

(Department of Maori Studies - Massey University, 1995)

Of these themes, Haere tonu celebrated the revival of a Maori economy based on commercial ventures administered by communal institutions such as Urban Maori Authorities and Iwi controlled trusts and incorporations (Durie, 1998, 2003). Nga Ahuatanga-a-Maori acknowledged the disparity between the state of wellbeing between Maori and non-Maori and challenged Maori leaders and the Crown to address this issue. Te Ao Hurihuri reflected upon the changing environment Maori found themselves in as a people, outlining the challenges and opportunities the future held. Te Ao Hou called upon Maori to take advantage of new technology to ensure that they would be part of the new information age. He Maori Ano reminded Maori that they must not sacrifice their identity in order to succeed materially and that they should be able to express their culture in New Zealand. Tino Rangatiratanga called on the Crown to recognise the right of Maori to administer their own resources and govern their own people.

In 1990 the National government of Jim Bolger replaced the fourth Labour Government, and Winston Peters was appointed Minister of Maori Affairs. Upon taking office Winston Peters commissioned the 'Ka Awatea' report in an attempt to address Maori socio-economic disadvantage. Ka Awatea promoted a heavily interventionist approach to Maori socioeconomic disadvantage that was counter to National party policy which favoured social policies that were less interventionist.

Ka Awatea sought to increase Maori employment through greater use of Maori economic resources, a process which the drafters of the plan felt would strengthened whanau, hapu and iwi, resulting in a reduction of the social and economic problems affecting Maori at that time (Ministry of Maori Development, 1991). The authors of Ka Awatea identified current legislation, Government policies, market failure, lack of equity, lack of employment and business skills as the main barriers to Maori economic development.

Ka Awatea set out four possible strategies to develop Maori business and Maori land:

1. Establish an economic resource unit
2. Establish a new business development programme to replace the Mana programme
3. Shift from negative to positive funding
4. Remove the barriers to economic development

(Ministry of Maori Development, 1991).

Ka Awatea envisaged programs designed to meet the needs of Maori education, health, employment and economic development, but when Winston Peters was removed from the post of Minister of Maori Affairs significant aspects of Ka Awatea were not implemented.

2.2.3.3 A Framework for Maori Economic Development

Various frameworks for Maori advancement have been proposed by government ministries and academics, both Maori and Pakeha. In this section however only frameworks that specifically look at the Maori economy will be discussed.

Durie (1998), in discussing Maori advancement, sets out four aims he felt needed to be achieved, these being:

1. Economic self-sufficiency
2. Social equity
3. Cultural affirmation
4. Political strength

Economic self-sufficiency seeks to make individual Maori financially independent so that they do not require assistance from non-Maori or the Crown. The strengthening of individual Maori economic standing is seen as a way of creating social equity and cultural affirmation for Maori collectively. Improving the individual economic position of Maori, Durie (1998) believes, will lead to a closing of the wellbeing gap between Maori and non-Maori.

The Crown has still however a Treaty responsibility under Article Three to enact policies that strive to create social equity and actively protect Maori culture; but to ensure the Crown meets this obligation, Durie (1998) believes that Maori require political strength to make these policies a priority. Maori also need political strength to create a resource management framework that lets them manage their resources in way that will make them more productive.

Loomis (2000), in discussing Maori development, takes the position that the historic processes of colonisation and imperialism have dispossessed Maori, leaving them encompassed within a hegemonic state which exploits and marginalises them.

The government of New Zealand, along with the governments of the other settler states of Australia, Canada, and the United States of America, is now seeking to address the disparities between its indigenous population and the descendents of European settlers; with a focus on business development, financing, management education and technical assistance to indigenous people. However:

All four countries' governments and their advisors have tended to adopt a compartmentalised approach to development, heavily underwritten by commercial and Western values (Loomis, 2000, p.9-10).

Loomis (2000) argues that sovereignty is the first and probably most crucial factor for successful economic development, as it brings accountability and involves the indigenous people in the decision-making and exercise of ownership. A fundamental shift in Crown thinking is needed that is embodied in the Treaty, a view of Maori as an indigenous nation and partner under the Treaty, requiring a sharing of sovereignty between the Crown and Maori (Loomis, 2000).

Durie (2000), in his framework for Maori development, calls for Maori to focus their attention on developing their people as a source of future wealth with less emphasis on developing industries based on commodities such as land or fish:

Worldwide the trend is to place less reliance on commodities as a source of wealth. Instead the challenge is to move towards an economy which is based on knowledge and as part of the process, to develop the greatest asset Maori have, its 523,000 people. The Maori human capital base is largely undeveloped and as a consequence knowledge based industries are similarly lagging.

(Durie, 2000, p.12)

Durie (2000) promotes five principles for Maori development: a future orientation, inclusiveness, economies of scale, co-operation and collaboration, and the 'value added' principle.

A future orientation shifts Maori away from a preoccupation with their past, a move which is viewed as beneficial for two reasons. Firstly Durie believes the Treaty of Waitangi settlement and claims process "expends an excessive amount of Maori energy for returns that in the order of things are minimal" (2000, p.13). Secondly, it becomes acceptable to develop traditional Maori knowledge, which currently is viewed as valuable because of its unchanging nature. "Knowledge from the past is all the more important if it can be developed" (Durie, 2000, p.13).

Inclusiveness calls for policies for Maori development that focus on Maori society as a whole, rather than looking at either tribal or urban segments. “Inflexible Maori access rights based on outdated models of society do little more than create elites and burning resentment” (Durie, 2000, p.14).

Economies of scale are achieved through co-operation and collaboration within Maori society and between Maori and the Crown, who has a responsibility under the Treaty to work with Maori.

Durie (2000) believes development models currently focus on disparities, with the underpinning logic that the process of development is finished once disparities between Maori and non-Maori have been eliminated. This “deficit approach” is not positive and reinforces negative feelings about being Maori. The ‘value added’ principle is an attempt to move development models towards celebrating being Maori and gaining access to te Ao Maori. “It is a process that requires active Maori intervention; the blunt instruments of the mainstream, either state or the private sector, will not be able to add value in the same way” (Durie, 2000, p.14).

Durie (2000) sets out four goals of Maori development and states that capabilities in five areas need to be developed in order to achieve all these goals. A two-dimensional matrix outlining these goals and capabilities is shown below in table 2.2.

Table 2.2 Durie's Developmental Matrix

Capabilities	Goals of Maori development			
	Human potential & whanau development	Strengthen Maori society	Wealth creation; knowledge economy	Maori knowledge, language & culture
Investment				
Research, planning				
Relationships, alliances				
Maori – Crown dialogue				
Self governance				

Durie (2000) states that the Crown needs to recognise the Maori right to self government at community, tribal or even confederated levels but unlike Loomis (2000) does feel this should challenge the Crown's sole claim to sovereignty.

Self government need not challenge sovereignty; indeed there are many examples the world over where self government co-exists with state governance.

(Durie, 2000, p.17)

2.3 Issues pertaining to Maori Economic Development

From a review of literature specific to Maori economic development, the following important issues can be identified:

- Pre-contact Maori possessed an economy based on the use of the natural resources of New Zealand
 - Ngai Tahu had developed a complex economy utilising an extensive range of natural resources and had extensive trade networks throughout the South Island and links with the North Island
- Membership of a kinship based social group was crucial for survival
- The whanua was the primary economic unit, but major economic activities were conducted by hapu
- Iwi were a political entity utilised primarily in times of warfare
- An individual's identity was linked to membership of a kinship group
- Leaders inherited their positions but maintained their power through displaying qualities that contributed to the economic wellbeing of their group
- Unworthy or incompetent leaders would be removed and leadership transferred to a suitable close relative
- The leadership of Maori political units was open to utilising knowledge generated outside of the kinship group
- Cultural institutions were developed that facilitated the sustainable management of natural resources, access to resources, and enabled trade
- Europeans arrived in New Zealand confident in the superiority of their cultural and political institutions
- The new technology and resources that Europeans brought to New Zealand were reviewed by Maori who adopted what they wanted and integrated it into their world

- Maori initially saw the arrival of Europeans as an opportunity to accumulate mana
- Partial adoption of European goods and agricultural practices by Maori resulted in commercial losses
- The accumulation of mana and the honouring of obligations created under tohatoha were the principle drivers of the 1800s Maori economy
- By the 1850s the Maori economy was unstable due to high levels of debt
- Europeans facilitated the creation of this debt, encouraged Maori to use land as security
- When crop prices collapsed, Maori were not able to follow Pakeha into pastoralism
- The process of colonisation resulted in a transfer of resources from Maori to Pakeha and the deliberate disestablishment of Maori cultural and political institutions as a matter of government policy
- Maori were to be assimilated into Pakeha social and political institutions
- In 1840 Te Tiriti gave the Crown kawanatanga in return for rangatiratanga, and the Treaty gave the Crown sovereignty in return for respecting Maori ownership of their lands, forests, fisheries and villages.
- Neither Te Tiriti nor the Treaty was ever ratified or given any legal status by the Crown until the 1975 Treaty of Waitangi Act which established the Waitangi Tribunal
- In 1985 the Treaty of Waitangi Amendment Act extended the tribunal's jurisdiction back to February 1840, enabling historic claims against the Crown such as Ngai Tahu's to be heard
 - The Ngai Tahu Treaty claim made through the tribunal resulted in a Crown apology a \$170 million cash settlement, and other types of reparation

2.4 Principles for Maori Economic Development

A review of the literature specific to Maori economic development enables a set of principles to be formulated to guide the process. These are:

1. An awareness of and reflection on the past before proceeding forward
2. Consideration of the views/needs of the group and the strengthening of group bonds
3. Acknowledgment and strengthening of a Maori identity
4. Utilisation of Maori resources in a manner consistent with the three preceding principles
5. Improvement of Maori wellbeing
6. Self governance

These principles seek to achieve what Thirlwall (1999) puts forward as an ideal conception of development, which:

Embraces the major economic and social objectives and values that societies strive for (p.12).

Chapter Three: Research Design

3.0 Introduction

Non-Maori researching in a Maori context need to develop a culturally appropriate research strategy to ensure that they protect the interests of their research subjects, themselves and the value of the knowledge that is shared with them (Murchie, 1984; Smith, 1992; Stokes, 1987).

Acknowledging the need for a culturally appropriate research strategy, this study followed Smith's (1992) "tiaki" or "mentor" model, where Maori authorities facilitate the research process. My mentors were my supervisor and assistant supervisor, and without their guidance this research would not have been possible.

3.1 Research Method

This study utilised both secondary and primary data to help answer the research objectives set out in chapter one. Secondary data came from existing literature on economic development, and from the analysis of three documents: Whakatapuranga Rua Mano – Generation 2000, Ngai Tahu 2025, and an economic development report prepared for Te Taumutu Runanga. Primary data were collected through personal interviews with Maori individuals involved with the process of economic development in the rohe of Te Runanga o Ngai Tahu.

3.2 Literature Review

The literature review was conducted in two phases. The first phase involved a general review of literature on the process of economic development, in order to gain an understanding of what "economic development" means. In this phase both the meaning of the term "economic development" and what the process may encompass were explored from a western academic perspective.

In the second phase, literature discussing “Maori economic development” was reviewed in order to develop a definition of the term. Literature reviewed dealt with three time periods. “Pre-contact” refers to the period before Maori came into contact with Europeans, “contact” discuss the influence that Europeans had on the Maori economy, while “contemporary” examine current issues of economic development relating to Maori.

In selecting literature to review for the second phase I was guided by my mentors who suggested reading the work of particular authors to aid in my understanding of what “Maori economic development” means.

3.3 Analysis of Documents

An analysis of three Maori economic development strategy documents was conducted. These documents were chosen for the following reasons:

- Whakatupuranga Rua Mano – Generation 2000 is a seminal Maori economic development strategy being one of the first iwi development plans. The approach of the principal author, Whatarangi Winiata, to identifying hapu and iwi resources still influences hapu and iwi planning today.
- Ngai Tahu 2025 is the primary strategy document for the iwi of Ngai Tahu. The governing body of the iwi, Te Runanga o Ngai Tahu, and its subsidiaries, are required to develop specific strategies that deliver the goals set out in this document. Ngai Tahu 2025 is viewed as a living document by Ngai Tahu and will be reviewed every five years.

- Te Taumutu Runanga Economic Development Report 2002 is an economic development strategy prepared for Ngati Moki, a hapu of Ngai Tahu. As this report was written by the researcher he is able to analyse the process set out in this document from its conception through to its implementation.

3.4 Selection of Interviewees

That the individuals selected have the necessary mana to speak on the topic being researched is an issue of concern to Maori (Murchie, 1984) and so it was considered extremely important to this study to survey only those who could be considered to be appropriately mandated. To ensure that the individuals interviewed were appropriate spokespeople, and that a variety of views on the topic of Maori economic development was solicited, judgment sampling was utilised to identify a list of potential interviewees. This method of sampling is the most appropriate one to employ when a researcher needs to select from a population unique cases that are especially informative (Neuman, 2000).

Judgement sampling requires the sampler to make a judgement about which individuals will or will not be included in the sample, and relies on the judgement and intuition of the sampler to accurately reflect the population of interest (Mendenhall, Reinmuth, & Beaver, 1989; Neuman, 2000). The list of sixteen potential interviewees for this study was developed in consultation with the principal supervisor of this study, who has an extensive knowledge of the Maori community in Canterbury. Due to time and financial constraints faced by the researcher the list comprised individuals residing in Canterbury only.

To ensure that the individuals interviewed possessed the necessary mana to present a Maori perspective, they needed to be involved in a management capacity within a Maori organisation concerned with economic development. A variety of views was obtained by interviewing individuals working in both iwi based and non-iwi based organisations. This process resulted in individuals being drawn from the following categories:

- Mana whenua
 - Te Runanga o Ngai Tahu
 - Papatipu runanga

- Matawaka

Once the list had been created the researcher then contacted the individuals on the list by phone or e-mail asking if they would be interested in participating in this study. At this stage individuals were given an information sheet (Refer Appendix 1) to help them determine whether they would participate. On initial contact potential subjects were also told that the research was for academic purposes and that the data they provided would be presented in a manner which ensured their complete anonymity, and that they could withdraw from the study at any time.

3.4.1 Size and Nature of Sample

The initial approach to the sixteen individuals identified as possessing the necessary mana to present a Maori perspective on the topic being researched resulted in a sample size of fourteen. The two individuals who declined to participate stated a lack of time as their reason for not being available to be interviewed. Given the judgement sampling method utilised by this study fourteen was considered an adequate sample size (Mendenhall, Reinmuth & Beaver, 1989; Miles & Huberman, 1994; Neuman, 2000).

The fourteen individuals who comprised the sample are all considered by the researcher's supervisor to possess significant mana, and are leaders within their organisations and communities. Their responses not only reflect their own views but also those of the organisation and community they represent (Murchie, 1984; Smith, 1992).

3.4.2 Interviews

The interviews followed an unstructured format based around seven questions relating to the study's research objectives (Refer Appendix 3 for a copy of the interview sheet). This format was chosen as it was felt it would reveal more valuable data than a structured interview, yet still ensure that each respondent provided answers to the study's key questions (Minichiello, Aroni, Timewell & Alexander, 1995).

Each interview lasted between 30 to 45 minutes and was conducted by the researcher at a location and time convenient to each interviewee. The researcher conducted all the interviews and used a question list to ensure that each interview covered the same seven questions. The interviews were conducted in a variety of locations but each interview followed the same structure of a greeting, rapport building, the seven questions relating to the study's research objectives, and a farewell.

The interviewer began each interview by greeting the interviewee in a friendly but professional manner. The greeting set the tone of the interview and was designed to put both the interviewer and interviewee at ease, and to help build a sense of rapport (Putnis & Petelin, 1996). After the greeting one or two non-threatening friendly questions were asked by the interviewer to establish a common footing with the interviewee.

Building a sense of rapport in this way is recognised as being crucial for gaining frank and straight forward answers to questions posed by the interviewer (Minichiello, Aroni, Timewell & Alexander, 1995).

Respondents were then asked the questions relating to the study's research objectives. Each respondent was encouraged to discuss their answer to each question in a manner they felt most comfortable with. This often involved respondents first needing to discuss information they felt provided the background necessary for the researcher to understand their answer. The offering of this background information was encouraged as it provided valuable insights into the attitudes and logic underlying a respondent's answer, and further provided important data that needed to be taken into account by the researcher (Bresnen, 1988).

Interviewees were thanked after their final response for their participation and were farewelled appropriately. Concluding each interview on a positive note was done so that the interviewees were left with a favourable impression of the researcher, the organisation he represented and the interview process in general (Putnis & Petelin, 1996).

It was considered crucial that each interviewee was left with a favourable view of their interview experience for two ethical reasons. Firstly researchers should avoid causing harm to their subjects at any stage of the research process (Neuman, 2000). An interview concluded poorly is an unpleasant experience for a subject and thus causes a certain amount of psychological harm. The second ethical concern relates to the duty the researcher owes to other researchers. A researcher should at all times endeavour to enhance the reputation and recognition of the research process to ensure that contact from future researchers is received favourably by those individuals who have been part of the original study (Neuman, 2000).

3.5 Ethics

Whenever research is conducted the question of ethics needs to be considered to ensure that certain standards are met. When the research is cross cultural as in this study the issue of what is ethical becomes more complex, as the researcher needs to consider the ethics of research from the perspectives of two different value systems (Stokes, 1987). It was the researcher's aim that this study be considered ethical from both a Pakeha and a Maori perspective. To ensure this, approval was sought and obtained from the Lincoln University Human Ethics Committee for the research methodology, and ethical guidelines formulated with the assistance of the supervisor and assistant supervisor, were adhered to throughout the research.

3.5.1 Ethical Guidelines

The ethical guidelines followed may be briefly summarised as follows:

- All respondents in this study were provided with an information sheet detailing the purpose of the study and giving the researcher's and supervisor's contact details should they have any further queries. (Refer Appendix One)
- Informed consent was gained from all individuals whose views on Maori economic development were being sought by the researcher. The standard consent form designed by the Lincoln University Human Ethics Committee was used for this purpose. (Refer Appendix Two)
- The privacy of all individuals involved in this study was respected, with the anonymity of respondents guaranteed through the way in which the research was structured and the results presented.

- Since “Maori expect some benefits from the research to accrue to them” (Stokes, 1987, p. 121), this research provides benefits to Maori by presenting findings in an appropriate Maori forum. This will ensure that the benefits of the research do not accrue solely to the researcher but are shared with the participants.
- As indicated, the fourteen individuals involved in Maori economic development who were asked to take part in the study were selected in a manner that ensured they were appropriate spokespeople for Maori on this topic (Murchie, 1984). This was achieved through developing a list of potential interviewees in consultation with the principal supervisor, who has an extensive knowledge of the Canterbury Maori community.
- All interviews were conducted according to the tikanga of the respondent and the kawa of the venue where the interview was held.

3.5.2 Community verification of facts and sharing of knowledge

The following process was conducted to enable community verification of the facts reported in this thesis and to share the knowledge gained:

- The final draft of this thesis will be submitted for comment to Te Runanga o Ngai Tahu and the non-iwi organisations whose members participated in this research
- Any changes requested will be negotiated with Te Runanga o Ngai Tahu and the non-iwi organisations
- Agreements and disagreements will be recorded as an addendum to the final document. Any disagreements could form the basis of future research.

3.6 Analysis of Data

At the conclusion of each interview the notes taken by the interviewer were typed up and a transcript of the interview produced. Once all fourteen interviews had been conducted the responses for each question were grouped together. The combined responses to each of the study's seven research questions were then coded to identify common themes and patterns. The process of coding allows the researcher to "differentiate and combine the data you have retrieved and the reflections you make about this information" (Miles & Huberman, 1994, p.56).

Coding in traditional western qualitative research involves reducing data to allow the researcher to produce a conclusion, and often during this process some data is discarded (Coffey & Atkinson, 1996). The individual voices of the various people interviewed become condensed to produce one voice reflecting the thoughts of the majority of the respondents, which then becomes the answer to the researcher's question. As this research was Maori focussed it was felt it should reflect the "worldview" of the participants, a position supported by Murton (1987), who states that "Maori research must identify the Maori worldview" (p.107).

Worldview is a term calqued from the German word *weltanschauung* ("look onto the world") and in English has two meanings. The first is the overall perspective from which one sees and interprets the world, while the second is the collection of beliefs about life and the universe held by an individual or a group (Morris, 1978). A people's worldview therefore determines how they create knowledge and then integrate it into existing schema.

The Maori worldview can be described as an open system in which the spiritual realm interacts with the physical world and vice versa. Myths and legends support a holistic view not only of creation but of time and of peoples (Irwin, 1984). The world according to Maori needs to be viewed as a whole and cannot be understood through being compartmentalised or dissected, since knowledge according to Maori is acquired through taking a holistic approach (Murton, 1987). As Takino (1998) states, “there is no single or privileged truth according to Maori-centred knowing and being” (p. 291).

In analysing the interviewees’ combined responses to each of the study’s seven research questions, therefore, all the themes and patterns identified were acknowledged by the researcher and discussed to produce an answer which incorporated the voice of each individual interviewed. This reflects the Maori view of the holistic nature of knowledge and “the interconnectedness and the sacredness of all things” (Murton, 1987, p.108), and avoids the discarding of minority views in an attempt to produce a single truth based on the views of the majority.

3.7 Delimitations

This study is purely descriptive. Its purpose is not to provide definitive answers to the research goals that were formulated in chapter one, but to gain further insight into the complex issue of Maori economic development through analysis of relevant literature and the thoughts of Maori involved in the process.

3.8 Limitations of this Study

The Maori economic development strategy documents selected for analysis were chosen from a set of documents which were either in the public domain or were personally available to the author.

While the assistance of my mentors was used to select the three documents analysed, it should be acknowledged that other documents may exist which would have been more appropriate to analyse but which the author did not have access to at the time.

As the individuals interviewed all reside within the rohe of Ngai Tahu the application of this study's findings to Maori communities beyond Ngai Tahu's rohe may be limited. The issues discussed in this study, however, relate to the process of economic development and not to its application in any one region. This should ensure that the findings are relevant to any Maori community interested in the process of economic development.

A further limitation could be the manner in which most of the qualitative data was collected. While an interview has the potential to provide much valuable information about the topic being researched the quality of that information depends entirely on the type of interview, the skills of the interviewer and conditions under which the interview was conducted (Coffey & Atkinson, 1996; Putnis & Petelin, 1996).

The researcher who conducted all the interviews in this study has had previous experience in conducting research interviews. All interviewers are of course only human, and as such are subject to mood changes, biases and selective perception of information (Coffey & Atkinson, 1996; Putnis & Petelin, 1996). A good researcher acknowledges these risks and attempts to minimise their impact on the interview process. This can be achieved by avoiding being distracted emotionally or mentally during interviews, and through prior self analysis of biases and selective perceptions of information.

Prior to conducting the interviews the researcher ensured that he had adequately prepared and was feeling relaxed and confident. All the interviews were organised in advance, with only one interview occurring on any given day. This allowed the researcher to prepare emotionally and mentally for each interview, and to organise his time to ensure that each interview was the priority task for that day.

3.9 Conclusion

This study involved three stages of qualitative data collection. The first stage involved a review of relevant literature, which was conducted in two phases. The first phase involved a general review of literature on the process of economic development, in order to gain an understanding of what “economic development” means. In this phase both the meaning of the term “economic development” and what the process may encompass were explored from a western academic perspective. In the second phase, literature discussing “Maori economic development” was reviewed in order to develop a definition of the term.

The second stage involved the analysis of three documents: Whakatapuranga Rua Mano – Generation 2000, Ngai Tahu 2025, and an economic development report prepared for Te Taumutu Runanga.

The third stage of the qualitative data collection involved conducting fourteen unstructured interviews based around seven questions relating to the study’s research objectives. This format was chosen as it was felt it would reveal more valuable data than a structured interview, yet still ensure that each respondent provided answers to the study’s key questions.

The collection of the qualitative data for both stages went smoothly, with a high level of co-operation from the interview subjects who had agreed to take part in this study.

Chapter Four: Analysis of Whakatupuranga Rua Mano – Generation 2000

4.0 Introduction

The previous chapter provided an overview of the study's research design and methodology. This chapter now discusses the results obtained from the analysis of Whakatupuranga Rua Mano – Generation 2000.

4.1 Background to the formulation of Whakatupuranga Rua Mano – Generation 2000

Whakatupuranga Rua Mano – Generation 2000, initiated in 1975 by the Raukawa Marae Trustees, is the tribal development programme of Te Ati Awa ki te Tonga, Ngati Raukawa and Ngati Toarangatira, known collectively as the ART Confederation. The takiwa of the ART Confederation comprises the territory between the Rangitikei River south across Cook Strait to the northern part of the South Island (Raukawa Trustees, 2000).

Te Atiawa who came to the region from Waitara, Taranaki, Ngati Toa who migrated from Kawhia and Ngati Raukawa (and its subtribes) who came from Maungatautari (Cambridge) have had an alliance which pre-dates the arrival of the European (Winiata, 1979, p.2).

The ART Confederation has a history of military and other cooperative ventures prior to the arrival of Europeans (Winiata, 1979, 1987). Following European arrival the Confederation combined their resources with European ideas to establish institutions such as the Rangiatea Church (established in 1849), the Otaki Maori Racing Club (1885), the Otaki Native Boys' School (1908), and the Otaki and Porirua (educational) Trusts (1943).

Another example is Raukawa Marae completed and opened in 1936 by the Confederation to be their “marae matua” (principle marae). All of these institutions, Winiata (1987) states, have served to facilitate the Europeanization of the people of the Confederation.

The Raukawa Marae Trust Board was established by the Native Purposes Act 1936 with the primary purpose of administering Raukawa Marae. The board, comprising sixty-nine members who represented the iwi and hapu of the Confederation, assumed a wider non-statutory role by adopting Whakatupuranga Rua Mano as a strategy for future development (Winiata, 1979; Raukawa Trustees, 2000). The Raukawa Trust Board is now the representative body of the iwi and hapu of the Confederation, and tasked with administering the Confederation accordingly (www.twor.ac.nz, 2004).

4.2 The Formulation of Whakatupuranga Rua Mano – Generation 2000

By the early 1970s, the people of the ART Confederation were concerned about the failure of their children to succeed academically, and the lack of transmission of Raukawa-tanga, Toarangatira-tanga and Te Ati Awa-tanga to their children (Winiata, 1979; Raukawa Trustees, 2000). The loss to their children of aspects of their culture was seen as a result of the lack of instruction of Raukawa-tanga, Toarangatira-tanga and Te Ati Awa-tanga in the formal education system, and of the disintegration of marae communities and their values (Winiata, 1979).

Our people were well aware of the issues and concerns that faced us. Every day they were reminded of the very nature of the issues. Relatively poor educational achievements by our children was [*sic*] a matter of concern. An equally important dream that went hand in hand in closing this gap was to ensure that the children of the rohe received instruction in Ruakawa-tanga, Toarangatira-tanga and Te Ati Awa-tanga (Raukawa Trustees, 2000, p.5).

In 1975 the Trustees of Raukawa Marae began to think about planning for the twenty-first century as a response to such issues and concerns. The programme Whakatupuranga Rua Mano – Generation 2000 was the result. The main architect of the programme was Whatarangi Winiata, who had recently returned from the United States having completed his doctorate in the fields of finance and business management (Raukawa Trustees, 2000). As the Raukawa Trustees state, “he not only had the vision but also the ability to write and conceptualise the issues that were expressed on the marae and on the streets” (2000, p.5).

4.3 The Strategy of Whakatupuranga Rua Mano – Generation 2000

The overall objective of the programme was conceptualised as being to assist the iwi and hapu of the Confederation to prepare for the twenty-first century (Winiata, 1979), and the programme itself was based on three dreams the trustees had for people of the Confederation (Raukawa Trustees, 2000).

The first dream was that schools would assist in socialising the Confederation’s tamariki into their cultural heritage and that decision-making in New Zealand would be reflective of Maori values and aspirations. The second dream was that the traditions of Raukawa-tanga, Toarangatira-tanga and Te Ati Awa-tanga would be revived and maintained. The third dream was that by the year 2000 between 20 and 30 members of the Confederation would graduate in the fields of accountancy, agriculture, architecture, dentistry, engineering, secondary school teaching, law, medicine, ministry, veterinary science and professional music.

These dreams were the starting point for what were conceptualised as ‘missions’ by the Raukawa Trustees because they were seeking to convince and convert Pakeha and their own people (Winiata, 1979). The three ‘missions’ started by the Raukawa Trustees are summarised by Winiata (1987) as follows:

- (a) Pakeha mission: assisting Pakeha people to understand Maori concerns,

(b) Mission to the people of the Confederation: teaching members of the Confederation their own matauranga.

(c) Education mission: to encourage young people of the Confederation to advance their intellectual and/or manual capacities and skills, and to consider a professional career

These missions are considered under section 4.4.1

The trustees in 1975 proceeded on faith, believing that action was needed and that their efforts would prove beneficial (Winiata, 1979). In the four years following the commencement of Whakatupuranga Rua Mano two major sub-objectives for the confederation for the year 2000 emerged:

- i) To close the gap in educational accomplishments between the tamariki and mokopuna of Raukawa, Toa and Atiawa and of the rest of the community.
- ii) To rejuvenate the many marae in the confederation.

Four years after implementing the programme the trustees anticipated that other sub-objectives and the full meaning of being prepared for the twenty-first century would emerge as they continued their explorations (Winiata, 1979). While not conceptualised by the trustees as an economic development plan, Whakatupuranga Rua Mano sought to bring about change in factors that affect an individual's and a community's economic wellbeing.

Investing in an individual's level of educational achievement improves that person's employability, increases their income potential, and is likely to lead to more meaningful employment. Strengthening the cultural and political institutions of a community allows that community to better manage its resources, resulting in more productive use of those resources.

4.4 The Implementation of Whakatapuranga Rua Mano – Generation 2000

In implementing Whakatapuranga Rua Mano the Raukawa trustees learnt from doing. Objectives and sub-objectives of the programme were refined, and principles defined as constraints and other elements in the development process were identified (Winiata, 1979). Most activity was in the form of hui held under the kaupapa of one of the three missions. However at a hui in December 1978 the Raukawa Trustees adopted a proposal directed at furthering Whakatapuranga Rua Mano which established the Raukawa Trustees' Centre of Learning which later became Te Wananga o Raukawa.

4.4.1 The Missions

(a) Pakeha Mission

This mission was driven by the Raukawa Trustees' belief that gaining the support of Pakeha was crucial for achieving the Confederation's dream that schools would assist in socialising the Confederation's tamariki into their cultural heritage, and that decision-making in New Zealand would become reflective of Maori values and aspirations.

In Maori minds and hearts the Pakeha people have veto power in New Zealand decision making. Resource allocations are determined by Pakeha people and their decisions reflect their values, preferences and attitudes (Winiata, 1979, p.4).

Winiata (1979) states that the objectives of the Pakeha mission were to convince Pakeha that:

- i) The Maori language is a national treasure and the gateway to Maori culture, especially Maori literature. However, the Maori people are not the sole trustees of the language which for its survival will require a commitment to this end from the nation.
- ii) There are aspects of Maoritanga which, potentially, are of great value to New Zealand society such as whanaungatanga, the tangihanga and the Maori language.

- iii) The promotion of Maori institutions must be encouraged as a source of inspiration for Maori development and as a basis of training for Maori and Pakeha people.
- iv) Pakeha as principle decision makers, even if they reject things Maori as having value for themselves, must encourage and promote Maori language and Maori institutions for Maori people.

The Raukawa Trustees believed that the Pakeha Mission would be beneficial, but worried whether it might be a never-ending task beyond their resources even with a focus only on Pakeha people living in the Confederation rohe (Winiata, 1979). This realisation became a reality in the early 1980s when the decision was made to abandon the Pakeha Mission to concentrate on the other two missions working with the people of the Confederation (Raukawa Trustees, 2000).

(b) The Raukawa-, Toa-, Atiawa-tanga Mission

In 1975 the decision making principles of the Confederation had not been formalised. As the Raukawa Trustees comment:

While there were no guiding principles in 1975, nor were there any major hui to establish any, what did emerge finally were suggestions that reflected the thinking and the major dreams at that time (Raukawa Trustees, 2000, p.8).

The trustees felt that Whakatupuranga Rua Mano could be used to identify the principles by which the Confederation should govern itself as well as providing a way to transmit the traditional knowledge and beliefs of the various iwi that formed the Confederation. As a result of this, the mission had two elements:

- i) Identifying the principles by which decisions for the Confederation are made, and by whom:
- ii) Transmitting existing knowledge and beliefs

The first element was achieved through hui held as part of Whakatupuranga Rua Mano – Generation 2000 which provided a mandate for the following principles to guide decisions made by the Confederation:

➤ Principle One.

- That the marae is our principle home and, as such, it must be maintained and thoroughly respected. It is the place where distinguished manuhiri are to be extended hospitality and where extended family meet for significant events.

➤ Principle Two.

- That the language, as a deeply treasured taonga left by the Maori ancestors of New Zealand, is to be protected from further decline and our activities must guarantee revival.

➤ Principle Three.

- That the people are our wealth and that their development and retention is of the utmost importance.

➤ Principle Four.

- That we will strive to govern ourselves. (That all decisions of significance to the Confederation and its people be subject to initiatives or responses from and close scrutiny by the Trustees or their representatives.)

Source: (Raukawa Trustees, 2000)

The second element of the Raukawa-, Toa-, Atiawa-tanga Mission focusing on the transmission of existing knowledge and beliefs was in response to various issues identified in 1975, outlined in Whakatapuranga Rua Mano – Generation 2000 – Celebrating 25 Years:

- The small number of people on the Confederation's marae with the ability to perform all essential ceremonial activities pertaining to the marae
- The small number of people either learning or speaking the reo
- Limited knowledge amongst the iwi of the Confederation of their history, waiata, traditions, kawa and rohe resources

Winiata (1979) states that existing knowledge and beliefs was considered by the Raukawa Trustees to encompass whakapapa, history, waiata, haka, other literature, kawa, traditions, language and resource management. This mission has been very successful in preserving existing Raukawa-tanga, Toa-tanga and Atiawa-tanga through the transmission of such knowledge at wananga held on marae throughout the Confederation (Raukawa Trustees, 2000).

“Many have willingly attended classes during the week and have been enthusiastically engaged on weekends in giving life and action to Raukawa-tanga, Toa-tanga or Atiawa-tanga” (Winiata, 1979, p.6).

(c) The Education Mission

This mission was primarily directed at the young people of the Confederation to encourage them to consider at least one professional career, through having them reflect upon the advantages and disadvantages of this course of action (Winiata, 1979). As part of this mission, the Raukawa Trustees developed an education strategy which identified some well-known professions and set goals specifying the number of people the Confederation wanted to have qualified in each profession by 1990 or 2000.

These goals for the Confederation were then promoted among its youth. The professions identified, the number of Ngati Raukawa, Ngati Toa and Te Atiawa who qualified in 1979, and the goals of the Confederation are set out on the next page in Table 4.1.

Table 4.1 Overview of the Confederation's Education Strategy

Profession	Qualified in 1979	Goals
Accountancy	2	10 by 1985; 20 by 1990
Agriculture	1	5 by 1985; 10 by 1990
Architecture	2	5 by 1990; 10 by 2000
Dentistry	-	5 by 1990; 10 by 2000
Engineering	1	5 by 1990; 10 by 2000
High School Teaching	5	15 by 1985; 30 by 1990
Law	1	10 by 1990; 20 by 2000
Medicine	2	10 by 1990; 20 by 2000
Ministry	1	10 by 1985; 20 by 2000
Professional Music	1	5 by 1985; 10 by 1990
Veterinary Science	1	5 by 1990; 10 by 2000

Source: Adapted from Winiata (1979)

The education strategy sought to improve the educational attainment of the people of the Confederation, one of Whakatupuranga Rua Mano's major sub-objectives. Achieving higher levels of educational attainment was seen by the Ruakawa Trustees as crucial in ensuring that the Confederation had the necessary knowledge and skills to make well considered decisions not only for itself but also so the Confederation could contribute to major decision making at a national level.

The trustees believe that educational attainment is a key factor in commanding the respect and influencing the decisions of important national institutions most of which are directed by Pakeha people (Winiata, 1979, p.7).

As part of this mission, four-day Young People's Hui (Hui Rangatahi) were held three times a year to direct the thoughts of rangatahi towards higher levels of academic endeavour. Many of the young people who attended these hui between 1975 and 2000 are now qualified professionals who play an important part in the everyday affairs of the Confederation (Raukawa Trustees, 2000).

4.4.2 Te Wananga-o-Raukawa

At a hui in December 1978 the Raukawa Marae Trustees adopted nine proposals, some of which were specifically directed at furthering the Whakatupuranga Rua Mano – Generation 2000 programme (Winiata, 1979).

Proposal number one was the establishment in Otaki of the Raukawa Trustee's Centre of Learning which Winiata (1979) considered crucial in order to create a suitable institution to assume responsibility for the Whakatupuranga Rua Mano – Generation 2000 programme. The adoption of proposal number one led to the Raukawa Marae Trustees in April 1981 establishing Te Wananga-o-Raukawa on the site of the former Otaki Native Boys' School under the following kaupapa:

For the advancement of knowledge and for the dissemination and maintenance of knowledge through teaching and research
(www.twor.ac.nz, 2004).

The wananga received little support from outside the Confederation in its early stages. In the late 1970s and early 1980s, various proposals were presented to the Crown, which generated favourable responses but little actual assistance (www.twor.ac.nz, 2004).

Despite this, the development of a wananga was given top priority by the Raukawa Marae Trustees and in 1984 Te Wananga-o-Raukawa became an incorporated body. In 1993, the Crown recognised Te Wananga-o-Raukawa as a "wananga" under the Education Amendment Act 1990 (Wai 718).

Te Wananga-o-Raukawa offers one-year diplomas and three-year bachelor degrees in health studies, iwi and hapu studies, Maori laws and philosophy, administrative studies, design and art, hapu development, and matauranga Maori (Wai 718). All programmes are accredited with the New Zealand Qualifications Authority and Maori language studies are a compulsory aspect of every course at Te Wananga-o-Raukawa (www.twor.ac.nz, 2004). The wananga also runs masters programmes in Maori and management and in matauranga Maori.

The wairua of Whakatupuranga Rua Mano – Generation 2000 programmes now resides with Te Wananga-o-Raukawa whose aim is to contribute to the further development of the three iwi of the Confederation and of the wider community. The wananga sees itself achieving this aim through educational programmes that produce bicultural professionals, whose activities will enhance the quality of decision-making on issues affecting the well-being of both the people of the Confederation and New Zealand society.

The extent of Te Wananga-o-Raukawa's commitment to the kaupapa of Whakatupuranga Rua Mano is evidenced by the statement:

In 2001, Te Wānanga-o-Raukawa had 1375 students. All students study te reo Māori, iwi and hapū studies and computer studies as compulsory components of whatever specialist programme they choose to pursue. Students must attend three language immersion hui each year. Te Wānanga-o-Raukawa is a smoke-free, alcohol-free, drug-free campus.

(www.twor.ac.nz, 2004)

Te Wananga-o-Raukawa is a centre of higher learning devoted to the world of Maori knowledge (Matauranga Maori), and models itself on the traditional Maori institution of higher learning, the whare wananga.

The learning imparted at the wananga is based upon knowledge and wisdom inherited from the tipuna of the Confederation. The wananga takes a holistic approach to teaching and learning and programmes are structured around group learning or 'hui' as opposed to individual based learning.

The current success of Te Wananga-o-Raukawa would not, however, have been possible without the support of committed, qualified individuals with vision who took responsibility for starting this institution.

That their vision succeeded, and continues to expand and succeed, is, in great measure, a tribute to those founders and to the dedication and selfless support of a significant number of kaiawhina, who, without reward, have provided expert tuition to the students of Te Wananga-o-Raukawa ever since (Wai 718).

4.5 Summary of Whakatupuranga Rua Mano – Generation 2000

The programme Whakatupuranga Rua Mano – Generation 2000 was a response to various issues and concerns held by the people of the ART Confederation in the early 1970s, about the Confederation's future. By 1975 there existed a general consensus among the people of the Confederation that aspects of their current situation were undesirable and needed to be addressed to create a better future. This supports the position of Goulet (1995) that the process of economic development is initiated by a value judgement being made that the current state of a community is less desirable than a future state that is capable of being created.

The institution that took up the challenge of creating this better future was the Raukawa Marae Trust Board whose trustees viewed planning for the twenty-first century as a way of addressing the issues and concerns expressed by the people of the Confederation.

While the Raukawa Marae Trust Board was established by the Native Purposes Act 1936 it was not a governing structure imposed upon the people of the Confederation. As noted previously, Raukawa Marae was an institution created by the people of the Confederation to be their “marae matua” (principle marae) and the Raukawa Trustees were and still are perceived by the people of the Confederation to be a institution possessing legitimate authority through being the administrators of Raukawa Marae. The Raukawa Trustees in formulating Whakatupuranga Rua Mano – Generation 2000 were exercising tino rangatiratanga, providing direction for their people and seeking to improve their material and spiritual condition.

By adhering to Raukawa-tanga, Toa-tanga and Atiawa-tanga the board achieved as a governing structure a high degree of what Connell (2000) refers to as ‘cultural match’, a factor conferring legitimate authority. Both Staudt (1991) and Connell (2000) emphasize the importance of political institutions being perceived by the community they seek to represent as possessing legitimate authority in order to be able to successfully initiate and implement an economic development programme.

In planning for the year 2000 the Raukawa Trustees utilised the expertise of Whatarangi Winiata who became the main architect of their development programme. Winiata was able to synthesis from the various concerns expressed by the people of the Confederation the key issues in written form (Raukawa Trustees, 2000). These key issues became the basis of what the Raukawa Trustees labelled three ‘dreams’ that the people of the Confederation had for their future. It was from these three dreams that the vision of Whakatupuranga Rua Mano was born. Whatarangi Winiata then took on the role of a transformational leader championing this vision within the Confederation (Raukawa Trustees, 2000).

The Raukawa Trustees in implementing their economic development strategy took what Mosse (1998) referred to as a process approach. The Ruakawa Trustees learnt from doing. They expected to have to refine the objectives and sub-objectives of their plan in response to a complex wider social and institutional environment whose realities they were still in the process of discovering (Winiata, 1979). The Raukawa Trustees were aware that their environment would impose constraints on what they hoped to achieve with Whakatupuranga Rua Mano, a reality outlined by Korten (1980) and Uphoff (1992) and Mosse (1998), who recognised the effect of the wider environment on the development process.

The three dreams of Whakatupuranga Rua Mano became conceptualised as 'missions' by the Raukawa Trustees because they were seeking to convince and convert Pakeha and their own people (Winiata, 1979). Educating people was the focus of Whakatupuranga Rua Mano, both Pakeha living within the boundaries of the Confederation's rohe and the people of the Confederation.

Pakeha were targeted as they were viewed by the trustees as the principal decision makers in New Zealand, possessing the power of veto (Winiata, 1979). Pakeha were educated in the potential value of Maoritanga for themselves if they chose to embrace it and for Maori who they should encourage to practice it. Pakeha were seen as potential partners in revitalising the Confederation's tikanga, the creation of bicultural institutions and improved educational success for the Confederation's tamariki (Winiata, 1979; Raukawa Trustees, 2000).

The people of the Confederation were targeted by two missions. The Raukawa-, Toa-, Atiawa-tanga Mission sought to educate the people of the Confederation in the principles by which decisions were made by their own governing body. This mission also taught existing knowledge and beliefs. The Education Mission sought to encourage the Confederation's tamariki to consider the possibility of entering a profession as a career.

The Pakeha Mission was abandoned in the early 1980s when the decision was made by the trustees to concentrate on the other two missions working with the people of the Confederation (Raukawa Trustees, 2000). The trustees felt that the Pakeha Mission, even with only a focus on Pakeha living within the Confederation's rohe, would be a never ending task beyond the resources of the Confederation to successfully complete.

The kaupapa of the other two missions is now entrusted to Te Wananga-o-Raukawa, a learning institution established by the Raukawa Marae Trustees to further the vision of the Whakatupuranga Rua Mano – Generation 2000 programme (Winiata, 1979). Te Wananga-o-Raukawa is now contributing positively to the Confederation and the wider community by producing skilled bicultural graduates.

Chapter Five: Analysis of Te Taumutu Runanga Economic Development Report – 2002

5.0 Introduction

Having examined the iwi initiated Maori development strategy known as Whakatupuranga Mano – Generation 2000 in chapter four, this chapter discusses the results obtained from the analysis of Te Taumutu Runanga Economic Development Report – 2002.

5.1 Background to the commissioning of Te Taumutu Runanga Economic Development Report

On 19 June 2001, the researcher was invited by his thesis supervisor Associate Professor Hirini Matunga to attend a meeting of the Economic Feasibility Working Group of Te Taumutu Runanga, the governing body of Ngai Te Ruahikihiki Ki Taumutu. The purpose of this meeting was to discuss how best to utilise Capacity Building funding received from Te Puni Kokiri. The working group decided that the funding could be best used to pay for the commissioning of what it termed an overall economic development scoping study covering potential investment areas. This report was to be prepared by the end of August 2001. In prior hui the working group had identified economic activities they felt Te Taumutu Runanga should consider engaging in through the establishment of a commercial venture. These economic activities were:

- Arts and crafts
- Farming
- Fishing
- Forestry
- Leisure and Tourism

During the hui on 19 June a sixth economic activity, education, was proposed by a member of the working group as an additional area that Te Taumutu Runanga should consider. The working group accepted this suggestion.

At this time, the Economic Feasibility Working Group viewed economic development involving their hapu as establishing a commercial venture that would engage in one of these economic activities. The working group viewed such a venture as a vehicle by which various strategic goals of Te Taumutu Runanga could be achieved either directly or indirectly.

The working group believed that a commercial venture would directly support Te Taumutu Runanga's strategic goal of enhancing Ngai Te Ruahikihiki Ki Taumutu's economic base through increasing the value of existing hapu assets managed by the runanga, and providing an increase in income to both the runanga and Ngai Te Ruahikihiki Ki Taumutu whanau. The runanga's income would increase through profits generated by the commercial venture, while individual Ngai Te Ruahikihiki Ki Taumutu whanau incomes would increase through having members employed by the commercial venture and receiving wages.

Indirect support of the runanga's strategic goals would come from using some of the profits generated by a commercial enterprise to fund other hapu activities. It was considered that profits could be channelled into the development and enhancement of Ngai Te Ruahikihiki Ki Taumutu Marae and programmes to develop the educational, health and cultural wellbeing of the members of Te Taumutu Runanga.

Agreement on the economic activities that Te Taumutu Runanga should consider engaging in resulted in discussion on how to identify which activity or activities was or were most appropriate. The outcome of this discussion was the development of a list of nine criteria against which to measure any potential commercial venture the runanga might be considering. These criteria were:

1. Establishment timeframe for venture (no longer than 1 year)
2. Capital requirement (\$500,000 maximum)
3. Time before return generated (maximum of 2 years)
4. Profit potential/rate of return (ideal 8-11%)
5. Level of demand/market (past, present & future) for product produced
6. Match of hapu/runanga resources with requirements of venture
7. Cultural values (level of impact on these)
8. Social impact (does the venture promote community development/strengthen the identity of Ngai Te Ruahikihiki Ki Taumutu)
9. Employment potential (ideal being long term/fulltime employment)

In determining these criteria there was no attempt made to weight them, and the implicit assumption was that they were all equally valid measures of the desirability of a commercial venture. The working group did however want to formulate measures that recognised more than just the financial benefits of a commercial venture. Criteria one through six were issues that any prudent commercial organisation would consider before making an investment decision, and related to management, finance and marketing issues. Criteria seven through nine were non-commercial issues not generally factored into commercial investment decisions but which sought to recognise the social costs and benefits that economic development can impose on a community.

Te Taumutu Runanga in their Strategic Plan 2000 had outlined the hapu's key cultural values and the Economic Feasibility Working Group felt it was important to consider the effect that the operations of any commercial enterprise would have on their implementation.

It was recognised that the operations of a commercial enterprise entered into by the runanga could either reflect and support its cultural values or contradict and erode them. The working group stated explicitly that commercial enterprises which required the runanga to compromise its values should not be entered into.

The Economic Feasibility Working Group also felt a commercial enterprise could have a positive social impact on Ngai Te Ruahikihiki Ki Taumutu, fostering community development and strengthening the hapu's identity. Commercial ventures that could be based at Ngai Te Ruahikihiki Ki Taumutu Marae or conducted in close proximity to the marae were viewed as desirable as they would provide an economic rationale for people to live and work at Taumutu. The constant presence of people was seen as a prerequisite for creating a vibrant living kainga. The success of a commercial enterprise was also seen as something Ngai Te Ruahikihiki Ki Taumutu could celebrate as a hapu and which could act as a focus point for the combined efforts of the hapu, strengthening an individual whanau sense of belonging to Ngai Te Ruahikihiki Ki Taumutu and encouraging greater participation in the marae and runanga life and activities.

The last criterion adopted by the working group, the employment potential of a commercial venture, was also formulated to support the runanga's strategic objective of bringing Ngai Te Ruahikihiki Ki Taumutu whanau back to participate in the marae and runanga life and activities. Full time long-term employment was seen as crucial in enabling Ngai Te Ruahikihiki Ki Taumutu whanau to reside permanently in the Taumutu takiwa and to therefore be present to participate more fully in hapu activities. Employment opportunities centred on or around the marae of Taumutu were viewed as especially desirable as they could justify the development of papakainga housing at Taumutu.

The Economic Feasibility Working Group saw the purpose of an overall economic development scoping study as being a tool that would allow Te Taumutu Runanga to identify commercial ventures within various economic activities with the best match to the working group's criteria, which could then be researched further. Reflected in the working group's criteria was the implicit assumption that the cultural and social effects of any potential commercial enterprise could be quantified and measured.

The working group's approach to economic development at this stage was what Mosse (1998) would term a blueprint approach. The members of the working group had in prior hui identified economic activities they felt Te Taumutu Runanga should consider participating in through the establishment of a commercial venture. This commercial enterprise was conceptualised as a project which would be in a specified form (known inputs, activities, outputs and costs) and be completed within a fixed time-frame.

Minutes of the meeting were then prepared and distributed to the members of the working group and the researcher in late June 2001. However, no further progress was made at that time towards the commissioning of an overall economic development scoping study that covered potential investment areas.

In 2002 the researcher enrolled concurrently in a Graduate Diploma in Maori Planning and a Master of Applied Science. A requirement of the graduate diploma was the completion of a work integrated learning unit, equivalent to a full semester's workload. This involved a student working under the supervision of an academic staff member with a Maori organisation on a project, the scope of which would be negotiated by the student and the organisation.

The researcher's project supervisor, Associate Professor Hirini Matunga, suggested that he approach Te Taumutu Runanga with the proposal that the researcher prepare an economic development plan for the runanga.

After discussing this proposal with the supervisor the runanga agreed to the researcher preparing an economic development plan, with the scope of the plan to be discussed at a further runanga meeting.

5.2 Negotiating the Scope of the Plan with Te Taumutu Runanga

On 16 July 2002, the researcher met with Te Taumutu Runanga and presented an initial one-page economic development plan outline for consideration by the runanga (Refer figure 5.1, on p.103). The researcher at this point conceptualised economic development as a change or transformational process:

Economic development is a process that attempts to move a community from an undeveloped or underdeveloped state to a more advantageous or “developed” one. This movement is achieved by first commencing and then institutionalising changes within the economy of that community, with the process initiated by a value judgement being made, often by individuals outside the community, that the current state of the community is less desirable than a future state which is capable of being created (O’Sullivan, 2002, p.1).

In developing this definition the researcher was influenced by the work of Schrijvers (1993) and Mosse (1998) who both conceptualised development as a change process. The idea that development is initiated by a value judgement is a viewpoint outlined by Staudt (1991) and Goulet, (1995). The process set out in the economic development plan outline was heavily influenced by three sources of information; namely, the work of Winiata (1987), Staudt (1991) and the minutes of the 19 June 2001 meeting of the Economic Feasibility Working Group of Te Taumutu Runanga. The minutes of this meeting set out nine criteria against which any potential investments should be measured, and economic activities the working group felt the runanga should consider participating in through the establishment of a commercial venture.

The work of Winiata (1987) was influential in convincing the researcher that the first step in developing an Economic Development plan for Ngai Te Ruahikihiki Ki Taumutu required the identification of their resources or assets. The sixth criterion of the Economic Feasibility Working Group also required this information in order to determine the match of hapu/runanga resources with the requirements of any commercial venture being considered.

In categorising the assets of Ngai Te Ruahikihiki Ki Taumutu that were being managed by Te Taumutu Runanga the researcher made the somewhat arbitrary decision to separate them into one or the other of two categories: human and non-human. In developing this system of categorising the hapu's assets the researcher was influenced by Winiata's (1987) system of quantifying hapu, iwi or runanga resources.

Human assets were conceptualised as the skills and/or knowledge possessed by the people of Ngai Te Ruahikihiki Ki Taumutu. Non-human assets were further categorised as being cultural, whenua or financial. Cultural assets were defined as tangible items of cultural significance to Ngai Te Ruahikihiki Ki Taumutu that were owned by the runanga. Whenua was defined as blocks of land that the runanga owned outright or had an interest in. Financial assets were cash and term deposits in the name of the runanga.

Parallel to the process of identifying and quantifying Ngai Te Ruahikihiki Ki Taumutu's assets was the identification of their key cultural values. This step was considered by the researcher to be of equal importance to the identification and quantification of Ngai Te Ruahikihiki Ki Taumutu's assets because of the relationship between economic development and culture. As articulated by Korten (1980) and Uphoff (1992), the researcher shared with the Economic Feasibility Working Group of Te Taumutu Runanga the opinion that economic development initiatives had the potential to affect positively or negatively the cultural values of Ngai Te Ruahikihiki Ki Taumutu.

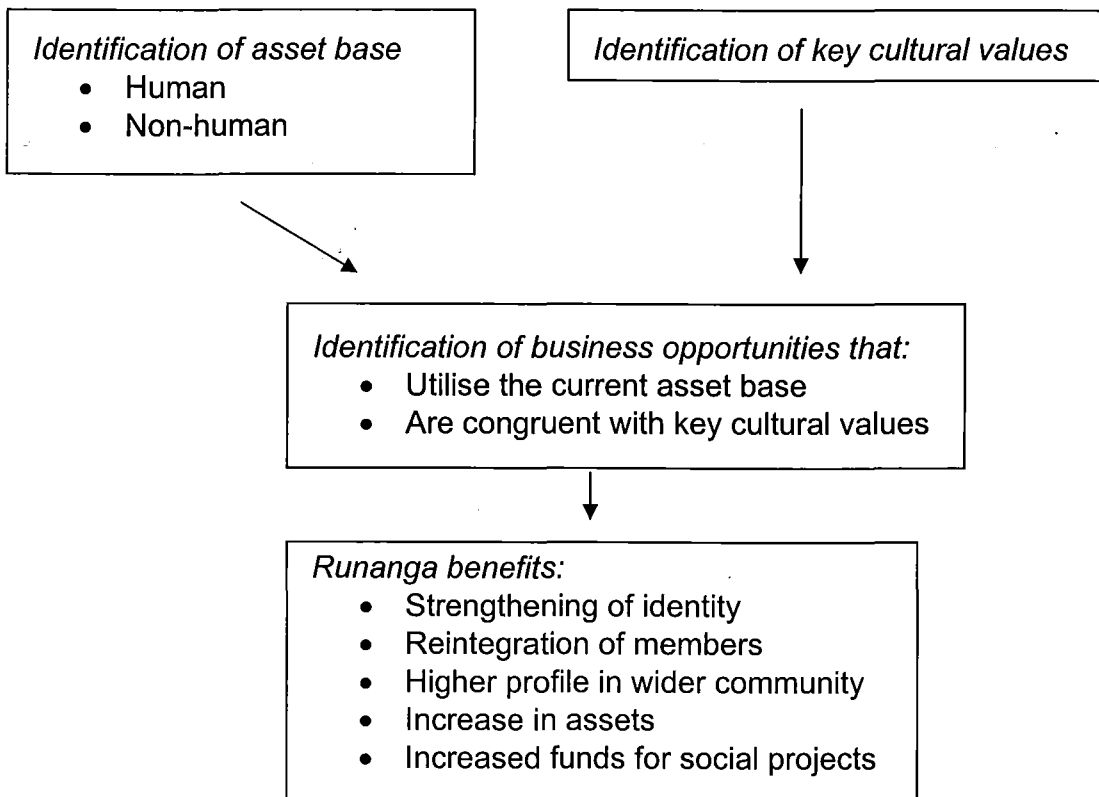
The protection of a society's key cultural values first requires that society to identify them and then explicitly express them in a way that can be conveyed to others. Cultural values are invisible and only the actions they inspire and encourage are visible, so that culture by its very nature is implicit as opposed to explicit. A society that wishes to protect its cultural values therefore needs to make a conscious effort to identify them and then explicitly express them. The researcher was fortunate in that Ngai Te Ruahikihiki Ki Taumutu had already gone through this process and identified their key cultural values, outlining them in Te Taumutu Runanga Strategic Plan 2000.

While the Economic Feasibility Working Group did not weight the measures dealing with social or cultural impacts as being more important than any of the other measures, statements made at the 19 June 2001 meeting made it clear that the social and cultural impacts of a commercial venture were a very important consideration.

The second step of the process set out in the economic development plan outline presented to Te Taumutu Runanga was the identification of business opportunities that utilised its current asset base and were congruent with its key cultural values. In carrying out this step, the researcher first examined commercial ventures involved in economic activities that were identified as potentially suitable by the 19 June 2001 meeting of the Economic Feasibility Working Group of Te Taumutu Runanga.

The researcher believed that this two-step process would result in development that would deliver the benefits outlined in figure 5.1.

Figure 5.1 Economic Development Plan Outline



On 22 July 2001 the researcher submitted a more detailed outline of the proposed process to be undertaken in order to prepare Te Taumutu Runanga's Economic Development plan for approval. This outline discussed the preparation of the economic development report as a three-stage process involving the identification of:

1. The runanga's asset base. (As part of this process of identification and quantification it was suggested the runanga might wish to create asset registers)
2. The runanga's cultural values
3. Business ventures that utilise the runanga's asset base and are congruent with its cultural values

As part of the submission, a request was made to the runanga for secondary data and approval for the collection of primary data. The runanga was also asked to consider:

- Whether secondary data on non-human assets exist, and whether access to these data could be arranged for the researcher.
- The most appropriate method for collecting primary data on the skills, abilities and qualifications of members of Ngai Te Ruahikihiki Ki Taumutu.
- Whether the whakapapa list for Ngai Te Ruahikihiki Ki Taumutu provided by Ngai Tahu Development could be used as a mailing list for a questionnaire collecting data on the skills, abilities and qualifications of Ngai Te Ruahikihiki Ki Taumutu whanau.
- Whether a questionnaire could be sent to each individual who could whakapapa to Ngai Te Ruahikihiki Ki Taumutu, or one to each household.
- Whether funding exists that the charitable trust/runanga could access to pay for the printing and distribution of a questionnaire.
- Whether the charitable trust/runanga wished to use as the foundation of its economic development plan the five key cultural values outlined in Te Taumutu Runanga Strategic Plan 2000.

Te Taumutu Runanga responded to these issues by first affirming that the five key cultural values outlined in Te Taumutu Runanga Strategic Plan 2000 should also be the key cultural values considered as part of the economic development plan. The runanga also provided the researcher with a point of contact in the hapu for organising access to existing secondary data on the non-human assets of Ngai Te Ruahikihiki Ki Taumutu that were managed by the runanga.

The runanga also gave approval for the researcher to develop a skills, abilities and qualifications questionnaire subject to the runanga's final approval. The issue of how the questionnaire would be distributed and who would pay for its printing and distribution was not finalised until a later date.

5.3 Research Methodology of Report

Following the 22 July 2001 meeting, the researcher began the process of collecting the data required to write the economic development report for Te Taumutu Runanga. Data collection was facilitated by academic staff at the Centre for Maori and Indigenous Planning and Development at Lincoln University, and Te Taumutu Runanga. Without their guidance this research would not have been possible. The researcher followed Smith's (1992) "tiaki" or "mentor" model, where Maori authorities facilitate the research process.

The research process for creating the required report involved the collection and analysis of both secondary and primary data. The secondary data consisted of documents published by Te Taumutu Runanga, Te Runanga o Ngai Tahu, Te Puni Kokiri, Banks Peninsula District Council, Selwyn District Council and other organisations.

Secondary Data – Key Sources in Alphabetical Order

- Banks Peninsula District Council District Plan (provided information on the zoning of whenua owned by Te Taumutu, and permissible activities).
- Selwyn District Council District Plan (provided information on the zoning of whenua owned by Te Taumutu, and permissible activities).

- Te Taumutu Runanga Strategic Plan 2000 (provided the strategic direction of Ngati Moki and outlined key cultural values).
- Te Taumutu Runanga Annual Report, July 2001 – June 2002 (provided the financial details of Te Taumutu Runanga).
- Te Taumutu Runanga Natural Resource Management Plan 2002 (provided information on the takiwa of Ngati Moki, and resource management policy).

Primary Data – Key Sources

- Interview with runanga office manager to collect data on Te Taumutu Runanga's non-human assets.
- Correspondence with runanga executive members on Te Taumutu Runanga's non-human assets.
- Skill questionnaire administered to Te Taumutu Runanga to identify skills and/or knowledge present within the runanga that could be utilised in implementing initiatives suggested by the economic development strategy.

5.4 Discussion of the Economic Development Process Outlined in Te Taumutu Runanga Economic Development Report

The economic development process outlined in the final report for Te Taumutu Runanga (Refer figure 5.2, p. 113) differs from the process first proposed and outlined in figure 5.1. The changes in figure 5.2 reflect discussions with runanga members and ideas gained from further reading of the literature on economic development.

The final economic development process approved by the runanga began with the need for strategic planning and the identification of the runanga's strategic direction. This step required Ngai Te Ruahikihiki Ki Taumutu to review their current situation, reflect upon what they wanted for themselves and their children in the future, and then decide how as a community they could achieve this vision. Te Taumutu Runanga had already engaged in this process, producing Te Taumutu Runanga Strategic Plan 2000. This document outlines the runanga's vision statement, and included six strategic goals Te Taumutu Runanga has set itself to achieve. Integrating the process of economic development with the formulation of a strategic plan makes it possible to ensure that the economic development strategy is guided by the values of the community and supports the vision and goals set out in the community's strategic plan. Being able to specify goals is one of the four steps Winiata (1987) states that iwi and hapu planning requires those involved being willing and able to do.

The second step was the creation of a structure to oversee the economic development process that possesses a community mandate, is adequately resourced and has appropriate systems and controls in place. The need for a body to co-ordinate the process of economic development for Ngai Te Ruahikihiki Ki Taumutu was implicitly understood by both the researcher and Te Taumutu Runanga in the initial stages of this project and so was not included in figure 5.1.

As Te Taumutu Runanga had already established an Economic Feasibility Working Group and provided it with a mandate there seemed no need to explicitly identify the body or institution that would be responsible for implementing any economic development plan of Te Taumutu Runanga as this function would be a logical extension of that group's current purpose.

The need to explicitly state as part of the process of economic development that an appropriate structure should be created to oversee the process was a conclusion that the researcher came to after reading the work of Staudt (1991), Schrijvers (1993), Wolfe (1996), Casson & Godley (2000) and Cornell (2000). Staudt (1991) and Schrijvers (1993) discuss the way in which institutions can impose measures of success of an economic development programme on a community, often attempting to achieve goals that are not important to the community they are seeking to help.

According to Wolfe (1996) and Casson & Godley (2000), institutions not sharing the same cultural perspective as the communities they are working for may attempt changes that disrupt or harm that community's existing cultural, social, political or economic structure.

Cornell (2000) emphasised that the success of any change, attempted as part of an economic development programme, is dependent on the degree of legitimate authority the institution is seen to possess, which is influenced by the degree of "cultural match" between the institution and the community it is meant to be representing (Cornell, 2000, Staudt, 1991). Institutions such as Te Taumutu possess legitimate authority and so find it easier to gain the support of the community they are working with when attempting to initiate and direct economic development projects.

The importance of ensuring an economic development institution is adequately resourced and has appropriate systems and controls in place were issues raised by a runanga member who had extensive experience working on various tribal committees. It therefore became important to acknowledge that the Economic Feasibility Working Group had a mandate from their community to act as agents on their behalf, through being a committee formed by Te Taumutu Charitable Trust, part of the political structure of Ngai Te Ruahikihiki Ki Taumutu whanui. The need for adequate funding and the development of appropriate systems and controls were also issues that the researcher felt needed to be explicitly stated as part of the process.

The third step of the economic development process for Te Taumutu Runanga involved two parallel processes: the identification of the runanga's asset base, and key cultural values. The researcher was aided in the process of identifying Ngai Te Ruahikihiki Ki Taumutu's key cultural values by the runanga's decision that the five key cultural values outlined in Te Taumutu Runanga Strategic Plan 2000 should also be the key cultural values considered as part of the economic development plan.

The identification and quantification of the runanga's assets was a more complex process. The runanga possessed no formal data on the skills, abilities, and qualifications collectively possessed by the hapu, and it was recognised that information known personally by runanga members about other members of the hapu would not provide a complete picture. Given the runanga's desire to establish a commercial venture that utilised its human resources and would employ Ngai Te Ruahikihiki Ki Taumutu whanui, it was crucial to have such information.

The researcher proposed to the runanga that a database containing information on the current skills, abilities and qualifications of Ngai Te Ruahikihiki Ki Taumutu whanui be created and that the most appropriate data collection instrument would be a questionnaire. The researcher's recommendation to use a questionnaire to collect these data was based upon the following considerations:

- Individuals could self report their skills and/or knowledge
 - Allowed respondents to complete the questionnaire at a time/place that was convenient for them
 - Made the process more affordable through not requiring a researcher as part of the data collection process

- A questionnaire enabled easier analysis of the skill data
 - Respondents were provided with a set of skills to chose from as opposed to having to create labels for their skills which might have created problems grouping the data
 - Respondents were provided with a scale to indicate their ability at their skills rather than having to create their own proficiency scale, which might have created problems comparing respondent's ability levels

Upon receiving the approval of the runanga to use a questionnaire to collect the data it was found that no appropriate questionnaire existed and so, after reviewing existing questionnaires surveying respondents on their abilities, skills and knowledge a decision was made to develop a new instrument. This new questionnaire after being pre-tested by the runanga executive was then made available to members of Ngai Te Ruahikihiki Ki Taumutu who attended a runanga meeting, to fill out should they so wish.

The data collected from the questionnaires was then inputted into a series of databases created in Microsoft Access. The first database assigned each respondent a unique file number and contained his or her name, contact details, qualifications and brief work history. The second database contained each respondent's file number and the skill areas used in the questionnaire. For each skill area a yes or a no was recorded to indicate whether an individual possessed a skill or skills from that area. A separate database for each skill area was then created containing the complete set of skills for that particular skill area and the relevant respondent's file number. The series of databases were all linked by the unique file number assigned to each individual who completed Te Taumutu Human Resource Questionnaire.

By creating a skills database for Te Taumutu Runanga the process of identifying Ngai Te Ruahikihiki Ki Taumutu whanui skills can be ongoing. The details of new people can easily be added to the series of databases through having each individual complete the skills questionnaire, and then inputting the data sourced from the questionnaire. Data on those individuals already contained within the series of databases can also be easily updated within Microsoft Access should an individual learn new skills or improve his or her ability in one or more existing skill areas.

The researcher was aided in the process of identifying Te Taumutu Runanga's cultural assets, whenua and financial assets by the runanga's manager, who was able to provide the researcher with access to runanga documents containing this information. Correspondence with runanga members provided clarification on some of Te Taumutu Runanga's cultural assets.

In identifying business opportunities for Te Taumutu Runanga the researcher was guided by prior hui of the Economic Feasibility Working Group of Te Taumutu Runanga who had identified economic activities they felt Te Taumutu Runanga should consider engaging in through the establishment of a commercial venture. The researcher in consultation with his supervisor made the decision not to look at education as this industry has significant entry barriers.

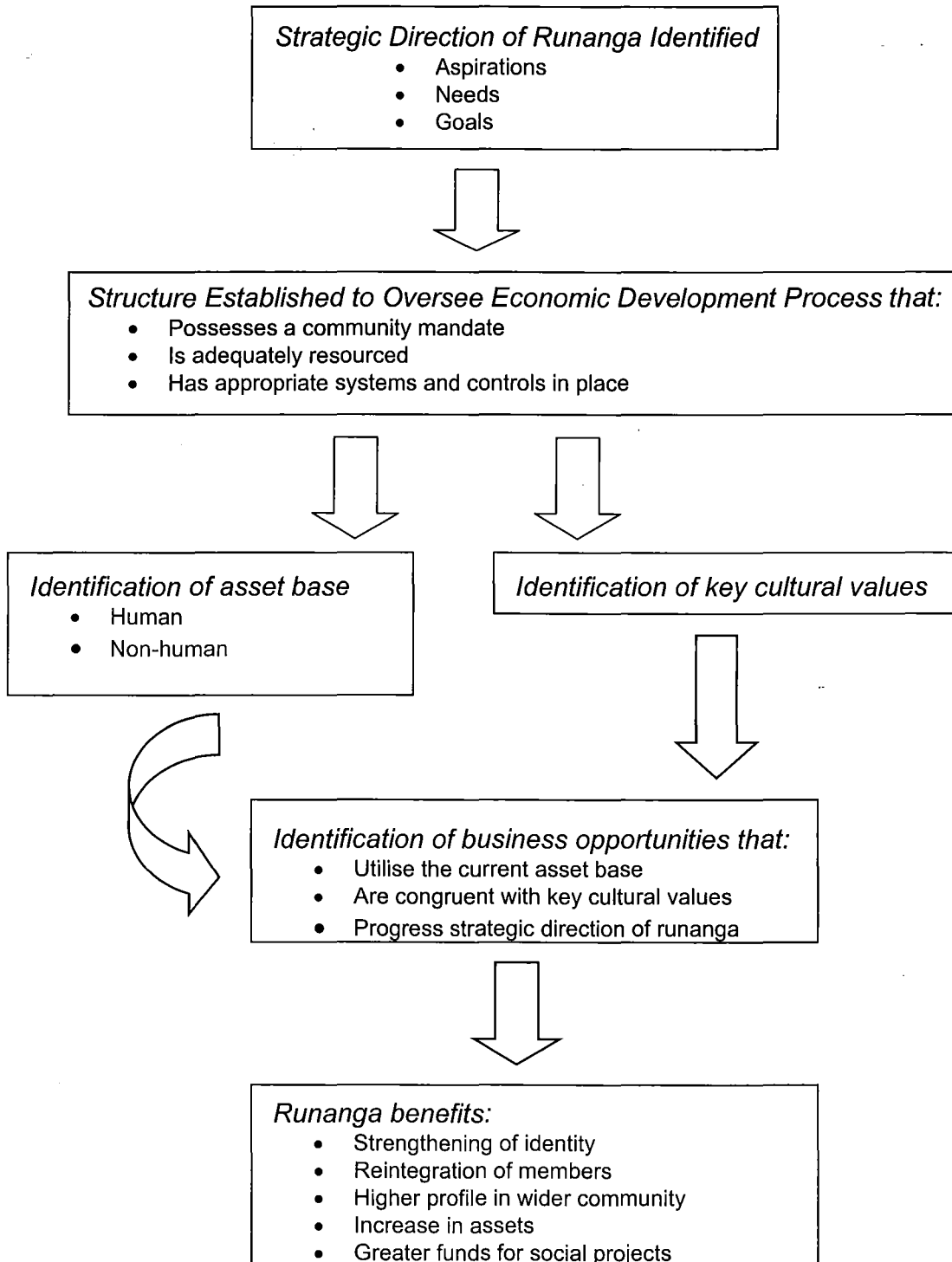
Six commercial activities were examined by the researcher using the criteria of match with the runanga's current asset base, degree of congruency with the runanga's key cultural values, and alignment with the strategic direction of the runanga. The commercial activities examined were:

- Venture capital fund
- Art and craft co-operative
- Horticulture
- Forestry
- Leisure and tourism
- Fishing

The ability of each commercial activity to deliver the benefits which supported the strategic goals of Te Taumutu Runanga outlined in Te Taumutu Runanga Strategic Plan 2000 was also considered.

Figure 5.2 Economic Development Process Outline

This diagram outlines the process of economic development being initiated for Te Taumutu runanga.



5.5 Summary

The initial mandate for this economic development strategy was conferred by its being commissioned by Te Taumutu Runanga, the legitimate political institution of Ngai Te Ruahikihiki Ki Taumutu; and was maintained by ongoing consultation with Te Taumutu Runanga during the formulation of the economic development strategy. On-going consultation was achieved through having the process of formulation overseen by the economic development committee of Te Taumutu Charitable Trust, which is part of the political structure of Ngai Te Ruahikihiki Ki Taumutu whanui.

In initiating the process of economic development Te Taumutu Runanga utilised the expertise of an outsider, the researcher, who was not connected to Ngai Te Ruahikihiki Ki Taumutu by whakapapa. According to Walker (1990) this is tika as rangatira were advised in their duties by tohunga, experts in various areas of tribal lore, who were often not members of the kinship group and did not need to be Maori (M. Roderick, personal communication, April 26, 2002).

The report commissioned by Te Taumutu Runanga outlined a process of economic development which discussed the importance of strategic planning as a crucial first step before initiating an economic development programme. The need for an appropriate structure to oversee the process of economic development was then outlined. A system of quantifying Te Taumutu Runanga's assets was developed and the report details the information compiled relating to these assets. Te Runanga's key cultural values were outlined and their place in the economic development process explained. A range of commercial opportunities was then discussed in terms of their match to Te Taumutu Runanga's assets, degree of congruency with the runanga's key cultural values, and alignment with the strategic direction of the runanga.

Te Taumutu Runanga viewed economic development as the identification of commercial ventures the runanga could engage in that would achieve, directly or indirectly, positive social and cultural outcomes. The runanga intended to use profits generated by a commercial enterprise to fund other hapu activities such as the development and enhancement of the Marae at Taumutu, and programmes to develop the educational, health and cultural wellbeing of the members of Ngai Te Ruahikihiki Ki Taumutu.

The process outlined in the report implicitly recognised the existing non-Maori political structures in New Zealand and did not seek to change or influence them. People outside the kinship group were not considered to have a role in Te Taumutu's Economic Development Strategy beyond being either potential consumers of goods and services produced by commercial ventures established by Te Taumutu Runanga, or employees of a venture if suitable persons of Ngai Te Ruahikihiki Ki Taumutu descent could not be found.

5.6 Key Messages

The following key points pertaining to Maori economic development can be taken from this analysis:

- Traditional political institutions want to oversee economic development initiatives occurring in their rohe
- Economic development initiatives need to have a community mandate
- Economic development is conceptualised as a community engaging in commercial activities to generate positive financial, social and cultural outcomes for that community

- The possible social and cultural benefits of economic development are considered as important as the possible financial benefits
- Commercial activities that damaged the social structure of a community or threatened its culture would not be supported
- Community owned commercial ventures should support and reflect the values of that community
- Maori communities want to engage in commercial activities that utilise their existing resources
- The utilisation of outside expertise in formulating an economic development strategy is acceptable under tikanga but control of the process must remain with the community

Chapter Six: Analysis of Ngai Tahu 2025

6.0 Introduction

The previous chapter examined the results obtained from the analysis of Te Taumutu Runanga Economic Development Report – 2002. This chapter now examines the results obtained from an analysis of the iwi initiated Maori development strategy known as Ngai Tahu 2025.

6.1 Background to the formulation of Ngai Tahu 2025

The process of Ngai Tahu developing a vision for their future began with the appointment of a Vision Focus Group by Te Runanga o Ngai Tahu. “These were Ngai Tahu Whanui charged with ‘dreaming’. Dreaming of the future, of where their whanau, hapu and iwi would be in 25 years time.” (Te Runanga o Ngai Tahu, 2001, p.5).

After extensive consultation with kaumatua, Ngai Tahu Whanui, Papatipu Runanga, Te Runanga o Ngai Tahu and staff, Vision 2025 was presented at Ngai Tahu’s 2000 Hui-a-Tau and in March 2001 was approved by Te Runanga o Ngai Tahu (Te Runanga o Ngai Tahu, 2001).

Focus groups were then charged by Te Runanga o Ngai Tahu with developing long-term strategies to realise the dream outlined in Vision 2025. This process which resulted in Ngai Tahu 2025 was then discussed at fourteen hui held throughout Te Waipounamu and Te Ika a Maui and at various wananga before being adopted by Te Runanga o Ngai Tahu in 2001.

6.2 Purpose of Ngai Tahu 2025

Ngai Tahu 2025 is about Ngai Tahu shaping their future as an iwi through the exercising of tino rangatiratanga. It is a long term strategy document formulated after the iwi's Waitangi Treaty claim settlement in an environment which, while optimistic about the iwi's future, recognises there are important issues that need to be addressed, such as:

- Increasing the iwi's ability to exercise rangatiratanga and kaitiakitanga over wahi tapu, mahinga kai and other taonga tuku iho.
- Reintegrating of iwi members into tribal activities.
- The need for cultural preservation now to prevent future generations having to engage in cultural restoration later.
- Ensuring that the iwi has a voice in decisions that will affect their future.
- Building the capacity of papatipu runanga.
- Addressing the current and future social development needs of Ngai Tahu whanau.
- Enhancing Ngai Tahu Whanui access to education that is accountable and responsive to their future needs.
- Identifying the respective governance responsibilities of Te Runanga o Ngai Tahu and its 18 Papatipu Runanga.
- Managing the iwi's putea so that it can meet tribal needs and aspirations.

6.3 Overview of Ngai Tahu 2025

Ngai Tahu 2025 is divided into nine sections, with each section discussing an area the iwi has identified as being an important aspect of Ngai Tahu's strategic direction for the future. In each section a definition of the aspect is provided, the key issues and influences on it outlined, and any assumptions about the aspect being discussed, stated.

The desired outputs and outcomes for each aspect over the next five years, five to twenty five years, and after twenty five years for whanau, hapu and iwi are then outlined. The nine aspects Ngai Tahu 2025 discusses are:

➤ Te Ao Turoa – natural environment

The relationships Ngai Tahu have through whakapapa with the physical environment of land, waters, coasts, oceans, flora and fauna of Te Waipounamu.

➤ Ko Nga Whakapapatanga – tribal communications and participation

The need for effective communication channels between Ngai Tahu Whanui and Papatipu Runanga, and Papatipu Runanga and Te Runanga o Ngai Tahu, to facilitate and encourage Ngai Tahu Whanui to participate in iwi and Papatipu Runanga activities.

➤ To Tatou Ngai Tahutanga – culture and identity

The foundation of Tahutanga is whakapapa which along with history and traditions links present day Ngai Tahu to Te Waipounamu and binds them together as a unique people.

➤ Te Whakaariki – influence

The interests of Ngai Tahu are affected by the decisions of external parties including government and business, and as a result Ngai Tahu needs to ensure the tribe's voice is heard in these external decision making processes.

➤ Te Whakatipu – Papatipu Runanga development

Papatipu Runanga have the opportunity to enhance their individual rangatiratanga and to generate significant and sustainable economic returns. Te Runanga o Ngai Tahu needs to support Papatipu Runanga in their initiatives to develop infrastructure that offers security and that advances whanau, hapu and iwi well-being.

➤ Whanau – social development

The improving of Ngai Tahu whanau wellbeing is a strategic goal of Te Runanga o Ngai Tahu, and Papatipu Runanga are viewed as offering an appropriate political, social, economic and cultural mechanism for hapu and whanau development.

➤ Matauranga – education

Te Runanga o Ngai Tahu recognises that education provides choices, strengthens cultural identity and gives Ngai Tahu Whanui the opportunity to determine their own destiny. Te Runanga o Ngai Tahu needs to ensure that Ngai Tahu Whanui have access to lifelong quality education encompassing Ngai Tahutanga.

➤ Te Kaitiakitanga me te Tahuhu – governance and organisational development

The respective governance responsibilities of Te Runanga o Ngai Tahu and the 18 Papatipu Runanga need to be identified.

The basis of the current organisational structure of Te Runanga o Ngai Tahu is the separation of protecting and growing the asset base from the delivery of benefits, with both of these two arms and governance mechanisms reflecting the values of Ngai Tahu (Te Runanga o Ngai Tahu, 2001).

➤ Te Putea – investment planning

Kaitiakitanga of Ngai Tahu's economic base is a crucial part of meeting the needs and aspirations of whanau, hapu and iwi.

6.4 Vision for Ngai Tahu 2025

Te Runanga o Ngai Tahu intends Ngai Tahu 2025 to become a living document, subject to annual revision and change. The subsidiaries of Te Runanga o Ngai Tahu will be required to deliver the document, and they will be measured against their success in achieving the goals outlined in it on an annual basis. Te Runanga o Ngai Tahu will also report on compliance with Ngai Tahu 2025 in its annual report each year. It is the intention of Te Runanga o Ngai Tahu that Ngai Tahu 2025 will be reviewed every five years.

6.5 Analysis of Ngai Tahu 2025

Ngai Tahu 2025 is about tino rangatiratanga and is a long term strategy based on the dreams Ngai Tahu Whanui have for their whanau, hapu and iwi in 25 years time. The five year, five to twenty five year and twenty five year plus strategic goals discussed in the document describe the changes that need to occur in order to create this desired future.

The primary driver behind this economic development strategy was a desire to bring about change, which is consistent with the position of Goulet (1995) who states that economic development is initiated by the passing of a judgement that the current state of what is being developed is unsatisfactory and that a more desirable state can be created.

These goals have been formulated in a post Waitangi Tribunal settlement environment in which tribal members are generally optimistic about the future, and as a result the long term strategic goals outlined in Ngai Tahu 2025 are ambitious and far reaching.

The strategy was commissioned by Te Runanga o Ngai Tahu, a political institution recognised as possessing legitimate authority over the affairs of Ngai Tahu by both the iwi and the Crown. This according to Staudt (1991) and Cornell (2000) is crucial to the successful implementation of an economic development strategy.

Because of being commissioned by Te Runanga o Ngai Tahu, the strategy began with a community mandate which was strengthened through a process of extensive consultation involving fourteen hui held throughout Te Waipounamu and Te Ika a Maui, along with various wananga. In this context it is important to note that Staudt (1991) supports the use of extensive community consultation to gain community support for an economic development strategy. After this process of consultation Ngai Tahu 2025 was adopted by Te Runanga o Ngai Tahu and embedded in the structure of Te Runanga o Ngai Tahu as the strategy of the iwi.

The focus of the strategic goals contained in Ngai Tahu 2025 is on the collective, with goals outlined for whanau, hapu, and iwi. The strategy seeks to build both the capacity of individual Ngai Tahu within traditional social institutions, and that of the iwi's governance institutions: Papatipu Runanga and Te Runanga o Ngai Tahu, in order to facilitate the exercise of tino rangatiratanga.

Ngai Tahu 2025 outlines goals that over time will enable Ngai Tahu to exercise tino rangatiratanga through the development of tribal influence within the existing political institutions of the nation state of New Zealand; in particular, at central government level and local government level within their rohe, ensuring that the iwi has a voice in decisions that will affect the tribe's future.

The achieving of these goals is not viewed as dependent on building widespread support among Pakeha but seeks instead to apply diplomacy to influence Crown agencies and the business community. Ngai Tahu 2025 states that an important part of this process is that all Ngai Tahu governing structures maintain a non-partisan approach to central and local government politics (Te Runanga o Ngai Tahu, 2001).

Ngai Tahu's economic development strategy seeks to work with the Crown as an equal partner, and to have this partnership recognised in government policy and eventually in the constitutional arrangements of New Zealand. The iwi views this partnership arrangement as having been promised under the Treaty of Waitangi (Te Runanga o Ngai Tahu, 2001).

The iwi has already made progress in its endeavour to be recognised as a partner of the Crown, with the signing of a memorandum between the Minister of Education and Te Runanga o Ngai Tahu, under which the Ministry has agreed to monitor the educational achievement of Ngai Tahu tamariki and rangatahi and report this information back to Te Runanga o Ngai Tahu.

The iwi has also signed memoranda of understanding with major Crown tertiary education providers within their rohe, at the iwi and hapu level, establishing a partnership role for Ngai Tahu in the delivery of tertiary education to Ngai Tahu, and enhancing Ngai Tahu Whanui access to education that is accountable and responsive to their future needs.

Ngai Tahu 2025 promotes iwi ownership of assets as opposed to pre-European hapu ownership, with the role of Papatipu Runanga seen as being the conduit for individual Ngai Tahu to access benefits and the support they are entitled to. The strategy recognises that there is a need to identify the respective governance responsibilities of Te Runanga o Ngai Tahu and its 18 Papatipu Runanga.

The strategy recognises the need to encourage Ngai Tahu Whanui to participate in iwi and papatipu runanga affairs and that the key to creating this participation is effective channels of communication. The need for cultural preservation now to prevent future generations having to engage in cultural restoration later is also recognised in the strategy.

6.6 Comparison of Whakatapuranga Rua Mano and Te Taumutu Runanga Economic Development Report with Ngai Tahu 2025

By comparing Whakatapuranga Rua Mano and Te Taumutu Runanga Economic Development Report with Ngai Tahu 2025 the similarities and differences can be identified which aid in the understanding of the process of Maori Economic Development.

6.6.1 Similarities

- A desire for change within their community and its relationship with the wider environment initiated the process
- Each community had a vision for themselves that would be achieved by this change
- Traditional political institutions possessing legitimate authority controlled the process
- Leaders within the community played key roles in formulating the strategy
- A mandate for the strategy was sought through community consultation
- The preservation of culture and traditional social structures was an important driver

6.6.2 Differences

Whakatapuranga Rua Mano

- Formulated in a pre Waitangi Tribunal environment
- Emphasis on education as a tool for improving the individual economic wellbeing of members of the Confederation and facilitating cultural preservation
- The support of individual Pakeha seen as crucial to the strategy's success
- Did not seek to alter the existing social and political institutions of the nation state of New Zealand

Te Taumutu Runanga Economic Development Report

- Focus on achieving financial tino rangatiratanga for Ngai Te Ruahikihiki Ki Taumutu through developing the hapu's resources
- Emphasis on establishing a community owned commercial venture that would produce profits which could be used to fund social and cultural programmes
- Did not seek to alter the existing social and political institutions of the nation state of New Zealand

Ngai Tahu 2025

- Focus on Ngai Tahu being able to exercise tino rangatiratanga within their rohe; as such the strategy is comprehensive, setting goals for the management of resources, improving tribal communications and participation, strengthening a Ngai Tahu identity, exercising influence, Papatipu Runanga development, social development, education, internal governance and investment planning
- Seeks to alter the existing political institutions of the nation state of New Zealand through the development of tribal influence
- Views Ngai Tahu as an equal partner of the Crown, and seeks to have this partnership recognised in government policy and eventually in the constitutional arrangements of New Zealand

Chapter Seven: Analysis of Interviews

7.0 Introduction

Having examined the recent iwi initiated development strategy Ngai Tahu 2025, this study now discusses the results obtained from the analysis of the qualitative data collected from the personal interviews conducted in the course of this research.

7.1 Overview of the analysis of interview data

The analysis of interview data collected as part of this study is structured around respondents' responses to each of the seven questions they were asked relating to the study's research objectives. As discussed in the research design chapter, and in keeping with Maori approaches to knowledge, all the themes and patterns identified by the respondents for each question are acknowledged and discussed to produce an answer to each question which incorporates the voice of each individual interviewed (Murton, 1987).

Due to the small size of the sample and the researcher's desire to protect the subjects' anonymity, neutral gender language is used to describe the respondents' responses. In this discussion the researcher will also not refer to respondents by number (Respondent 1, Respondent 2, etc), which could lead to their identification.

7.2 Question One: How would you define Maori economic development?

In the answers to this question many ideas and issues were touched upon, and while some answers shared commonalities each outlined a unique conceptualisation of Maori economic development. Points that emerged may be grouped as follows.

7.2.1 There is an historical dimension to Maori economic development

Maori economic development for many Maori begins with a reflection on the history of their whanau, hapu or iwi. The past, even the distant past, is not forgotten and contains lessons learnt, inspiration gained, injustices that have had to be overcome and connections to the physical landscape that must be respected when pursuing economic development.

Recent historical events for some Maori communities contain hard learnt lessons about engaging in economic development that need to be remembered to prevent past mistakes from being repeated. For instance, the failure of runanga owned commercial ventures taught one community the importance of having appropriate management structures in place and regularly conducting strategic business planning.

The past however can also be a source of inspiration for future economic development initiatives. The way in which pre-European Maori society measured wealth can be emulated by modern Maori communities as part of an economic development programme. Wealth for pre-European Maori was the social strength and health of their family group and collective ownership and governance over lands, waterways, fisheries and sacred sites. An approach to wealth which created a holistic society providing its members with access to everything they needed for healthy well-being.

The success of historic Maori economic initiatives provides inspiration for the Maori of today. For instance, individual Ngai Tahu travelled to Europe to gain technology and bought sailing ships to participate in the whaling trade. These events are not forgotten by their descendents and illustrate the ability of Maori to assimilate European technology and utilise it to participate in new economic activities such as commercial whaling and trans-Tasman trade in the nineteenth century.

Historically trade was an important component of Maori economic development, and an integral part of Maori culture. Trade played an important role in pre-European Maori society beyond the function of gaining a whanau or hapu access to goods or services they could not produce for themselves. Trade also reinforced extended family connections and maintained and upheld and created mana through the process of tohatoha. These traditional trading networks were disrupted by the colonisation of New Zealand.

Colonisation also alienated Maori from their land, a process which not only deprived them of an economic base but also had negative spiritual and cultural effects. During the colonisation of Te Waipounamu specific injustices occurred that significantly hindered Maori economic development in Te Waipounamu, such as the Kemp purchase and the acquisition of Maori land for public works.

Reserves promised as part of the Kemp purchases were never allocated and mahinga kai sites were included in the Kemp block that the owners never intended to sell. When the coastal road between Christchurch and Kaikoura was being surveyed, and the road passed through Pakeha owned land, only the land needed for the road was taken, but where the road passed through Maori land, the land from the road's edge to the sea was compulsorily acquired by the Crown. Historic injustices such as these alienated Maori from land needed for economic survival and spiritual growth and limited Ngai Tahu participation in the new economy created by Pakeha in Te Waipounamu.

The spiritual connection many Maori have with their land and the historical events that have occurred on that land need to be considered as part of economic development planning. Economic activities that have the potential to damage the wairua of a piece of land or are incompatible with the past history of the land should not be proposed for that site.

Unfortunately individuals or groups often do not take into consideration the past of a piece of land or the land surrounding it when proposing ways to develop it. For example, planned residential development in North Canterbury bordering a wetland that is wahi tapu is considered inappropriate by many local Maori, as the future inhabitants of the subdivision not knowing the history of the area may disturb human remains while exploring the wetland.

7.2.2 Tikanga is part of Maori economic development

Several respondents in conceptualising Maori economic development discussed the influence of tikanga in various contexts. Those thoughts and ideas will be examined in section 7.3 which discusses responses to question two, that looks specifically at the role of tikanga in Maori economic development.

7.2.3 Maori economic development requires appropriate structures to be in place

The need for appropriate structures to be in place was discussed by several respondents. This material will be examined in section 7.4 which discusses respondents' responses to question three, that looks specifically at the role of structures in Maori economic development.

7.2.4 Maori economic development involves identifying the Maori community

Maori economic development requires the involvement of the community in which the process is occurring. How "community" is conceptualised, however, differs. Maori economic development can be seen to include Maori and non-Maori or it can be viewed as involving only the Maori community.

With a non inclusive approach it becomes important to identify the Maori community which an individual or institution is working with, a task that is not always easy. Members of a Maori community may no longer physically live on their whenua, but they still have a whakapapa connection; however, it is easier to identify those members who have stayed and maintained ahi ka.

The direct benefits of Maori economic development should be to the advantage of Maori, but non-Maori are often invited to participate in the process that delivers those benefits. When it is acceptable to utilise non-Maori expertise is discussed in section 7.2.11. The role of non-Maori in Maori economic development is to provide specialist knowledge and is made necessary due to gaps in the human resource capacity of Maori communities:

“My iwi would see Maori economic development for Ngai Tahu, by Ngai Tahu where possible. But we recognise the reality that our own people may not be able to participate, but it is still for Ngai Tahu.”

It is seen as crucial, however, that the final decision on any economic development remains with the Maori community and not with outsiders, whether they be Maori or non-Maori.

7.2.5 Maori economic development involves meeting community aspirations

Successful Maori economic development starts with a vision initiated and owned by a Maori community. Te Runanga o Kaikoura is an example of a community who had looked at their current situation and envisioned a way of creating a better future for themselves by initiating Whale Watch:

“Whale Watch is a very good example of having a dream about economic development and achieving it. The reason why Whale Watch worked over time was because it was their idea and their dream for their people.”

7.2.6 Achieving tino rangatiratanga and economic independence

Maori economic development is about achieving tino rangatiratanga, a goal that can be achieved through a community being economically independent. Tino rangatiratanga in this sense is conceptualised as financial independence achieved through developing income producing assets for a Maori community. These assets then give that community the ability to purchase the goods and services it needs without relying on the financial support of others.

The concept of tino rangatiratanga for some Maori goes beyond financial independence and involves a Maori community having control of its assets as part of economic development.

“It is better to give people back their own assets and help them develop appropriate structures to manage themselves.”

Tino rangatiratanga is also alluded to in connection with the importance of Maori achieving a voice in the governance of New Zealand as part of an economic development programme. For Maori to achieve their economic development goals they need to be able to influence the decisions of local and central government:

“You are looking at policy (formation) – how many Maori in government, on health boards, etc.”

7.2.7 Acknowledgment of mana whenua

The acknowledgement of mana whenua is a component of Maori economic development. The acknowledgement of mana whenua as a concept is about recognising the special relationship that Maori have with ancestral land, and their right to be consulted on how it is managed.

Acknowledgement of mana whenua should be the first step of any organisation seeking to work with Maori in any capacity. While the Resource Management Act 1991 has been useful in imposing a statutory obligation to consult with mana whenua on natural resource issues it has also created a large workload at the papatipu runanga level, diverting scarce human resources from social and cultural projects.

The requirements of the Resource Management Act 1991 have also made it necessary to identify reasonably precisely runanga boundaries within the Canterbury region in order to determine who exercises mana whenua. This process of establishing boundaries has created difficulties for various runanga as there have been disagreements over which physical features marked historical hapu boundaries.

7.2.8 Achieving social outcomes / reducing disparities

The process of Maori economic development is viewed as a way of achieving social outcomes and reducing disparities and improving the inequitable position of Maori in New Zealand.

“You don’t see Maori in restaurants, but I bet there are some in the kitchen.”

The true level of inequity in some areas is not known. An example is health, due to the way in which current national health statistics are collected. Many doctors either do not correctly identify patients as Maori or chose not to collect ethnicity data. The starting point of any economic development plan would be the identification of the current situation of Maori, including their health and other social indicators of Maori wellbeing.

7.2.9 Maori economic development is a process

Two respondents specifically conceptualised Maori economic development as a process. One discussed how Maori economic development was a four step process involving:

- a) Changing the mindset of people
- b) Motivating people to consider economic development
- c) An education phase – creating awareness of the economic development initiative
- d) A practical aspect – actually doing it

Another respondent outlined what could be seen as the Ngai Tahu economic development model:

- a) Control of assets
- b) Successful ownership/management of income producing assets
- c) Creating a growing base of income producing assets and activities

While both these processes incorporate ideas that were raised by other respondents the interesting point is that only these two respondents conceptualised Maori economic development as occurring in linear stages. Other respondents' answers implied that they viewed Maori economic development as a more organic process.

7.2.10 No different from non-Maori economic development?

Two respondents when asked to discuss how they conceptualised Maori economic development categorically stated that they did not view it as being very or any different from non-Maori economic development:

“I don’t think there is much difference between defining Maori economic development and other types of development. When Maori are involved in the commercial world they need to play by the same rules as everybody else.”

“Anything we want, I don’t see any difference between Maori economic development and Pakeha economic development. We (Ngai Tahu) will look at anything. No different from anyone else. We (Ngai Tahu) look at a deal and if it will turn a profit we will look at it.”

For both of these respondents success in the world of commerce required the same from Maori and non-Maori. Maori business people need to comply with legislation governing business and practice sound financial management the same as non-Maori if they wish to be successful. In formulating this answer both respondents focused on the generation of wealth and not how it would be distributed.

One respondent said that profit from these commercial ventures would be spent on achieving social outcomes while the other did not discuss how any profits would be spent. Both respondents strongly conceptualised Maori economic development as involving the establishment of commercial ventures, which suggests a focus on the means of economic development as opposed to the end goals a community is trying to achieve.

7.2.11 Establishing a commercial enterprise

Maori economic development involves the establishment of a commercial venture. This venture should relate to the community's strategic vision and utilise the community's existing physical resources. While a match with existing physical resources is seen as important respondents were more flexible in their attitude towards human resources.

While a match with the community's existing human resources was viewed as desirable the use of non-Maori experts to fill gaps in the human resource capacity of a community was considered acceptable. This point is also made in section 7.2.4.

The type of commercial venture Maori could use to enter the marketplace was raised by some respondents in connection with tikanga. Tikanga was conceptualised as a point of difference between Maori and non-Maori businesses that enable a Maori enterprise to differentiate itself in the marketplace. This role for tikanga is explored further in section 7.3.5.

7.2.12 Summary of respondents' answers to question one

In conceptualising Maori economic development, respondents identified the following themes that can be woven together to develop a more complete understanding of the process.

- There is an historic dimension to Maori economic development
- Tikanga is part of Maori economic development
- Maori economic development requires appropriate structures to be in place
- Maori economic development involves identifying the Maori community
- Maori economic development involves meeting community aspirations
- Achieving tino rangatiratanga and economic independence are goals of Maori economic development
- Acknowledgment of mana whenua should be part of Maori economic development
- Maori economic development is a vehicle for achieving social outcomes and reducing disparities
- Maori economic development is a process
- Maori economic development when involving commercial enterprises may share the same characteristics as non-Maori economic development
- The vehicle of much Maori economic development centres on the establishing of commercial enterprises

7.3 Question Two: What are your thoughts on incorporating within the process of economic development the tikanga of the Maori community in which development is occurring?

All of the respondents interviewed felt tikanga was important, but how each respondent regarded tikanga and its place in the process varied. The ideas expressed by some respondents initially appeared contradictory and certainly provided contrasting views on the particular role that tikanga played in assisting the process of Maori economic development.

7.3.1 The need to communicate what is “tika” or correct

In discussing the need to communicate what is “tika” two viewpoints emerged which can be conceptualised as two extremes on a continuum. For some Maori what is tika needs to be explicitly stated while for others tikanga is a natural part of being Maori and does not require stating as it is always/already known.

Some Maori who believe that tikanga needs to be explicitly stated come from a position where they are not aware of the tikanga of every situation and are seeking knowledge to avoid causing offence or looking foolish. Writing down and codifying what is tika appeals to members of this group. These individuals feel the knowledge of tikanga should be shared and not restricted to a select few and view tikanga as something that needs to be learnt.

Contrasting the viewpoint that tikanga needs to be consciously learnt were those who felt tikanga was a natural part of being Maori. For these Maori tikanga will always be part of the process of Maori economic development if that process involves Maori. For many Maori in every action they perform, every word they speak they are living tikanga.

Tikanga for these Maori is their identity and a natural process. Practicing tikanga is not something foreign that needs to be learned:

“Tikanga is whakapapa, it is history, where we come from, our identify.”

Initially this viewpoint may seem irreconcilable with the idea that what is tika does, for some Maori, need to be learned until one considers the variety of environments Maori are now raised in. Tikanga as a concept is similar to culture and culture is learned but usually subconsciously, starting in early childhood. Individuals brought up in a traditional Maori environment would learn what is tika and often not even realise they were learning tikanga.

For those Maori not brought up in a traditional Maori environment, however, but who as adults wish to participate in their runanga, attempting to practise tikanga can be a difficult process requiring them to learn aspects of what for them is a new culture.

Learning the tikanga of one Maori community, however, does not guarantee that what that individual has learnt will be correct for all Maori communities; for example within Ngai Tahu, tikanga varies between each papatipu runanga as it does between the hapu of many other iwi.

Individuals or institutions involved in the process of Maori economic development who are unfamiliar with the tikanga of the Maori community they are working with will need to have tikanga explicitly communicated to them. Maori communities need to understand that among those individuals seeking knowledge may be people who have whakapapa connections to that community.

This process of educating people as to what is tika requires effort on the part of both parties, a willingness to be taught from those who do not know their tikanga and on the part of those who possess the knowledge recognition of the need to share it. Tikanga needs to be known, but how this knowledge is transmitted should be determined by the community.

7.3.2 The relationship between tikanga and the process of economic development.

For some the process of economic development needs to conform to the principles of tikanga. Many who felt that tikanga is implicit also felt that the process of economic development needed to be part of tikanga; that every stage of the process, every action involved with the process needed to be tika.

“Tikanga sits (always will exist) and economic development fits into tikanga.”

In contrast to this view were those who felt a conscious effort needs to be made to incorporate tikanga into the process of Maori economic development. Tikanga for these respondents, however, is only a component of the process and should not affect the end goals that a community is trying to achieve. This is an interesting viewpoint given that one of the goals of a community may be cultural preservation.

“It can be incorporated into the model although it shouldn’t get in the way of the process.”

Tikanga for one respondent was a concept that needed to be applied in some areas and avoided in others. This respondent discussed how important it was to identify where tikanga applied. The idea of acknowledging tikanga in particular areas of economic development was repeated by other respondents who mentioned specific areas where they felt tikanga should be applied.

Several respondents felt tikanga should guide the values of an economic development programme, while one respondent discussed the role of tikanga in the decision making process:

“If tikanga is part of the decision making process then this results in a consensus decision.”

Additionally tikanga needed to be reflected in the ownership and management of assets:

“Tikanga underlines who Ngai Tahu are and must be reflected in the ownership and management of assets.”

As stated in the beginning of this section the contrasting approaches to the relationship between tikanga and the process of economic development again reflect individual comfort with practising tikanga. For those who practice tikanga without conscious thought it seems natural that the process of economic development, like any other activity they engage in, would need to be tika. Individuals who feel they need to learn what is tika take the approach that tikanga is something that applies only to parts of the process.

The relationship between tikanga and economic development becomes more complex when the development is being conducted by a non-Maori organisation. Such organisations working in the area of economic development have a responsibility to develop bi-cultural processes under the Treaty of Waitangi. Achieving this in a non-Maori organisation is however difficult, especially because of the perceived minority status of Maori. The use of formal policies and cultural audits are tools that can be used by non-Maori organisations to achieve biculturalism; although in attempting to institute biculturalism non-Maori organisations run the risk of superficially adopting Maori cultural institutions such as the powhiri but failing to incorporate Maori values such as whanaungatanga.

7.3.3 Tikanga is a commercial advantage

Tikanga was also discussed as a point of difference between Maori and non-Maori commercial enterprises and a way of differentiating a business within an industry. Tikanga can be viewed as a vehicle for bringing a set of unique attributes to the market place. Aspects of tikanga are currently used successfully by various non-Maori public institutions such as the All Blacks and commercial enterprises such as Air New Zealand as a way of differentiating them from competition or rivals.

Viewing tikanga as bestowing a commercial advantage runs the risk of also viewing it as a product that can be altered to suit the tastes of the marketplace or the demands of non-Maori business practices. Maori commercial enterprises that decide to practice tikanga need to ensure that they do not alter cultural institutions or haphazardly apply Maori values while conducting business, and so bring them into disrepute.

7.3.4 Concerns surrounding the practice of tikanga

As discussed in section 7.3.2., while all respondents felt that tikanga had a place in the process of Maori economic development, concerns about specific aspects of tikanga were raised; for instance, knowledge of tikanga was viewed as a way of restricting access to the decision-making processes of economic development through excluding those who do not have the knowledge. Knowledge of tikanga then becomes a source of power within the community and this knowledge is often restricted, to protect the power of those who currently possess it.

Aspects of tikanga were also considered to be inimical to commercial business practices. For instance, powhiri substantially lengthen business meetings, a factor which could possibly make Maori commercial organisations less competitive and frustrate business partners who wished to focus solely on the purpose of the meeting. The observance of whanaungatanga within a commercial organisation could result in the hiring of individuals based on whakapapa, who are not the most qualified to fill a position; a decision which would breach the provisions of the Human Rights Act 1993. The tuakana system was also criticised:

“One of the things Maori economic development can do without is the tuakana system, the status some individuals try and inflict on economic development structures.”

The implications of the tuakana system are that the most qualified person may not be in charge of the decision-making processes of Maori economic development. The appointment of managers in a commercial venture on the basis of whakapapa runs counter to the meritocracy system that is practiced in most non-Maori commercial ventures.

One respondent felt that tikanga as a word had been widely abused among Maori and non-Maori and felt that it was important to identify values that are important and incorporate these into any economic development process.

“In my opinion tikanga is the most abused word within the Maori language today. What we have is a value based structure, values our ancestors considered important. Absolutely important values of our community included in what we do.”

If an organisation publicly states that they have a commitment to practising tikanga then they need to ensure that the way they conduct their day to day activities reflects ancestral values; otherwise they are making a mockery of the concept of tikanga.

7.3.5 Summary of respondents' answers to question two

The conceptualisation by respondents of the role of tikanga within the process of Maori economic development is complex and at times appears contradictory. From their responses the following themes, however, can be identified.

- What is tika for some needs no explanation, while for others there is a need to communicate what the tikanga of the occasion might be
- How individuals view the relationship between tikanga and the process of Maori economic development is influenced by how comfortable they are with their own conception of tikanga
- The process of economic development can be viewed as needing to be tika or, conversely, tikanga can be viewed as something that needs to be incorporated into the process
- Tikanga provides a commercial advantage to Maori business; however, aspects of tikanga can be inimical to commercial business practices
- Knowledge of tikanga can be used to restrict access to the decision making process of economic development
- The concept of tikanga is inappropriately applied by many non-Maori and Maori

7.4 What do you feel are the most appropriate structures to be used as a vehicle in achieving Maori economic development in general?

A variety of issues were raised by respondents in response to this question and these are discussed below.

7.4.1 A Community first requires a political model to be in place

It is important for a Maori community to first have a political model in place before developing an economic development structure, as the control of such structures needs to be placed under existing political institutions. A political model needs to be in place first because the process of economic development requires choices to be made by a community as to how to manage and utilise its resources. These are political choices as there are conflicting views and approaches that need to be resolved. In general respondents felt economic development structures should be directly accountable to Te Runanga o Ngai Tahu or a papatipu runanga.

7.4.2 There needs to be a match between the community and the structure

An economic development structure needs to be a match with the Maori community it is working within. Ideally the community should be consulted in order to develop an appropriate structure. Consultation identifies the vision the community has for itself and the values it wishes to preserve, thus helping to create a match between the structure and the community:

“Structures should relate to the group of people they are designed to help.”

Structures that have a good match with the community they are working within are more likely to be supported by that community and therefore be successful as change agents. In developing a structure the uncritical adoption of non-Maori structures needs to be avoided. In the words of one respondent:

"I think we duplicate structures we used to condemn."

7.4.3 A structure needs to be formed at the appropriate level of Maori society

In discussing appropriate structures to be used as a vehicle in achieving Maori economic development the issue of at what level in Maori society respondents felt the structure should be formed was either implied or explicitly stated by all but two of the respondents.

These respondents voiced support for economic development structures based at either the iwi or papatipu runanga level or supported structures being formed at both levels. Economic development structures were not conceptualised by these respondents as being formed at the whanau level.

That there was a place for the creation of a structure servicing a Maori community that was not based on whakapapa was acknowledged by two respondents but this type of structure was not viewed as ideal by either:

"I believe in iwi based structures. I don't agree with the argument that urban Maori have lost their roots because if they look they are there."

The establishment of an economic development structure at a pan-Maori level was raised by only one respondent who acknowledged the need for economic development structures for non Ngai Tahu Maori residing in Ngai Tahu's rohe.

This respondent felt that the welfare of these people was the Crown's responsibility under Article Three of the Treaty of Waitangi and that the appropriate vehicle for delivering services to this type of Maori community was Te Puni Kokiri.

The preferred model for Maori economic development is a structure that services a kinship group and, while in pre-European times economic activity was coordinated at the whanau or hapu level, the iwi level is now largely viewed as the most appropriate.

7.4.4 The place of individual rights within collective structures

An issue that needs to be considered in developing an appropriate economic development structure is how to recognise individual rights within a collective structure. Historically Ngai Tahu owned and managed resources collectively as whanau and hapu; but some Ngai Tahu today question why papatipu runanga and Te Runanga o Ngai Tahu should have the final decision regarding the ownership and management of tribal assets.

The control of papatipu runanga is sometimes seen as being captured by certain whanau who then dominate the decision making processes of that runanga. This creates a sense of alienation for some individuals from the management of their hapu's assets. Te Runanga o Ngai Tahu, the representative of Ngai Tahu collectively, is also viewed by some Ngai Tahu as acting in a manner that does not recognise individual interests. While collective ownership of assets at the iwi level is recognised as growing the tribe's putea some individuals question how that wealth is distributed. The current system of providing funds to specific groups such as the elderly, or those wishing to engage in tertiary education, is viewed by some as excluding many Ngai Tahu from a share in the iwi's wealth.

The transfer of ownership of specific assets such as land or fishing quota from Te Runanga o Ngai Tahu to papatipu runanga is another issue that is seen as needing to be addressed by some Ngai Tahu. Vesting the ownership of physical resources in papatipu runanga is seen as enabling the descendants of the original owners of those resources to exercise more direct control over how they should be managed.

7.4.5 Structures need to facilitate community participation in the decision making process

Economic development structures need to encourage the participation of the community they are working within in their decision making process. This participation needs to be at all levels of the community, young and old:

“For Maori economic development to be of any value it needs to be representative of Ngai Tahu demographics.”

Involving young Ngai Tahu in the decisions made by their papatipu runanga is seen as particularly important. Many decisions being made now by papatipu runanga will shape the future that young Ngai Tahu will have to live with as adults. Also Ngai Tahu who as youth are not involved in their runanga are seen as unlikely to become involved as adults, reducing the number of people prepared to volunteer their time to run their runanga in the future.

Increasing community participation is linked to valuing contributions made through acting upon the ideas and wishes of the community. If the majority of a community disagree with an action proposed by an economic development structure they should then be able to veto it. Some papatipu runanga possess a structure that is seen as vesting “autocratic” powers in their upoko which allows the upoko to pursue courses of action not supported by the majority of the runanga.

The way in which some papatipu runanga run their meetings may also discourage community participation, since the discussion in meetings is often dominated by a few individuals. In the words of one respondent:

“The way meetings are run is not very good. Twenty percent of people did eighty percent of the talking.”

It is felt meetings need to be facilitated in a way that encourages all those present to share their views and ideas. In particular the opinions of young Ngai Tahu present at meetings need to be acknowledged and given due consideration by the runanga. In the words of one respondent:

“Those under 35-45 don’t want to be involved in runanga affairs because they are generally perceived as children by elders.”

The opinions of young Ngai Tahu are often disregarded by their elders at runanga meetings because they believe the young lack the experience and wisdom which age brings. Yet in the words of one respondent:

“Young need to be able to make mistakes. Experience is a collection of mistakes. Wisdom is changing your behaviour from other people’s mistakes.”

Encouraging community participation is a challenge that papatipu runanga need to rise to if they wish to be seen as the legitimate representative bodies of Ngai Tahu's hapu. Yet many papatipu runanga are perceived as involving very few of the individuals who can whakapapa to the hapu they represent:

“Out of 10,000, who can whakapapa to the hapu 150 come to meetings. So [there’s] not a lot of enthusiasm for [the] runanga system.”

7.4.6 Structures need to be accountable

Economic development structures need to be accountable to the community they are working within. They need to demonstrate to that community that initiatives have been conducted in a manner which respects the values of the community and supports its strategic direction, and to report fairly and accurately on results achieved. To facilitate accountability structures need to monitor and evaluate their performance and develop appropriate communication channels between the structure and community to convey the information collected.

Accountability also involves a structure making its accounts and plans transparent to the community it is working within and providing opportunities for the community to question the actions of the structure.

Te Runanga o Ngai Tahu facilitates accountability through the development of appropriate communication channels, providing Ngai Tahu with access to financial records and, through its hui-a-tau, an opportunity for any individual Ngai Tahu to question the internal workings of Te Runanga o Ngai Tahu.

7.4.7 Structures need to identify their stakeholders

A prerequisite of encouraging community involvement is identifying who the stakeholders are in any economic development process:

“It is really important to identify the stakeholder base, which crosses a broad section of social, [and] economic groups.”

While the key stakeholders will be the individuals who comprise the Maori community the structure is working with, groups outside the community can also have an interest or stake in the development programme as they may be affected by a development outcome or have an interest in a development outcome.

7.4.8 Structures need to have a legal identity

The establishing of a legal identity for an economic development structure is for some the first and most important step in creating a structure. Creating a legal identity for a structure is seen as crucial in ensuring the protection of individuals' and communities' financial assets through legally separating them from those of the structure.

Without this financial separation the assets of a community that established a structure can be used to settle any debts incurred by it, a situation which occurred for one papatipu runanga who was forced to sell a block of land to repay debts incurred by its economic development structure. Individuals involved with a structure's activities, or related to individuals involved with its activities, may also find themselves financially responsible either legally or morally for debts incurred by the structure. In the words of one respondent:

"I can think of various examples where one individual Maori has lost their livelihood because of the actions of aunties, uncles etc."

When establishing a legal identity for an economic development structure a community has to consider the degree of cultural match between the type of legal identity chosen for the structure and itself. This need for cultural match was expressed by one respondent thus:

"You are taking a traditional structure and looking for a modern legal identity that fits the traditional structure."

A legal identity that creates a structure not possessing a high degree of cultural match will have difficulty communicating with the community it is working within and may be seen as lacking legitimate authority.

Communication barriers and a perceived lack of legitimate authority may result in members of the community ignoring or bypassing the structure.

7.4.9 Limited liability companies as a vehicle for Maori economic development

The establishment of a limited liability company in which the community are the shareholders was recommended by several respondents as the most appropriate structure for economic development. Establishing this type of structure was viewed as relatively easy so long as the community had the necessary financial and human resources.

Creating a limited liability company was viewed as essential if a community's economic development involved the establishment of a commercial venture. This type of structure was perceived as facilitating accountability and greater financial responsibility by the managers of commercial community owned ventures. In the words of one respondent:

"From a business aspect I support the company structure, because you are responsible for your destiny and decisions."

The limited liability company structure was also seen as allowing a community to separate business risk from communally or individually owned assets. A company's status as a separate legal entity from its shareholders also meant a shareholder could enter into a contract with the company, enabling shareholders to be employed by the company and lend money to the company on the same basis as any other unrelated party.

A successful community owned limited liability company was viewed as the best institution for remedying social injustice and facilitating rangatiratanga, self autonomy, and self determination for a community either on its own or as part of a two pronged approach to economic development.

In this approach wealth generation is separated from the distribution of wealth to achieve cultural, political and social outcomes desired by that community.

The proponents of the two pronged approach did not consider it desirable for a limited liability company to try and achieve desired cultural, political and social outcomes through its day to day operations. The function of a limited liability company in this model is to produce profits which would then be used to fund outcomes desired by the community that owns the company. The determination of these outcomes, their priority, and how they are to be achieved, was viewed as being the responsibility of another structure. Interestingly the type of structure the wealth distribution prong should take was not outlined by respondents who advocated the two pronged approach.

While the limited liability company structure received much support, reservations were raised however by some respondents focusing on the organisational culture this structure might create. The development of what was termed a 'corporate' culture, where the focus of the structure was solely on generating profits and maximising shareholder returns, was seen as something that needed to be avoided as it threatened the practicing of traditional Maori values within the structure.

7.4.10 Charitable trusts as a vehicle for Maori economic development

In the role of managing a community owned commercial enterprise the charitable trust structure received no support and generated much criticism. In the words of one respondent:

“Charitable trusts within business don’t work - two different kaupapas, two different reasons for existing.”

The trustees of charitable trusts were viewed as being unwilling to make the type of decisions necessary to run a commercial venture, and when forced to make these decisions would often, in the words of one respondent, “jump out of the boat”.

Trustees were also accused of having a short term planning horizon, thinking only as far as the end of their term on the trust’s board. The temporary nature of a trustee’s appointment to a board also discouraged full commitment to the activities of the trust.

The charitable trust structure, it was felt, also created a false sense of security for trustees managing a commercial enterprise, as the atmosphere of perceived collective responsibility for decisions made, encouraged the abrogation of an individual sense of responsibility for the financial success of the business.

Charitable trusts were also accused of sometimes acting in the best interests of themselves as an institution and not the community they were meant to be serving. As one respondent commented:

“There seems to be second thoughts regard trusts, because they seem to work for themselves.”

7.4.11 Incorporated societies as a vehicle for Maori economic development

The incorporated society as a vehicle for Maori economic development received conditional support. Concerns were raised about the ability of individuals to control the decision making processes of this structure should they wish to do so. In the words of one respondent:

"I find the incorporated society to be good, their structure works well, but it depends on how dominant a person is within that organisation, or manipulative. I have seen organisations dominated by one person. I have seen people decide how they want a decision to go before a meeting and then they have manipulated the meeting to achieve the result they want."

Whether this type of structure is actually more vulnerable to becoming dominated by individuals is, however, a matter of personal opinion.

7.4.12 Kinship and economic development structures

Most Maori communities are based around a kinship group, and economic development structures working within a group bound together by whakapapa need to understand the reality of this situation.

The maintenance of kinship bonds may take priority over financial concerns for many individual members of the kinship group, which can result in decisions being made on the basis of whanaungatanga as opposed to sound financial principles. The great emphasis that is placed on being a good group member can also result in a community rallying behind the ideas proposed by members of the community even when those ideas are not the best course of action in the opinion of others within the community, or outside organisations.

The leadership of a kinship based community is also hereditary and contains a hierarchy based on whakapapa. This hierarchy of senior and junior families is often referred to as the tuakana system and the effect this system has on economic development was discussed in section 7.3.4.

Within papatipu runanga, families that perceive themselves as senior view a leadership role within their community as their birthright. In the words of one respondent:

“Certain families run things and consider themselves above the runanga.”

Gaining the support of senior families within the community it is working within is therefore crucial to the success of an economic development structure.

Even in situations where the leadership of a community is democratically determined, capable individuals will often not put their name forward for consideration because they feel they lack the appropriate whakapapa. Encouraging capable individuals who feel they lack the whakapapa to take a leadership role is an issue that needs to be addressed by the communities considered in this thesis.

7.4.13 Summary of respondent's answers to question three

Listed below are the themes that emerged within the respondents' answers:

- A community first requires a political model to be in place before developing an economic development structure
- There needs to be a match between the community and the structure
- A structure needs to be formed at the appropriate level of Maori society
- The place of individual rights within collective structures needs to be considered
- Structures need to facilitate community participation in the decision making process
- Structures need to be accountable
- Structures need to identify their stakeholders
- Structures need to have legal identity
- Limited liability companies, charitable trusts and incorporated societies can be effective vehicles for Maori economic development
- The relationship between kinship and economic development structures needs to be considered

7.5 Do you feel the structures you have identified need to have the approval and support of the Maori community in which economic development is occurring?

Respondents were almost unanimous in the view that an economic development structure needed to have the approval and support of the Maori community in which economic development is occurring. In discussing the importance of having a community's approval and support, however, respondents raised a variety of issues. Respondents also expressed a range of ideas as to how approval and support could be created within a community.

7.5.1 Support is necessary to gain access to information and influence how resources are utilised

To be successful, an economic development structure requires information which can often only be obtained from members of the community within which it operates. A structure needs to know the values and beliefs of the community it is operating within so that it can operate in a manner that is "tika" or correct. The goals and dreams of that community need to be made known so that the actions of the structure support the community's strategic direction. The nature of the resources controlled by the community need to be made known also so that the structure can begin developing strategies which will utilise those resources to assist the community in achieving the future it desires.

A community's support not only provides the structure with information it requires to function successfully but also enables the structure to influence how a community utilises its resources. Economic development involves the utilisation of resources to achieve desired goals, and the more community resources an economic development structure influences the utilisation of, the more likely it will be able to achieve those goals.

7.5.2 Support is necessary to encourage community participation

If a community does not support an economic development structure then that structure will find it difficult to encourage members of the community to participate in the formation and implementation of any development strategies it is proposing. Members of the community may choose not to work with the structure at all or may elect to work with the structure in some areas only. As a result a structure that does not enjoy a high degree of participation by the community it is working with will also find that it has little influence over how that community utilises its resources. While members of a community may be prepared to listen to what a structure proposes and even appear to agree with its strategies, if they feel they have not helped to formulate them they are unlikely to choose to implement them.

7.5.3 Approval comes from having a structure that will be supported by a community

Achieving a community's approval of an economic development structure was seen to be linked to choosing a structure that would be supported by the community. Whether a community would support a particular structure could be determined through engaging in genuine consultation with the community about the type of structure it would feel comfortable with.

Individuals or organisations engaging in genuine consultation should seek the ideas and views of a community and be prepared to adjust their planned structure on the basis of the information they received, and not merely present the community with a structure and expect that community to accept their choice. A process of genuine consultation should result in an economic development structure that is a match with the Maori community it is working with. The importance of achieving this match was discussed previously, in section 7.4.2.

7.5.4 How do you assess a community's approval?

Once a structure is in place the issue of how an individual or organisation assesses that community's approval of the structure on an on going basis becomes an important consideration. Again genuine consultation was recommended as this process involves the development of a relationship with a community and the development of a two way communication channel which facilitates regular feedback from the community on its satisfaction with the structure that has been put in place.

7.5.5 Degrees of support and approval of a structure and its actions

While an economic development structure requires the support of the community it is working with, the actual degree of support required depends on the level of Maori society at which the structure is operating. At the runanga level it was viewed as vital that a structure should have the full support of the community, while at the iwi level achieving unanimous community support was not viewed as necessary or even possible. In the words of one respondent:

"At iwi level you are acting in the interests of a wide group, so majority vote rather than consensus."

The nature of Maori society explains why unanimous support is viewed as so important at whanau and hapu levels. As one respondent stated:

"Maori society is very communal. You wouldn't have a small group of Maori setting up a venture without the support of their community."

Achieving a high degree of community support for a structure and its actions was generally considered as more important than obtaining community approval for its operations. Community support and approval were conceptualised as conferring different benefits on a structure. A community's support was viewed as providing a structure with access to information, influence over resources and community participation - all things a structure needs to function successfully.

Approval however was seen as the community being in agreement with the structure and its actions. Approval is a desirable goal for a structure but something which may not always occur. Therefore while a community may support a structure it may also at times choose to withhold its approval. This withholding of approval could be because the community was waiting to see the result of an action or because they wished to encourage the structure to pursue a different course of action.

7.5.6 Approval and support are generated through a community understanding the structure

The importance of a community understanding the structure of the entity engaging in economic development within their community was highlighted by several respondents, since:

“When Maori don’t understand a structure they feel patronised by it or intimidated by it.”

A community that feels patronised or intimidated by a structure is unlikely to confer upon it either their approval or support. What is more likely is that the community will either consciously or unconsciously attempt to subvert the actions of that structure.

7.5.7 Community support and approval is generated through encouraging individuals to believe in their hopes and dreams

A community comprises individuals who all have hopes and dreams for themselves and their families. Sometimes these hopes and dreams are very modest, sometimes they lie dormant, not fully conceptualised, and sometimes they have been crushed. Often an economic development structure needs to encourage people to believe again in the possibility of a better future, through improving the outlook of individuals and creating higher expectations.

An economic development structure that encourages individuals to believe that their hopes and dreams for themselves and their families can become a reality will generally be supported. A structure that formulates strategies which deliver the outcomes desired by individual community members will generate community approval. A successful economic structure recognises the importance of ensuring individual community members have a vested interest in the success of any community development strategy.

7.5.8 Need to move the community from beneficiary mode to a proprietary attitude

One of the challenges facing Maori communities is moving from a mindset of receiving state assistance and having very few communal assets and little control over those assets to being owners of substantial assets and recognising that they have a right to control how those assets are managed. This transition is not an easy one to make for a community, as it is:

“Difficult to learn how to manage assets if you haven’t owned assets in the past.”

Becoming comfortable with spending money is also an issue for some communities. Many communities now own assets which provide them with significant purchasing power but they are uncomfortable about making major purchases. There still exists a mindset among many that major expenditure requires the approval of an institution outside of the community, and that the community on its own should not be making this decision.

7.5.9 The purpose of a structure needs to be remembered

An economic development structure working within a Maori community needs to always remember that it was established for the benefit of that community and that its primary stakeholders are that community.

While a structure may have interactions with non-Maori individuals and organisations any pressure exerted from this direction to alter its structure or internal processes needs to be resisted. Non-Maori need to understand that the structure is in place for the development of Maori and should be prepared to interact with the structure on the basis of tikanga Maori.

7.5.10 A structure needs to have a mandate from a political institution created by the community

The first step in obtaining a community's approval and support for an economic development structure is to obtain a mandate from a political structure recognised as legitimate by that community. A mandate was seen as crucial in ensuring that the structure would be perceived as possessing legitimate authority within the community it was working for.

The success of any changes attempted under an economic development strategy are highly dependent on the degree of legitimate authority the institution overseeing the change is seen to possess. Legitimate authority enables a structure to gain access to information and influence how resources are utilised by a community, both of which are crucial to successful economic development.

7.5.11 Summary of respondent's answers to question four

Listed below are the themes that emerged from the respondents' answers:

- Support is necessary to gain access to information and influence how resources are utilised
- Support is necessary to encourage community participation
- Approval comes from having a structure that is supported by the community
- How do you assess a community's approval?
- There are degrees of support and approval and the level required by a structure depends on the level of Maori society at which it is operating
- Approval and support are generated through a community understanding the structure
- Community support and approval are generated through encouraging individuals to believe in their hopes and dreams
- A structure needs to move a community from beneficiary mode to a proprietary attitude
- The primary purpose of a structure needs to be remembered
- A structure needs to have a mandate from a political institution created by the community

7.6 What do you feel is the most appropriate means of soliciting from Maori communities what they understand the desired outcomes of economic development to be within those communities?

In answering this question some respondents first discussed what they felt an economic development structure needed to do before engaging in communication with a community. Other respondents focused their discussion solely on the types of communication channels an economic development structure could use to solicit from a community the outcomes it desired from economic development. The issues raised by both these approaches to the question are discussed below.

7.6.1 Ensure you have a mandate to collect this information

Even before a structure attempts to solicit information from a community it should ensure it has a mandate from that community. The importance of a structure obtaining a mandate was discussed previously in section 7.5.10.

7.6.2 Develop a community consultation strategy

A structure should develop a community consultation strategy before engaging in communication with any members of that community. This strategy would identify the nature of the community, who in the community should be approached and the best way to solicit their views and opinions.

The first part of a community consultation strategy, identifying members of the community, can often be the most difficult (as discussed previously in section 7.2.4). The decision as to whom in that community the structure should approach then needs to be carefully considered.

While consulting with only a few individuals identified as representing key stakeholders within the community is quicker and more cost effective than consulting with the community as a whole, this approach runs the risk of offending those community members who have not been consulted. Care must also be taken when deciding on the way in which information will be collected from the community.

It is important to note that this process of developing a consultation strategy should be undertaken for each of the communities a structure may be working with. Communities are different, and an appropriate consultation strategy for one community may not necessarily be appropriate for any other community. All consultation however should be genuine consultation for the reasons discussed in section 7.5.4.

7.6.3 Provide the community with information that is presented in an impartial manner

Information can be conveyed to decision makers in way that suggests a certain course of action is necessary or that a particular course of action is more favourable than alternatives. Economic development structures need to ensure that any information they provide is not only factual but also presented in a manner that does not steer the community towards a particular course of action. In the words of one respondent:

“Give information that allows choice not information that directs people to a certain choice.”

7.6.4 Kanohi ki te kanohi – Face to face communication

Being physically present to communicate your message is the most appropriate way to engage in communication with a Maori community. There is a strong cultural preference amongst Maori for this type of communication, which is expressed in the saying kanohi ki te kanohi or face to face. The need for kanohi ki te kanohi is viewed as especially important when wishing to commence a working relationship with someone and when serious issues need to be discussed. As one respondent commented:

“Maori like to see who they are dealing with.”

An economic development structure would initially need to engage in kanohi ki te kanohi to develop a relationship with the community. However once a representative of the structure had established a relationship with members of the community then other types of communication would become acceptable. Kanohi ki te kanohi communication embraces the Maori institution of hui, and the Pakeha institutions of meeting and interview.

7.6.5 Hui

A hui was viewed by most respondents as the best method of communicating with a Maori community. Hui is often translated into English as “meeting” but it is a unique Maori cultural institution which, while possessing some similarities to a meeting, is fundamentally a different communication strategy.

Prior to convening a hui panui are sent out through appropriate communication channels such as community newsletters, papatipu runanga meetings etc. The first panui would outline the kaupapa of the hui and request that individuals register their interest in attending the hui.

Further panui would outline the hui's ngatake or agenda and provide information about the issues to be discussed in order to stimulate thinking about these issues. Panui may also pose questions to the community for which the hui is seeking answers. Hui can be used to collect ideas and proposals from a community and are a synergistic process, since:

"One person might have a great idea that can be explained and developed further by others."

Information disclosed by hui participants can often not be widely known within a community and may be completely unknown to an outside institution convening a hui. Hui therefore facilitate both the dissemination of information within a community and exchange of information between a community and outsiders.

Convening a hui is also a way of facilitating community ownership of issues discussed. A community that has discussed an issue at a hui is generally interested in any future decisions that may be made regarding those issues. Hui create community participation in the economic development process through generating community awareness and involvement in decision making and strategy formation.

Hui are also viewed by communities as being pleasurable events. In the words of one respondent:

"Communities love hui, they love the debate."

One limitation of the hui as a communication strategy is that it is often more time consuming than a meeting.

Traditionally when an issue was examined at a hui a time limit on discussions was not imposed. This attitude towards time still exists among some Maori:

“There are no constraints on time when an issue has to be “hui”-ed. The hui is there until the issue has been solved.”

Hui may also be more expensive to convene than a meeting because the convenor of the hui is expected under tikanga to provide manaakitanga to those attending the hui, although those attending the hui are expected under tikanga to bring a koha or gift of money or food in recognition of the convenor's hospitality.

7.6.6 Meetings

The Pakeha institution of the meeting was seen as useful by some in allowing representatives of a structure to meet with various groups of people within a community over a short period of time. However these meetings were not viewed as part of a process of community consultation, but were instead viewed as a preliminary step to consultation, providing a structure with information it could use to begin the process. The large number of proposals and suggestions collected during meetings could be collated and then analysed to produce key ideas to be taken back to the community to initiate further discussion.

7.6.7 Interview members of the community

A structure may decide to interview individual community members as a means of determining what a community as a whole wants to achieve through economic development. The success of this approach to collecting information from a community, however, hinges on the structure's ability to identify who within the community has the appropriate mana or mandate to speak for the community, and the ability of the structure to conduct these interviews.

Interviewing the wrong individuals or conducting the interviews in an inappropriate manner can result in a structure alienating itself from the community it wishes to work with.

7.6.8 Monthly Newsletters

A less proactive approach to collecting information from a community involves the publication by a structure of progress reports in monthly newsletters that are distributed within that community and invite feedback.

While published material was viewed as a way of keeping a community informed about the progress of an economic development structure it was not considered a suitable way for a structure to gain community input into the formation of an economic development strategy.

7.6.9 Survey

An economic development structure could also consider a survey of community members as means of collecting information from that community. Te Runanga of Ngai Tahu has a membership database containing the postal address of all those who have registered as Ngai Tahu, as do most papatipu runanga. A survey as a data collection tool is less expensive than organising hui, meetings and interviews and could provide a structure with data more quickly than those other methods and approaches.

A survey utilising a poorly designed questionnaire or inappropriate sampling frame will however produce data that is valueless. Care needs to be taken when developing a questionnaire to avoid constructing an instrument that is confusing or limits respondents' choices, directing them to provide only answers the structure is seeking.

Surveys also generally treat all respondents' responses as equally valid. This approach does not recognise that within a Maori community the mana of some individuals means their views are more influential than others within the community. Filling out a survey also requires less effort than attending a meeting. A structure cannot therefore be as confident of community commitment to any development strategy formulated from data provided through a survey as if they had communicated kanohi ki te kanohi at a hui.

7.6.10 Encourage direct approaches from individual community members

A structure should be open to individual approaches from members of the community. Any such approaches need to be welcomed by the structure, which needs to be seen by the community to be giving its ideas due consideration. If community members feel their ideas are being dismissed out of hand then any further suggestions are unlikely to be forthcoming.

7.6.11 Wananga

Convening or attending wananga on economic development is also a way in which an economic development structure can solicit information from a community.

If convening a wananga a structure needs to consider if any individuals working for the structure have the necessary mana and knowledge to facilitate the wananga. The mana whenua of the region in which the wananga is planned should also be consulted as a matter of courtesy.

7.6.12 Summary of respondents' answers to question five

The following key ideas emerged from respondents' answers to this question are listed below:

- Ensure you have a mandate to collect information
- Develop a community consultation strategy
- Provide the community with information that is presented in an impartial manner
- Kanohi ki te kanohi – Face to face communication is preferable
- Hui is a good communication strategy
- Meetings can be useful to collect background information quickly
- Interviews if conducted properly can provide valuable information
- Progress reports in monthly newsletters are useful for keeping a community informed
- A survey relative to other data collection methods is cheaper and quicker but possesses considerable risks and drawbacks
- A structure should encourage direct approaches from individual community members
- Economic development wananga are useful for collecting information and formulating strategies

7.7 How would you go about helping a Maori community develop appropriate measures of success for desired outcomes of economic development within that community?

In answering this question respondents took two approaches. Some discussed how a structure could work with a community to develop appropriate measures of success for desired outcomes of economic development. Others recommended desirable outcomes for economic development and discussed what they felt were appropriate measures for these.

7.7.1 Engage in community consultation

Engaging in consultation with a community was seen as a key part of the process of helping that community develop appropriate measures of success for desired outcomes of economic development.

A challenge was seen in identifying the composition of a community a structure wished to work with. Equally important was identifying the various stakeholder groups within a community that crossed a broad section of social and economic groups.

Consultation was viewed as requiring face to face communication between representatives of a structure and members of the community, and hui were viewed as the most appropriate communication channel through which to ask a community how they would measure the success of economic development. When engaging in consultation a structure was seen as having an obligation to communicate at a level appropriate for the community they were working with, and being responsible for ensuring that the lines of communication between the structure and the community stayed open.

The process of consultation was viewed as a way for the community to drive the process of developing measures, ensuring that issues of concern to the community as opposed to individuals within the structure were addressed by economic development. An issue is highlighted by one respondent:

“For example, I might measure success in terms of income increase per capita, whereas it might be more important to them, the community, to have a growing fund to educate their youth.”

7.7.2 Determine where the community is now

Before a community begins thinking about where it would like to be, it needs to know where it is currently positioned, both as a collective and a grouping of individuals. There needs to be information on communally owned assets and income and on the well being of individual community members. In the words of one respondent:

“Appropriate measures presuppose a bench mark against which outcomes can be measured. If you are going to help a community develop appropriate measures then you really need to identify where they are now.”

Papatipu runanga have information on communally owned assets and income, though how this information is organised varies, and information on some categories of assets (such as cultural) is often not written down and known only to a few. Data on the income levels, educational attainment, abilities and skills, fluency in te reo, knowledge of tikanga, living arrangements and state of health of the individuals who comprise their community is generally unknown, as few papatipu runanga have begun collecting this type of data on the individuals they represent.

Respondents felt there was a need for communities to have a database that detailed this type of information about the individual members of the community in order to determine the community's current state of wellbeing, and to identify any areas of disparity between the community and the wider New Zealand society.

7.7.3 Raise the community's expectations

A structure as part of the process of helping a community develop appropriate measures of success for desired outcomes of economic development needs to raise that community's expectations. Some respondents felt that many communities had low expectations of themselves as a community and as individuals, a situation that needed to be remedied before formulating any measures.

The fact that so many communities do not set ambitious goals for themselves may be attributable to the fact that the majority of statistics and information about Maori in the mainstream media is overwhelmingly negative. In order to encourage a community to expect more from themselves that community needs successes and role models. A structure needs to have strategies in place to deliver initial successes and communicate the stories of those role models. It is important for a structure to create an expectation of being successful. As one respondent stated:

"Start out with small wins, as people need to see results."

7.7.4 Give community members management roles

For some respondents helping a community develop appropriate measures of success for desired outcomes of economic development requires an economic development structure to give individual community members management roles in that structure. Members of the community need to have positions within the structure that enable them to directly influence the structure's decision making process. When appointing community members to management roles within an economic development structure, however, the governance body of that structure needs to be prepared to accept initial failures. In the words of one respondent:

"Allowing people to fail is important, people learn through their mistakes."

Community appointees to a structure may need to be mentored, and it is the responsibility of the structure's governance body to find appropriate mentors. Young people in particular within the community should be encouraged into management roles within the structure as they are the community's future leaders, but are often unwilling to put their names forward because they feel an older member of the community should be given the opportunity first or because they do not wish to be seen as whakahihi.

7.7.5 Ensure there is a timeframe for any plan

The development of appropriate measures for economic development outcomes was for some respondents dependent on ensuring that any plan formulated by a structure included a timeframe. This timeframe would detail when specific tasks the structure wanted to achieve should be completed, and thus indicate when the community should assess its progress at achieving desired outcomes using the measures it had developed.

Appropriate measures were therefore conceptualised by these respondents as being time related, assessing progress at a predetermined point in time. Assessing a measure at a predetermined time was seen as especially essential for financial measures.

The omission of time as a component in the planning process by many Maori communities was seen by some respondents as an oversight that often resulted in economic development initiatives failing. Failure to incorporate time into the planning process resulted in wastage of resources, poor co-ordination of resources and individual community members not realising the amount of time they needed to allocate to the process. As one respondent stated:

“Often in Maori communities there is no timeframe set and even when a timeframe is set people become over committed.”

7.7.6 Ensure any plan contains progress reviews

Linked to the idea of ensuring that an economic development plan had a timeframe was the importance of ensuring that any plan contained stages or dates at which progress was reviewed and feedback sought from those implementing the plan. A structure’s progress in implementing the plan should be assessed using the measures developed by the community and the structure. Feedback provided on the progress of the plan should be conveyed in terms of the measures developed, and should identify what actions the structure needed to undertake to keep the plan on track.

At a minimum a review should be conducted at the end of the plan’s timeframe to ensure that desired outcomes have been reached, and at this date an assessment of the plan’s success should be conducted.

If outcomes have not been met then a structure needs to conduct an analysis to identify what prevented it from achieving the outcomes set out in the plan. This information should then be communicated to the community.

7.7.7 Responsibility of structure to develop measures

While most respondents felt that an economic development structure should work with a community to develop appropriate measures of success there was a dissenting view. A few respondents took the position that it was solely the responsibility of the economic development structure to identify appropriate measures and determine how these should be implemented. These respondents did however acknowledge that a structure had an obligation to explain to the various stakeholder groups within the community what these measures were and how they were going to be utilised.

7.7.8 Measures suggested by respondents

Respondents who took the approach of recommending appropriate measures for the outcomes of economic development discussed a range of measures covering financial, social and cultural issues.

Those respondents who discussed financial measures had generally conceptualised economic development as involving the establishment by a community of a commercial venture and identified return on capital invested, regular cash flows and profit levels as appropriate measures. These financial measures all relate to the ability of an enterprise to generate revenue.

The focus on revenue relates to the intention to use profits produced by a community owned enterprise to fund other activities viewed as desirable by a community. A further financial measure was the ability of a community to disburse funds to targeted groups within that community. As one respondent stated:

"An appropriate measure for economic development is the amount of money that can be disbursed in the form of grants for health and education."

For another respondent the act of establishing a commercial enterprise by a community was the primary measure of the success of economic development, for:

"If we move from bank investments to a business then we will be successful."

This again emphasises the central place in an economic development strategy the establishing of a community owned commercial enterprise has for some Maori.

Employment of community members was discussed as a measure by two respondents. Of these, one viewed employment as a by/product of a successful community owned commercial venture, since:

"If you have a viable enterprise it will produce jobs."

The other respondent who identified employment as an appropriate measure did so with reservations, stating:

"I have hesitations about this measure because often when the funding for the project stops, the jobs stop. If jobs become the major priority then you run the risk of over staffing."

A community that decides to use employment as a measure of the success of economic development needs to be able to determine whether employment created is self sustaining.

Other social issues such as housing and health were also identified as appropriate measures for determining the success of economic development. Again these measures were linked to the establishment of a successful community owned commercial venture, the profits from which would fund initiatives that would lead to improvements in community member housing and health.

Cultural benefits as a measure was suggested by one respondent who considered that a community's improved ability to protect wahi tapu sites and increased knowledge of tikanga and kawa were appropriate measures. A successful community owned commercial venture was again crucial to fund programmes that would attempt to achieve these cultural benefits.

7.7.9 Summary of respondents' answers to question six

Two streams of thought emerged in respondents' answers to this question: the steps a structure needed to take to develop, in partnership with a community, appropriate measures for economic development; and the identification by respondents of what they felt were appropriate measures. The key ideas from these two streams are summarised as follows:

- A structure needs to engage in consultation with a community
- A community's current situation needs to be identified
- The expectations of a community need to be raised
- Community members need to be given management roles in the structure
- Economic development plans need to have a timeframe and progress reviews
- Financial measures are crucial especially for plans involving the establishment of community owned commercial ventures
- Employment of community members can be an appropriate measure with safeguards
- Other social issues such as housing and health can be appropriate measures
- Cultural preservation and advancement can be an appropriate measure

7.8 How would you go about determining what a Maori community's priorities are in terms of the desired outcomes of economic development within that community?

This was considered by several respondents the hardest of the seven questions to answer, and initially two respondents were unsure how they would answer. The difficulty for respondents is reflected in the range of approaches they took in answering this question. Some discussed the role of a structure as a facilitator of a community driven decision regarding priorities for development, while others discussed why and how they felt priorities should be determined by an economic development structure. Some identified what were in their opinion priorities for economic development.

7.8.1 Listen to community members

When attempting to prioritize desired outcomes for economic development a structure needs to ensure it knows the priorities of the community it is working with. In seeking this information from the community a structure needs to ensure it is communicating with individuals or groups who have the necessary mana to answer this question for the community. This issue was highlighted by the following comment:

"Sometimes people think they are asking but they are not asking in the right place."

Community members know what outcomes are priorities for their community as they are part of that community. Being part of a community provides an individual with a wealth of knowledge about that community and allows them to view issues from the community's perspective.

Communication with community members on outcome priorities for economic development should occur as part of a structure's community consultation strategy. The communication channels recommended by respondents for consultation on this issue were a hui or survey as both of these channels collect information from the community as a whole. A hui was viewed by some respondents as being the more appropriate communication channel though, because it operated according to a consensus process.

7.8.2 Need to account for the human factor in decision making

Structures need to be aware of the effect of individual community members' personalities on the decision making process of their community when engaging in consultation. In the words of one respondent:

"Individuals can sway decisions in their favour."

Consultation needs to be undertaken in a manner that prevents individuals from dominating community discussions and encourages all community members to participate. A challenge is empowering individuals to contribute who have previously not been active members of their community. There is sometimes resistance in the governing bodies of communities to listen to the ideas and opinions of those who are viewed as newcomers. This problem is expressed in one respondent's description of his/her papatipu runanga.

"If you are new the old guard won't listen."

7.8.3 A structure needs to facilitate community control over decisions

Economic development structures need to ensure that the final decision regarding the prioritization of a community's desired outcomes for economic development is made by the community.

Community control over this decision can be facilitated by a structure seeking a community mandate for any actions to be taken or placing community members in senior management roles.

Individuals with the necessary skills and knowledge through prior experience or capacity building can be given positions within the structure that enable them to directly influence the prioritizing of their community's desired outcomes for economic development. The importance of giving community members management roles and the issues surrounding this were discussed previously in section 7.7.4.

7.8.4 Need to identify constraints

While a structure may need to raise a community's expectations, as discussed in section 7.7.3, it may also need to help a community identify constraints that make the achieving of some desired outcomes unlikely or impossible. The following statements from respondents highlight this role of a structure:

"You can only do so much with what you have."

"When determining priorities reality check comes in."

"Need to take a logical approach and look at what you have now and what it is you desire as an outcome."

7.8.5 Utilise existing resources

An economic development structure needs to encourage the community it is working with to prioritise economic development outcomes that utilise existing resources.

As many communities do not often have information detailing all the resources available to them this data may need to be collected and collated. A structure if conducting this process may need to obtain a specific community mandate before collecting any data. An audit of a community's resources should be completed before attempting to prioritise economic development outcomes. As one respondent stated:

"You need to be very aware of your current resource base in determining your priorities."

7.8.6 Collate range of outcomes

An economic development structure may find that the process of compiling the desired economic development outcomes of a community may identify priorities. When collected together it may be obvious that some outcomes are more important to achieve, as they will result in an improved state of wellbeing for the community, or because some outcomes are dependent on other outcomes being achieved first. This last idea was expressed by one respondent in the following way:

"Some things are logical.... some things have a logical sequence."

7.8.7 Utilise outside expertise

Several respondents felt that a structure should be prepared to utilise expertise outside of the structure and the community. In prioritising a community's economic development outcomes expert knowledge may be required or commissioned research necessary to decide on priorities.

Commercial experience was also seen as something a structure or community might need to seek from outside. Given the central role community owned commercial ventures play in most respondents' conceptualisation of Maori economic development, the importance placed on securing access to this knowledge is not surprising.

The use of outside expertise by communities was viewed positively, and occurs regularly. Several papatipu runanga have sought development advice from individuals and organisations outside of their immediate community. An example cited by respondents was Ngai Tahu Development Corporation who provides expertise in a range of areas that papatipu runanga can access.

7.8.8 Encourage a community to consider more than just financial outcomes

An economic development structure should also encourage the community it is working with to consider more than just economic outcomes. Communities need to be supported in prioritising outcomes that while not the most financially optimal deliver other benefits which are difficult to assess monetarily. As one respondent stated:

"What seems best from a cultural, emotional view may not be the best from a pure economic view."

Another respondent felt that any outcome should have an historic or cultural dimension as well as generating a financial return, and that outcomes that did not protect and promote a community's history or culture should not be considered. While protecting a community's history or culture were essential components of an outcome for this respondent others took the position that outcomes with a cultural or historic dimension should merely take precedence over outcomes delivering just a financial return.

The majority of respondents felt that outcomes that would only generate a financial return should not be immediately eliminated from or relegated in a list of priorities. This attitude can be explained by the way in which Maori economic development is conceptualised by the majority of respondents, a process involving the establishment of community owned commercial ventures whose profits are utilised to support cultural and social initiatives.

7.8.9 Why a structure needs to determine economic development priorities for a community

A few respondents felt that the prioritisation of a community's economic development outcomes should be decided by the economic development structure, and two reasons were put forward for this position.

Some respondents felt that the majority of the community would have difficulty understanding measures developed to assess the desirability of outcomes and as such would not be able to apply the measures accurately to the range of outcomes proposed. This situation could give a distorted picture of the benefits an outcome would deliver to the community. As one respondent stated:

"A lot of people don't understand measures and how to prioritise outcomes".

Other respondents were concerned that a structure would find it very difficult to achieve agreement in a community as to the priority of economic development outcomes. The problem of obtaining agreement within a community they felt would grow with the size of the community the structure was working with. As one respondent stated:

"The bigger the community the more difficult to get agreement."

Unless a structure was prepared and able to invest significant resources to consult with a community these respondents felt it was more logical for the structure to prioritise economic development outcomes for the community.

7.8.10 How a structure could determine economic development priorities for a community

Those respondents who felt the prioritisation of a community's economic development outcomes should be the responsibility of an economic development structure discussed a variety of ways in which a structure could make this decision.

When a structure is deciding on the outcomes it will try and achieve, attempting to deliver the outcomes desired by those community members who participate in the governing of the community may be the easiest approach. A structure that pursues this strategy should minimise the amount of conflict between itself and the community it is working with. Certainly attempting to deliver the outcomes of this group within the community is easier for a structure than trying to deliver the outcomes that may be desired by community members who are not active participants in their community.

A structure could prioritise outcomes by the benefits they deliver, choosing to implement initiatives whose outcomes most improve a community's state of well being. This approach requires that a structure's concept of wellbeing matches that of the community's. However, there is a significant risk that this may not be the case.

Feasibility studies of proposed initiatives also enable a structure to prioritise outcomes. Outcomes attached to initiatives not deemed feasible can be abandoned and the resources of the structure and the community channelled into achieving outcomes that are feasible.

A structure may be able to utilise a community investment strategy if one has been formulated, to prioritise outcomes. An investment strategy would indicate what outcomes are priorities based on the financial goals outlined in the strategy. It is crucial however that any such strategy should have the support of the whole community.

Te Runanga O Ngai Tahu's investment strategy: "Mo tatou, a, mo ka uri a muri ake nei" - for us and those after us - is future focused and most papatipu runanga are also concerned about the financial needs of future generations in their investment strategy. The need to ensure pūtea for future generations prioritises economic development outcomes that minimise the risk of losing investment capital.

If a community has formulated a strategic plan then a structure should use this document to prioritise outcomes for economic development. Economic development initiatives need to support the overall strategic direction of a community. A community's strategic plan outlines that community's vision for itself and the goals it has set itself to achieve that vision. Economic development outcomes that help achieve a community's goals should be given priority over outcomes not related to the strategic plan.

However a structure decides to prioritise outcomes for economic development it needs to convey to the community what outcomes it will attempt to deliver and why these outcomes were chosen as priorities. As one respondent stated:

"A structure needs to communicate a story. Very very important to do this correctly."

7.8.11 Respondents' priorities for economic development

Respondents did not generally identify specific outcome priorities for economic development. The importance however of generating revenue and creating employment was discussed and the need for outcomes to have a cultural or historic dimension was also mentioned.

7.8.12 Summary of respondents' answers to question seven

The following key ideas emerged from respondents' answers to this question:

- A structure should listen to a community's priorities
- The human factor in decision making needs to be accounted for
- A structure needs to facilitate community control over the prioritisation of outcomes
- Constraints need to be identified by a structure
- Existing resources should influence the prioritisation of outcomes
- A structure should collate all outcomes as this will assist in their prioritisation
- Outside expertise should be utilised if necessary to provide information useful in prioritising outcomes
- A structure should encourage a community to consider more than just financial outcomes
- A structure may need to take responsibility for the prioritisation of outcomes
- Generating revenue and creating employment are priorities for economic development outcomes
- An outcome should have a cultural or historic dimension

Chapter Eight: Conclusion

8.0 Introduction

This study aimed to investigate the process of economic development within a Maori context (Te Ao Maori), to identify successful models or processes for economic development that could be utilised by Maori for future economic progress.

As a non-Maori researching in a Maori context the researcher felt the need to develop a culturally appropriate research strategy to ensure he protected the interests of his research subjects, himself and the value of the knowledge that was shared with him (Murchie, 1984; Smith, 1992; Stokes, 1987). This study followed Smith's (1992) "tiaki" or "mentor" model, where Maori authorities facilitate the research process.

Secondary and primary data were utilised to answer the research objectives set out in chapter one. Secondary data came from existing literature on economic development, and analysis of three documents: Whakatupuranga Rua Mano – Generation 2000, Ngai Tahu 2025 and an economic development report prepared for Te Taumutu Runanga. Primary data were collected through personal interviews with Maori individuals involved with the process of economic development in the rohe of Te Runanga o Ngai Tahu.

The following sections conclude this study's findings with regard to its research objectives.

8.1 What is "Maori economic development"?

Exploring from a western academic perspective the meaning of the term "economic development" and what the process may encompass enabled the following generic definition of the term to be constructed.

Economic development is a change process initiated by a value judgement that the current state of a community is not as desirable as a future state that can be attained through restructuring its society to increase economic output.

The success of this social restructuring is influenced by the culture and political processes of the community, and the relationship between a community's economy and its cultural and political institutions is one of interdependence (Korten, 1980; Uphoff, 1992; Mosse, 1998). A community's economy supports its cultural and political institutions (Wilmer, 2000) and these institutions will have initially had an economic rationale for their existence (Knight, 1991).

A society creates an economy and individuals are motivated to form a society for the mutual benefits it provides (Phelps, 1985), which include economic benefits. Societies form political entities and government is the system by which a political entity is governed. Governments exist primarily to protect and regulate property rights (Alchian and Demsetz, 1973; Phelps, 1985), a key component of any economy, through the enforcement of law. Governments can initiate the social and cultural change necessary for economic development through policy (Wolf, 1996). Nation states in the Western paradigm are recognised as possessing sovereignty i.e. the sole right to make law within their territory.

A review of literature pertaining to the Maori economy and Maori development adds to the understanding of what constitutes Maori economic development.

Pre-contact Maori possessed an economy based on the utilisation of the natural resources of New Zealand (Firth, 1973). In the South Island Ngai Tahu utilised an extensive range of natural resources and had extensive trade networks throughout the South Island and links with the North Island (Wai 27).

Membership of a kinship based social group was crucial for survival, with whanua being the primary economic unit, with major economic activities conducted by hapu (Firth 1973). Iwi were a political entity utilised primarily in times of warfare (O'Regan, 2001). The leadership of kinship groups was inherited but leaders maintained their power through displaying qualities that contributed to the economic wellbeing of their group (Perrett and Patterson, 1991). The leadership of Maori political units was open to utilising knowledge generated outside of the kinship group (Walker, 1990). Cultural institutions were also developed that facilitated the sustainable management of natural resources, and access to these resources, and enabled trade (Durie, 1998; Pere, 1982, 1995).

Maori initially saw the arrival of Europeans as an opportunity to accumulate mana and reviewed the new technology and resources that Europeans brought to New Zealand, adopting what they wanted and integrating it into their world (Wright, 1967; Durie, 1998). The partial adoption of European goods and agricultural practices by Maori did however result occasional in commercial losses (Hargreaves, 1959). The accumulation of mana and the honouring of obligations created under tohatoha were the principle drivers of the 1800s Maori economy and by the 1850s this economy was unstable due to high levels of debt (Monin, 1995). Europeans facilitated the creation of this debt, encouraging Maori to use land as security.

The process of colonisation resulted in a transfer of resources from Maori to Pakeha and the deliberate disestablishment of Maori cultural and political institutions as a matter of government policy (Durie, 1998; 2003). Maori were to be assimilated into Pakeha social and political institutions. This policy of assimilation ran counter to the offer of partnership extended by the Crown to Maori under the Treaty of Waitangi.

Te Tiriti (the te reo version of the Treaty) gave the Crown kawanatanga in return for Maori retaining rangatiratanga, the right to manage their own resources. The English language version of the Treaty of Waitangi gave the Crown sovereignty in return for respecting Maori ownership of their lands, forests, fisheries and villages. The Crown failed to honour the promise made in both Te Tiriti and English version of the Treaty of Waitangi.

Neither Te Tiriti nor the English version of the Treaty of Waitangi was ever ratified or given any legal status by the Crown until the 1975 Treaty of Waitangi Act which established the Waitangi Tribunal. In 1985 the Treaty of Waitangi Amendment Act extended the tribunal's jurisdiction back to February 1840, enabling historic claims against the Crown such as Ngai Tahu's to be heard.

From this literature two key points emerge which are useful in conceptualising what Maori economic development is:

- A Maori economy existed prior to European arrival based on communal utilisation of natural resources. Cultural and political institutions evolved to regulate how and when these resources were utilised, and to facilitate trade
- The process of colonisation attempted to disestablish Maori cultural and political institutions in order to facilitate the transfer of land from Maori to Pakeha and to enable the assimilation of Maori into the settler state of New Zealand

The analysis of Whakatupuranga Rua Mano – Generation 2000, Te Taumutu Runanga Economic Development Report, and Ngai Tahu 2025 provides further information which can be used in formulating a conception of what constitutes Maori economic development:

- A desire for change within the community and its relationship with the wider environment initiated the process

- Traditional political institutions possessing legitimate authority controlled the process
- Leaders within the community played key roles in formulating strategy
- A mandate for the strategy was sought through community consultation
- The preservation of culture and traditional social structures was an important driver

Primary data collected from Maori individuals involved with the process of economic development in the rohe of Te Runanga o Ngai Tahu adds to our understanding, with respondents stating that:

- There is an historic dimension to Maori economic development
- Tikanga is part of Maori economic development
- Maori economic development requires appropriate structures to be put in place
- Maori economic development involves identifying the Maori community
- Maori economic development involves meeting community aspirations
- Achieving tino rangatiratanga and economic independence are goals of Maori economic development
- Acknowledgment of mana whenua should be part of Maori economic development
- Maori economic development is a vehicle for achieving social outcomes and reducing disparities

Drawing these three streams of knowledge together the following conceptualisation of Maori economic development can be achieved:

Maori economic development is a change process involving a Maori community, brought about through traditional cultural and political institutions seeking to restore tino rangatiratanga in order to achieve greater wellbeing.

From the seven questions put to respondents the following points also emerged regarding Maori economic development.

8.2 How can the tikanga of the Maori community in which economic development is occurring be incorporated at all stages of the process?

The role of tikanga within the process of Maori economic development is complex and at times appears contradictory. The following points, however, can help a Maori community incorporate tikanga into the process.

- Start with identifying values that the whole community agrees with and explain how these relate to tikanga
- Recognise that within a community there will be different levels of knowledge surrounding what is “tika”
- Increasing individual’s understanding of “what is tika” results in greater ease and comfort in practicing tikanga
- Prevent knowledge of tikanga being used to restrict access to the decision making process of economic development
- Recognise that aspects of tikanga can be inimical to commercial business practices, and at times tikanga Pakeha may be acceptable

8.3 What is the most appropriate means of developing structures to be used as a vehicle for achieving economic development that will have the approval and support of the Maori community in which development is occurring?

That an appropriate structure is in place is crucial to the success of Maori economic development. A prerequisite for the creation of an appropriate structure is that a community must have a political institution that is recognised as possessing legitimate authority. This political institution either then takes on the responsibilities of the economic development programme or is the governance body for the structure that is delegated the task.

Any structure that takes on the responsibilities of an economic development programme needs to possess cultural match with the community it is working with and should have been formed at the appropriate level of Maori society.

That structure should also have a legal identity under New Zealand law to facilitate the protection of individuals' and communities' financial assets through legally separating them from those of the structure.

A process of genuine community consultation should be undertaken to develop a structure which:

- Knows its stakeholders
- Recognises the individual rights of community members
- Facilitates community participation in its decision making process
- Is accountable to the community

8.4 Do structures need to have the approval and support of the Maori community in which economic development is occurring?

That an economic development structure has the approval and support of the Maori community in which economic development is occurring is crucial for two key reasons:

- Support is necessary to gain access to information and influence how resources are utilised
- Support is necessary to encourage community participation

Approval comes from developing a structure that will be supported by the community, and community support is generated by a structure having a mandate from the community's political institution and which is understood by the community. A structure also generates community support and approval through encouraging individuals to believe in their hopes and dreams.

The degree of support and approval required by a structure, however, depends on the level of Maori society at which it is operating. Structures operating at hapu level require greater levels of approval and community support than structures operating at an iwi or confederation level, a fact necessitated by the communal nature of Maori society.

8.5 What is the most appropriate means of soliciting from Maori communities what their desired outcomes of economic development are?

Before an economic development structure engages in communication with a community to identify its desired outcomes of economic development it needs to ensure it has a mandate to collect this information. A structure then needs to develop a community consultation strategy. As part of this strategy protocols need to be developed that ensure that any information presented to the community is presented in an unbiased manner, to ensure that the structure does not manipulate decisions made by the community.

In summary, under this heading, it can be seen that a range of communication channels, exist that an economic development structure could use to solicit from a community the outcomes it desires from economic development. The most appropriate involves kanohi ki te kanohi or face to face communication. Hui appear to be the best communication tool, although meetings can be used to collect background information quickly. Economic development wananga are useful for collecting information and formulating strategies. Interviews if conducted properly can provide valuable information, but identifying individuals with the necessary mandate to be spokespeople for their community can pose a problem. Progress reports in monthly newsletters are useful for keeping a community informed and maintaining a structure's mandate.

8.6 What is the most appropriate method of helping Maori communities develop appropriate measures of success for the desired outcomes of their economic development?

This question raised two important issues. Firstly, what pre-conditions need to be in place before an organisation can work with a community to help develop appropriate measures of success for the desired outcomes of their economic development, and, secondly what are appropriate measures?

The most important pre-condition is that a structure has developed an appropriate community consultation strategy. However, being able to create a picture of a community's current situation is also crucial, otherwise how would a community know if a structure has made any progress? The act of measuring pre-supposes that you know your starting position for the variable you are measuring. The expectations of a community also need to be raised so that they do not limit the set of potential measures under consideration through self censorship. Community members need to be given management roles in the structure to ensure that measures developed are of importance to the community, and any economic development plan needs to include a timeframe and progress reviews otherwise the development of measures is a pointless exercise.

Financial measures are crucial especially for plans involving the establishment of community owned commercial ventures, and the employment of community members can be an appropriate measure within certain limits. Other social issues such as the development of community housing and improvement of community health can also be appropriate measures. Cultural preservation and advancement are key measures for Maori economic development plans.

8.7 How can the priorities of Maori communities be identified in terms of the desired outcomes of their economic development?

This is probably the most difficult question to answer, and can be viewed in two ways. An economic development structure can act as a facilitator of a community driven decision regarding priorities for development, or it can utilise its mandate to decide what the priorities are.

If a structure decides to facilitate a community driven decision then it needs to take into account the human factor in decision making. Individuals possessing strong personalities may try to take control of their community's decision making processes to achieve outcomes that benefit them personally.

As part of facilitating a community decision a structure should collate all the discussed outcomes and identify for the community any constraints that exist as this may assist the community's prioritisation. A structure should encourage a community to consider more than just financial outcomes.

A structure that decides to exercise its community mandate and make the decision regarding priorities for development should be influenced by the community's existing resources, choosing outcomes that have the best match with these resources. Any outcome should also have a cultural or historic dimension. Structures should also not be afraid of utilising outside expertise if necessary to provide information that can be used to prioritise the goals a community wants to achieve through economic development.

8.8 The Challenge to New Zealand

Maori economic development presents a challenge to New Zealand society as a whole because it is a process in which the fundamental driver is the desire by Maori communities to restore tino rangatiratanga. Tino rangatiratanga requires the nation state of New Zealand to consider how it can accommodate the desire of Maori communities to manage their own resources and people.

This is a challenge that cannot be ignored for reasons of social justice and the economic wellbeing of both Maori and non-Maori. It is an issue of social justice because within New Zealand society Maori do not enjoy the same share of the "goods of life" as non-Maori (Sharp, 1991, Durie, 1998, Te Puni Kokiri, 2000a). An individual's share of the goods of life influences the degree to which he or she participates in the economy of his or her society, and due to their lower share of these goods, Maori participation in New Zealand's economy is not equal to that of non-Maori.

New Zealand demographics show that both Maori economic strength and political strength are growing. In 2001 the number of working age Maori (16-64) was 350,000. By 2021 this figure will 468,000, an increase of 34% (Department of Labour, 2004). As a result of the aging of New Zealand's population most new entrants to the labour force will be Maori (Department of Labour, 2004).

The percentage of New Zealanders who identify as Maori is growing, with Maori predicted to rise from 15% in 2000 to 18% by 2025 (Te Puni Kokiri, 2000a). Under New Zealand's Mixed Member Proportional representation political system of government Maori will have increasing influence on future government policies and composition.

In 1840 the Treaty of Waitangi held the promise of a partnership between two peoples, Maori and Pakeha, and it is a promise that is as yet unfulfilled. The time to examine the institutions of New Zealand to create that partnership may have at long last arrived. In the process of that examination, the reality of a buoyant and flourishing Maori economy may play a crucial and determining role.

References

- Alchian, A.A. & Demsetz, H. (1973) The property rights paradigm. Journal of Economic History, 33, (3): 17
- Adams, W.M. (1990). Green development. Environment and sustainability in the third world. London: Routledge.
- Berger, P. (1974) Pyramids of sacrifice: Political ethics and social change. New York: Basic Books.
- Barlow, Cleve (1991). Tikanga whakaaro, Key concepts in Maori culture. Oxford University Press, New Zealand.
- Baumol, W.J., Blinder, A.S., Gunther, A.W., & Hicks, J.R.L. (1988) Economic principles and policy, Australian Edition. Sydney: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich Publishers.
- Berenson, M.L., Levine, D.M., & Rindskopf, D. (1988). Applied statistics, a first course. New Jersey: Prentice Hall.
- Bresnen, M. (1988). Insights on Site: Research into construction project organisations. In A. Bryman (ed.), Doing research in organisations. London: Routledge.
- Casson, M. & Godley, A. Cultural factors in economic growth. In M. Casson & A. Godley (eds), Cultural factors in economic growth, Berlin, Springer 2000, pp.1-43.
- Cleave, P. (1989). The sovereignty game: power, knowledge and reading the Treaty. Wellington: Victoria University Press.
- Coffey, A. & Atkinson, P. (1996). Making sense of qualitative data. London: Sage Publications.
- Cormack, I. (2000). He pa auroa, A dictionary and language guide for students of Maori. Takapuna: New House Publishers Limited.
- Cornell, S. (2000). Nation building and indigenous peoples. Conference Proceedings, Nation Building and Maori Development in the 21st Century Conference: 30th August to 1 September 2000. University of Waikato: School of Maori and Pacific Development.
- Davidson, G. & Davidson, P. (1988) Economics for a civilised society, New York: W.W. Norton & Company, Inc.

Davidson, J. (1995) The polynesian foundation. In Geoffrey, W. Rice (ed.), The Oxford History of New Zealand, Second Edition. Auckland: Oxford University Press.

Department of Labour, (2004). Trends in Maori labour outcomes 1986-2003. Online at <http://www.huitaumata.maori.nz/pdf/labour.pdf>

Department of Maori Studies, Massey University, (1995). Kia pumau tonu: proceedings of the Hui Whakapumau, Maori Development Conference, August, 1994. Palmerston North: Department of Maori Studies, Massey University.

Douglas, E. (1991). "Te iwi Maori", In Franklin, H. & Willis, R. (eds), New Zealand in the 1980s, Market forces in the welfare state, Special Issue of Pacific Viewpoint. 32: 2, Victoria University of Wellington: Department of Geography in association with Victoria University Press.

Durie, M.,H., (1997). "Mana motuhake, The state of the Maori nation", in Raymond Miller (ed.), New Zealand politics in transition, Auckland: Oxford University Press

Durie, M.H. (1998) Te Mana, Te Kawanatanga, the politics of Maori Self-Determination. Auckland: Oxford University Press.

Durie, M.H. (2000). Contemporary Maori development: Issues and broad directions. Hamilton: School of Maori and Pacific Development/Te Pua Wananga kit e Ao, University of Waikato/Te Whare Wananga o Waikato.

Durie, M.H. (2003). Nga Kahui Pou, Launching Maori futures. Wellington: Hui Publishers.

Durie, W.T.J. (1991). The Treaty in Maori history. In W. Renwick (ed.), Sovereignty and Indigenous Rights: The Treaty of Waitangi in international contexts (p.156-166). Wellington: Victoria university Press.

Dutt, A.K. (1992). Two Issues in the State of development economics. In Dutt, A.K. & Jameson, K.P. (eds), New drections in development economics. Aldershot: Edward Elgar Publishing Limited.

Eldred-Grigg, S. (1980). A southern gentry, New Zealanders who inherited the earth. Wellington: A.H. and A. W. Reed Ltd.

Ellison, P.H.V. (1997). The manipulation of Maori voice: A kaupapa Maori analysis of the Picot policy process. Wellington: Department of Education, Victoria University.

Evison, H.C. (1987). Ngai Tahu land rights and the Crown pastoral lease lands in the South Island of New Zealand. Christchurch: Ngai Tahu Maori Trust Board.

Eysenck, M.W. & Keane, M.T. (1995). Cognitive Psychology, A student's handbook, 3rd Edition. Hillsdale, USA: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Freire, P. (1972). Pedagogy of the oppressed. Middlesex, England, Penguin Books.

Firth, R. (1973). Economics of the New Zealand Maori. Wellington, New Zealand, Shearer, A.R., Government Printer.

Franklin, H. (1991). Editorial. In Franklin, H. & Willis, R. (eds), New Zealand in the 1980s, Market forces in the welfare state, Special Issue of Pacific Viewpoint. 32: 2, Victoria University of Wellington: Department of Geography in association with Victoria University Press.

Franklin, H. (1991a). Economy. In Franklin, H. & Willis, R. (eds), New Zealand in the 1980s, Market forces in the welfare state, Special Issue of Pacific Viewpoint. 32: 2, Victoria University of Wellington: Department of Geography in association with Victoria University Press.

Galbraith, J.K. (1967). The new industrial state. Boston: Houghton Mifflin.

Gibbs, N. (1998). Genetically modified organisms and Maori cultural and ethical issues. Commissioned by the Ministry for the Environment. Wellington: Government Print.

Gillis, M., Perkins, D.H., Roemer, M. & Snodgrass, D.R. (1996) Economics of development, Fourth edition. New York: W.W. Norton & Company.

Greensill, A. (1999). Genetic engineering: Maori views and values. *Pacific World* (Oct.): 25-28.

Griffin, K. (1992). Suggestions for an international development strategy for the 1990s. In Dutt, A.K. & Jameson, K.P. (eds), New directions in development Economics. Aldershot: Edward Elgar Publishing Limited.

Goulet, D. (1971). The Cruel Choice – A New Concept in the Theory of development. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Center for the study of development and social change.

Goulet, D. (1992). "Development".... or liberation? In Wilber, C.A. & Jameson, K.P. (eds), The political economy of development and underdevelopment, Fifth edition. New York: McGraw-Hill, Inc.

Goulet, D. (1995). Development ethics: A guide to theory and practice. London: Zed Books Ltd.

Goulet, D. & Wilber, C.K. (1992). The human dilemma of development. In Wilber, C.A. & Jameson, K.P. (eds), The political economy of development and underdevelopment, Fifth edition. New York: McGraw-Hill, Inc.

Hargreaves, R.P. (1959). The Maori agriculture of the Auckland province in the mid-nineteenth century. Journal of the Polynesian Society, 68 (2), p. 61-79.

Heywood, A. (1998). Politics. London: MacMillan Press Ltd.

Jackson, Moana. (1988). The Maori and the criminal justice system, a New Zealand perspective: He Whaipanga Hou. Part 2. Wellington: Department of Justice.

Kawharu, Sir H. (1992). The Treaty of Waitangi: a Maori point of view. British Review of New Zealand Studies. 1 (8), p. 23-33.

Knight, J.B. (1991) "The evolution of development economics." In Balasubramanyan, V.N. & Lall, Sanjaya. (eds), Current issues in development economics. New York: St. Martin's Press.

Kornblum, William, (1998). Sociology, the central questions. New York: Harcourt Brace College Publishers

Korten, David. (1980). Community organization and rural development: a learning process approach. Public Administration Review. 40 (5). P. 480-511.

Krippendorff, Klaus. (1980). Content analysis, An introduction to its methodology. London: Sage Publications.

Loomis, Terrence. (2000). Government's role in Maori development, charting a new direction? Hamilton: School of Maori and Pacific Development/Te Pua Wananga kit e Ao, University of Waikato/Te Whare Wananga o Waikato.

McLoughlin, David. (1993, November). The Maori burden. North and South, p.60-71.

Marsden, Maori. (1981). "God, man and universe: A Maori view." In King, M. (ed), Te Ao Hurihuri: Aspects of Maoritanga. Auckland: Longman Paul.

Matunga, Hirini. P. (1994). The Resource Management Act 1991 and Maori perspectives. Centre for Maori and Indigenous Planning and Development.

Mead, A. (1997). 'Human genetic research and whakapapa'. In P Te Whaiti, M McCarthy and A Durie (eds), Mai i Rangiatea. Auckland: Auckland University Press / Bridget Williams Books.

- Melbourne, H. (1995). Maori sovereignty. The Maori perspective. Auckland: Hodder Moa Beckett.
- Mendenhall, W., Reinmuth, J.E., & Beaver, R. (1989). Statistics for management and economics, Sixth Edition. Boston: PWS-Kent Publishing Company.
- Miles, M.B., & Huberman, A.M. (1994). Qualitative data analysis: An expanded source-book, 2nd edition. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Miller, H. (1940). "Maori and Pakeha 1814-1865." In Sutherland, I.L.G. (ed), The Maori people today. Christchurch: Whitcombe and Tombs.
- Minichiello, V., Aroni, R., Timewell, E., & Alexander, L. (1995). In-depth interviewing: Principles, techniques, analysis (second edition). Melbourne: Longman.
- Ministry for the Environment. (1988). Working Paper No. 8, "The Treaty of Waitangi and its significance to the reform of resource management laws". Wellington: New Zealand Government.
- Ministry of Justice. (2001). He Hinatore kit e Ao Maori – A glimpse into the Maori world: Maori perspectives on justice. Wellington: Ministry of Justice.
- Ministry of Maori Affairs. (1985). Maori Economic Development Summit Conference, Conference Background Papers. Wellington: New Zealand Government.
- Ministry of Maori Development. (1991). Ka Awatea: A report of the ministerial planning group. Wellington: Ministry of Maori Development.
- Mishan, E.J. (1967). The costs of economic growth. New York: Frederick A. Praeger Publishers.
- Morris, William, (1978). (ed.) The American heritage dictionary of the English language, Second Edition. Boston: American Heritage Publishing Company.
- Mosse, David, (1998). Process-oriented approached to development practice and social research. In David Mosse, John Farrington and Alan Rew (eds.), Development as process, concepts and methods for working with complexity. London: Routledge.
- Murchie, E. (1984). Rapuora: Health and Maori Women. Wellington: Maori women's Welfare League.

Murton, B. (1987). Maori Territory. In P.G. Holland and W.B. Johnston (eds.), Southern approaches: Geography in New Zealand. Christchurch: New Zealand Geography Society.

Neuman, W.L. (2000). Social research methods, qualitative and quantitative approaches, Fourth Edition. Boston: Allyn and Bacon.

New Zealand Parliamentary Debates, 29 August 1870, vol. 9, p.361.

O'Regan, H. (2001). Ko Tahu, Ko Au, Kai Tahu Tribal identity. Christchurch: Horomaka Publishing.

Orange, Claudia. (1989). The Treaty of Waitangi – Competing views. In B. Kernot & A. McBride (ed.), Te Reo o te Tiriti Mai Rano: The Treaty is always speaking (p.7-26). Wellington: Tertiary Christian Studies Programme Victoria University.

O'Sullivan, J.G. (2002). Te Taumutu Runanga economic development report. Lincoln University, Centre for Maori and Indigenous Planning and Development: Unpublished Report.

Owens, J.M.R. (1995) New Zealand before annexation. In Geoffrey, W. Rice (ed.), The Oxford history of New Zealand, Second Edition. Auckland: Oxford University Press.

Pass, C., Lowes, B., & Davies, L. (1988) Collins reference dictionary of economics. Glasgow: Collins.

Patterson, John. (1992) Exploring Maori values. Palmerston North: Dunmore Press Limited.

Pere, Turuki, Rangimarie. (1982). Ako, concepts, and learning in the Maori tradition, Working Paper number 17. Department of Sociology, University of Waikato.

Pere, Turuki, Rangimarie. (1995). Te wheke, A celebration of infinite wisdom. Ao Ako Global Learning New Zealand Limited.

Perrett, Roy. W., & Patterson, John. (1991). Virtue ethics and Maori ethics. Philosophy East and West, 41 (2), p. 185-202.

Phelps, E.S. (1985). Political Economy, an introductory text, New York: W.W. Norton & Company, Inc.

Przeworski, Adam, (1991). Democracy and the market: Political and economic reforms in Eastern Europe and Latin America. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Putnis, P. & Petelin, R. (1996). Professional communication, principles and applications. Sydney: Prentice Hall.

Raukawa Trustees, (2000). Whakatupuranga Rua Mano – Generation 2000, celebrating 25 years. Otaki: Raukawa Trustees

Rosenblatt, S.B., Cheatham, T.R., & Watt, J.T. (1982). Second Edition, Communication in business. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall.

Ross, R.M. (1972). Te Tiriti o Waitangi: texts and translations. New Zealand Journal of History. 6(2), p. 129-154

Ryan, P.M. (2001). P.M. Ryan's dictionary of modern Maori, Auckland: Heinemann Education.

Ryder, Sarah, (2001, May 11). Ngai Tahu praised for strong economic showing. Christchurch Star, p.1.

Schrijvers, Joke. (1993) The violence of development, Amsterdam: University of Amsterdam, Institute for Development Research Amsterdam.

Sen, A.K. (1983). Development: Which way now? Economic Journal, 93, December, 745-62.

Sen, A.K. (1988). The concept of development. In Chenery & Srinivasan (eds) Handbook of Development Economics, 1, Amsterdam: North Holland.

Sharp, Andrew. (1991) Justice and the Maori, Maori claims in New Zealand Political Argument in the 1980s. Auckland: Oxford University Press.

Smith, C. & Reynolds, P. (2000). Maori, genes and genetics: What Maori should know about the new biotechnology. Whanganui: Whanganui Iwi Law Centre.

Smith, G.H. (1992). Research issues related to Maori education. In M.K. Hohepa and G.H. Smith (eds.), The Issue of Research and Maori, Monograph No. 9, Research Unit for Maori Education (RUME), Auckland University.

Sorrenson, M.P.K. (1995) Maori and Pakeha. In Geoffrey, W. Rice (ed.), The Oxford History of New Zealand, Second Edition. Auckland: Oxford University Press.

Staudt, K. (1991). Managing development: State, society, and international contexts, Newbury Park, California: Sage Publications, Inc.

Stavrianos, L.S. (1991). A global history from pre-history to the present, Fifth edition, New Jersey: Prentice Hall.

Stokes, E. (1987). Maori geography or geography of Maoris, New Zealand Geographer, 43 (3), p.118-123

Swannell, J. (Ed). (1986). The little Oxford dictionary of current English, Sixth edition. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Takino, N. (1998). Academics and the politics of reclamation, In Te Oru Rangahau Maori Research and Development Conference (1998 : Palmerston North, N.Z.) Palmerston North : Te Putahi-a-Toi School of Maori Studies, Massey University.

Tau, T. M., Palmer, D., Goodall, A., & Tau, R. (1990). Te Whakatau Kaupapa, Ngai Tahu resource management strategy for the Canterbury region. Wellington: Aoraki Press.

Te Puni Kokiri, (1992). Nga Toka Tu Moana – Maori leadership and decision making. Wellington: Nga Tuara, Te Puni Kokiri.

Te Puni Kokiri, (1993). Te Ture Whenua Maori Act 1993, A working guide to the act. Wellington: New Zealand Government.

Te Puni Kokiri, (1998). Mainstreaming of Maori affairs. Wellington: New Zealand Government.

Te Puni Kokiri, (1999). Maori in the New Zealand economy. Wellington: New Zealand Government.

Te Puni Kokiri, (2000). Maori in the New Zealand economy. Wellington: New Zealand Government.

Te Puni Kokiri, (2000a). Progress towards closing social and economic gaps between Maori and non-Maori. Wellington: New Zealand Government.

Te Puni Kokiri, (2001a). He Tirohanga o Kawa ki te Tiriti o Waitangi, A guide to the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi as expressed by the courts and the Waitangi Tribunal. Wellington: New Zealand Government.

Te Runanga o Ngai Tahu, (1999). Te Runanga o Ngai Tahu, Annual report 1999.

Te Runanga o Ngai Tahu, (2001). Ngai Tahu 2025. Christchurch: Te Runanga o Ngai Tahu

Te Taumutu Runanga, (2000). Te Taumutu Runanga strategic plan 2000. Christchurch: Te Taumutu Runanga.

Tietenburg, T, (1988). Environmental and natural resources economics, Second edition. United States of America: Harper Collins Publishers.

Thirlwall, A.P. (1999). Growth and development, 6th edition. London: MacMillian Press Ltd.

Todaro, M.P. (1997). Economic development, Sixth edition. New York: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company.

United Nations, Committee for Developing Planning (1988), Human resources development: A neglected dimension of development Strategy, New York.

Uphoff, Norman, (1992). Learning from Gal Oya: Possibilities for participatory development and post-Newtonian social science. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press.

Waitangi Tribunal, (1991), Ngai Tahu Report 1991. (Wai 27), vol. 1. Wellington: Brooker and Friend.

Waitangi Tribunal, (1999), The Wananga capital establishment report. (Wai 718), Wellington: GP Publications.

Walker, R. (1990). Ka Whawhai Tonu Matou: Struggle without end. Auckland: Penguin Books.

Wellwood, E. (2001, June 1). Going global in the land of milk and honey. The Press.

Whareaitu, Tony, (1993). Maori Land/Maruwhenua. New Zealand Government.

Wilmer, F. (2000). Building nations without destroying States. Nation Building and Maori Development in the 21st Century Conference: 30th August to 1 September 2000. University of Waikato: School of Maori and Pacific Development.

Winiata, W. (1979). Whakatapuranga Rua Mano: Generation 2000, an experiment in tribal development. Wellington: New Zealand Planning Council.

Winiata, W. (1987). Hapu and iwi resources and their quantification. Wellington: Decision Research Centre, Victoria University.

Wolfe, Marshall, (1996). Elusive development. London: Zed Books Limited.

Wright, H.M., (1967). 1769-1840: Early years of Western contact. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

www.twor.ac.nz, downloaded October 1, 2004.

www.un.org/esa/sustdev/nat/info/indicators/isd.htm, downloaded October 1, 2004.

Appendices

Table of Contents

	PAGE
1. Information Sheet.....	204
2. Consent Form.....	205
3. Interview Sheet.....	206

Appendix 1

INFORMATION SHEET

For Study being carried out by John G. O'Sullivan, masters student, at the Environmental Management and Design Division, Lincoln University

You are invited to participate as a subject in a study investigating the process of Maori Economic Development.

Your participation in this study will involve one interview lasting between 30–45 minutes, to be held at a time and location convenient for you. The interview will take an unstructured format, and the questions asked will relate to aspects of Maori Economic Development.

The results of the project may be published, but you can be assured of the complete confidentiality of data collected from your interview: your identify or workplace will not be made public.

The study is being carried out by John G. O'Sullivan, who can be contacted at the Centre for Maori and Indigenous Planning and Development, Lincoln University, 3252-811 ext. 8838. He will be happy to discuss any concerns you may have about participation in this study.

Alternatively you may wish to contact the supervisor of this study, Associate Professor Hirini Matunga, Director, Centre for Maori and Indigenous Planning and Development, Lincoln University, 3252-811 ext. 8851.

You may at any time withdraw from this project, including withdrawal of any information you have provided.

This study has been approved by the Lincoln University Human Ethics Committee.

Appendix 2

CONSENT FORM

For Study being carried out by John O'Sullivan

I have read and understood the description of the above-named project contained in the information sheet. On this basis I agree to participate as a subject in this study, and I consent to publication of the results of the study with the understanding that anonymity will be preserved. I understand also that I may at any time withdraw from the project, including withdrawal of any information I have provided.

Printed name:

Signed:

Date:

Appendix 3

INTERVIEW SHEET

The following are indicative questions, illustrating the topics that will be covered in the unstructured interviews.

1. How would you define “Maori economic development?”
- 2: What are your thoughts on incorporating within the process of economic development the tikanga of the Maori community in which economic development is occurring?
- 3: What do you feel are the most appropriate structures to be used as a vehicle in achieving Maori economic development in general? (The interviewee will be given examples to prompt his or her thoughts).
- 4: Do you feel the structures identified in the previous question need to have the approval and support of the Maori community in which economic development is occurring? If so, why?
- 5: What do you feel is the most appropriate means of soliciting from Maori communities what the desired outcomes of economic development are within those communities?
- 6: How would you go about helping a Maori community develop appropriate measures of success for desired outcomes of economic development within that community?
- 7: How would you go about determining what a Maori community’s priorities are in terms of the desired outcomes of economic development within that community?

Glossary

Ahi Ka Roa	Constant burning fire, occupation of land
Aoraki	Mount Cook
Aotearoa	New Zealand
Au	I, me
Haere tonu	Build on gains already made
Hapu	Sub-tribe
Hakari	Feast
Hui	Gathering, meeting
Hui Taumata	Maori economic development summit held in 1984
Hui Whakapumau	Maori economic development summit held in 1994
Iwi	Tribe
Ka Awatea	New Dawn – Report prepared by Winston Peters when Minister for Maori Affairs in the Bolger National Government
Kainga	Village
Kaitiaki	Trustee or guardian
Kaitiakitanga	Trusteeship
Kawanatanga	Governorship
Kumara	A root crop
Mana	Standing or authority
Mana Atua	Authority bestowed by God
Mana Tangata	Authority bestowed by developing skills and gaining knowledge

Mana Tupuna	Birthright
Mana Whenua	Authority over land
Manaakitanga	Hospitality
Maori	Normal, name of indigenous people of New Zealand
Matawaka	Maori living outside of their tribal area
Mauri	Spirit or life force
Ngati Moki	A sub-tribe of Ngai Tahu, whose rohe is centred on Taumutu, at the southern end of Waihora (Lake Ellesmere).
Ngai Tahu	Tribe who exercise mana whenua over most of the South Island
Ngai Te Ruahikihiki Ki Taumutu	A sub-tribe of Ngai Tahu, whose rohe is centred on Taumutu, at the southern end of Waihora (Lake Ellesmere).
Noa	Normal, ordinary
Ohaoha	Economics, generous
Pa	Fortified village
Pakeha	European arrival, descendent of European immigrants to New Zealand
Papatipu Runanga	Governing council of a sub tribe of Ngai Tahu
Pounamu	Greenstone or Jade
Rahui	Temporary ban
Rangatira	Chief
Rohe	Territory

Tangata Whenua	People of the land
Taonga	Treasure
Tapu	Sacred, restricted
Taro	Root crop
Te Ao Maori	The Maori World
Te Rananga o Ngai Tahu	The governing council of Ngai Tahu
Te Taumutu Rananga	Governing council of Ngati Te Ruahikihiki Ki Taumutu
Te Tiriti	The Maori version of the Treaty of Waitangi
Tiaki	Look after
Tika	Right
Tikanga	Custom, obligations, behaving appropriately
Tino	Very, absolute
Tino Rangatiratanga	Absolute chieftainship, sovereignty
Tohatoha	Reciprocal exchange
Tohunga	Advisor, teacher
Tuhoe	A tribe who claim descent from Potiki the son of the mythical figure Hine-puko-hu-rangi (the Maiden of the Mists) and Te Maunga (the Mountain); as a result they are sometimes referred to as Nga Potiki. This tribe is also called Tuhoe from their ancestor Tuhoe-potiki who was partly of Mataatua and partly of Nga Potiki descent. Tuhoe are also known as Urewera, deriving from an unfortunate accident that occurred when one of the tribe's old fighting chiefs Murakareke rolled over in his sleep into a fire and had his private parts scorched in the flames.

Waikato One of four iwi comprising the Tainui Waka (canoe) confederation, whose rohe comprises the central north island of New Zealand; the other three being, Hauraki, Maniapoto, and Raukawa. The Tainui Waka was one the migratory sailing canoes that voyaged across the Pacific Ocean from Hawaiki (Ancestral home of the Maori) to Aotearoa (New Zealand) approximately 800 years ago.

Whakahihi Boastful, proud

Whakapapa Genealogy, ancestry

Whakatupuranga Rua Mano Development plan of the ART
Confederation

Whanau Family

Whanaungatanga Family relationships, the importance of family