families commission
kōmihana ā whānau

Giving New Zealand families a voice *Te reo o te whānau*

RESEARCH REPORT NO 2/10
SEPTEMBER 2010

# whānau taketake Māori

## RECESSIONS AND MĀORI RESILIENCE

A REPORT FOR THE FAMILIES COMMISSION

**The Families Commission was established under the Families Commission Act 2003 and commenced operations on 1 July 2004. Under the Crown Entities Act 2004, the Commission is designated as an autonomous Crown entity.**

**Our main role is to act as an advocate for the interests of families generally (rather than individual families).**

Our specific functions under the Families Commission Act 2003 are to:

> encourage and facilitate informed debate about families

> increase public awareness and promote better understanding of matters affecting families

> encourage and facilitate the development and provision of government policies that promote and serve the interests of families

> consider any matter relating to the interests of families referred to us by any Minister of the Crown

> stimulate and promote research into families, for example by funding and undertaking research

> consult with, or refer matters to, other official bodies or statutory agencies.

Our specific functions under the Whānau Strategic Framework (2009–2012, p. 5) are to develop an operating environment which is regarded by whānau, Māori, iwi and key stakeholders as representative of an organisation that:

> listens to the voice of whānau

> has regard to the needs, values and beliefs of Māori as tangata whenua, as required under Section 11(a) of the Families Commission Act 2003

> promotes and maintains whānau strength and resiliency

> promotes whānau ora through the activities of advocacy, engagement, policy development and research.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Tēnā tātau katoa. Ko te mihi tuatahi ki te Kaihanga, nāna nei ngā mea katoa. Ko te papa marae e mahora mai i waho ra, tae noa hoki ki te tipuna whare e awhi nei i a tātau, tēna hoki kōrua.

E ngā waka, e ngā reo, e ngā karanga maha, tēnā koutou, tēnā koutou, tēnā koutou katoa. Tēnā hoki tātau e kawe nei hoki i ngā moemoeā o ngā iwi Māori i roto i tēnei ao hurihuri me ōna piki me ōna heke. Kia ora tātau katoa.

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# whānau taketake Māori

## RECESSIONS AND MĀORI RESILIENCE

A REPORT FOR THE FAMILIES COMMISSION

KAHUKORE BAKER
TE WHAKATŌHEA; TE ŪPOKOREHE

THE NAME *WHĀNAU TAKETAKE MĀORI* IS BASED ON THE TRADITIONAL MEANING OF WHĀNAU AS A SOCIAL INSTITUTION FROM TIME IMMEMORIAL AS WELL AS THE NOTION OF RESILIENCE. THIS NAME PROMOTES THE NOTION OF 'FOREVER' PAST, PRESENT AND FUTURE.

THE TREATY OF WAITANGI SYMBOLISES THE JOURNEY TOWARDS NATIONHOOD AND FRAMES THE GOVERNMENT'S RESPONSE TO WHĀNAU AS TANGATA WHENUA AND AS CITIZENS.

The Families Commission Manaia (Kaitiaki–guardian) symbolises eternal strength and family. The koru in its mouth is a symbol of growth, new life and change, when combined with the tongue it represents communication and dialogue. The Manaia has been mirror imaged to perform a hongi or greeting where each Manaia shares the breath of life (Te Hā). Together they represent unity.

The supporting design behind the Manaia and throughout our whānau documents represents ongoing growth and change. These designs are representative of what the Families Commission do and want to achieve for New Zealand families and whānau.

Artist: Inia Taylor of Moko Ink Ltd.

# CONTENTS

# FOREWORD

E rere atu ana ngā mihi o te kāhui o Matariki ki tōna iti, ki tōna rahi e marakerake nei i te whenua. Tēnā rawa atu koutou katoa.

If we are to understand the terrain traversed by whānau in today's world, we must first look to the paths already travelled by whānau, hapū, iwi and Māori in their journey toward the partnership envisaged by the Treaty of Waitangi. In this report, a main focus has been the key turning points in the Treaty relationship. Like any relationship, this means there are highs and lows which are part of the ongoing development. This report addresses both in the journey towards nationhood.

Within this context, Te Kōmihana ā Whānau called for a report that would speak to us all about the collective impact of past and current recessions on whānau; and to determine what it is that helps to maintain and enhance whānau resilience.

*Whānau Taketake Māori: Recessions and Māori Resilience* is a document that brings together strong quantitative evidence, interwoven with a compelling qualitative narrative which tells us that in times of recession, whānau have been and are profoundly affected.

This is demonstrated not only in statistical evidence, but also in the stories of those who have personally experienced these impacts. The story of the Pātea Māori Club, for example, responding to the devastating closure of Pātea's freezing works in the 1980s, symbolises the strength of whānau and of collective responses in crisis. Cultural and social resources supported resilience when external economic constructs failed to protect a community.

Stories such as these eloquently illustrate this report and support a perspective that resilience comes from a foundation of strength, the strength of whānau, hapū and iwi. When we look at this journey and the insights gained along the way, we can see that supporting whānau to achieve a strong base of assets and resources – cultural, social, economic and environmental – in turn supports Māori, both individually and collectively, to resist and survive the worst impacts of recession.

*Whānau Taketake Māori* shows that Māori are particularly vulnerable in times of economic hardship. The underlying social and historical causes must be addressed in order to lay the foundation for a positive future legacy.

No reira, Tēnā tātou katoa.

Kim Workman QSO

Families Commissioner responsible for the Whānau Strategy

# 1. EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This report promotes an understanding of the impact that recessions have on Māori that can only be understood in the full context of history, cultural values and practices. The report uses examples of resilience to demonstrate the value of investing in Māori economic, social and cultural development in order to return the mana of the iwi to the iwi, of the hapū to the hapū, of the whānau to the whānau and the individual to the individual representing the multitudes who have preceded them.

*Whakahokia te mana o te iwi ki te iwi, o te hapū ki te hapū,*
*o te whānau ki te whānau, o te tangata ki te tangata,*
*me tana rau kotahi*
(Tibble, W. Submission 58 Hui Taumata 1984)

As part of the role of the Families Commission, this report provides a base to enable the Commission to work with other government departments and relevant private sector stakeholders to:

> assist other departments to understand 'whānau' as distinct from 'family'

> support mainstream government departments to develop frameworks that can assist the implementation and delivery of Whānau Ora across the social sector agencies; this includes research and development on the implementation of whānau-centred practices

> identify potential structural and behavioural changes that may be required across the social sectors to enable the implementation of whānau-based initiatives.

Through these avenues the Commission can support and advocate for the development of crucial pathways by which whānau can maximise their social, cultural, economic and environmental resources for the benefit of whānau and Māoridom as a whole.

The Commission carried out a review of selected literature of key turning points in the Treaty relationship and an environmental scan of existing social, economic, structural and cultural issues that impact on whānau, within a kaupapa Māori context. Kaupapa Māori research and development is grounded in Māori knowledge, values, beliefs and practises, that validate being Māori in today's world. Consequently this report provides commentary based on both quantitative data and qualitative narrative from the voices of those who lived through these events. A key theme is identified from this process; it is that access to and maximisation of cultural, social, economic and environmental resources by whānau strengthens resilience and is critical for whānau wellbeing. (Durie, 2003, p. 70)

Certain key factors affect Māori individually and collectively. This report demonstrates that an improvement in any one area, such as employment, will not, on its own, remove or mitigate effects that are intergenerational. The idea that it would reflects an assumption that Māori and non-Māori start on an equal playing field, and that the problem definition is limited to recession.

This report is structured to tell the history of Māori society in relation to changing social, cultural, economic and structural conditions since 1840. From this analysis, themes concerning Māori resilience are drawn out and related to the development of the Treaty partnership.

## 1.1 TE AO HURIHURI

Māori have long played a significant role in the nation's economy. They were the primary suppliers of goods and services for the early settlers, trading within New Zealand and exporting to the young colony of Australia. Within just a century Māori were forced from the position of dominant players in their own country to that of a people dispossessed of land and language, decimated by disease. More changes occurred subsequently as Māori migrated to towns in search of work after 1945, leaving fewer ahi kaa whānau behind to maintain the ancient whakapapa links to the ancestral lands. As Māori entered the 1980s–1990s, it was as a largely urban population vulnerable to dependency on secondary industry, trades and low-skilled jobs for employment.

## 1.2 RESILIENT WHĀNAU

While there is no one definition of resilience for whānau, a literature review by Te Puni Kōkiri (2009a) notes it refers to the ability of whānau as a whole to overcome, or to endure, hardship and adversity. A resilient whānau is one that is more able to support its members through hardship.

This report discusses the concept of individual and collective risk factors that impact on whānau. There is a range of individual risk factors for whānau, which can include job loss, unemployment, mental health issues, reduced access to healthy food and housing stress. Furthermore whānau are also affected by collective risk factors resulting from colonisation, such as loss of culture, language, land and other resources. (Durie, 2005, p. 104). To respond to both individual and collective risks is a very 'big ask', which even the most resourced whānau would find difficult. How much more difficult is it for those who cannot access their own cultural, social, economic and environmental resources?

Alienation from culture, whānau networks, loss of land as an economic base and loss of mahinga kai all impact collectively on whānau. Nevertheless, this report highlights key examples of whānau resilience, which is inextricably linked to resilience of Māori as a people, and sourced in tikanga Māori. This is seen, for example, at the marae with the ahi kaa; whānau reclamation and revitalisation of te reo Māori through te kōhanga reo; the growth of the Pātea Māori Club as a means to whakamana those who had lost their jobs; Whale Watch Kaikoura where four whānau pursued their vision for their community against the odds and established a business, internationally recognised for its excellence; and the development of Aotearoa Fisheries Ltd. By the time all fisheries allocations to tribes have been completed, all iwi will own shares in the company.

Recessions have interrupted Māori economic growth but not derailed it. Although their effects are significant, whānau, hapū and iwi respond to changing circumstances and adapt to create new opportunities. At a time when the growing number of post-settlement iwi are driven to balance the social needs of their people with the maintenance and growth of the asset base, the issue is how, not if, the return on resources will be facilitated.

## 1.3 THE IMPORTANCE OF SUPPORTING WHĀNAU

An overarching theme was evident from this review: that supporting whānau in accessing and maximising their assets and resources both as Māori and as individual citizens of New Zealand strengthens their resilience to individual and collective risk factors, resulting from colonisation and recession. The resources identified are:

> cultural – whakapapa, marae and whanaungatanga

> social – Māori social organisations, knowledge and education

> economic – adaptability and ingenuity in leveraging limited resources

> environmental – including access to food from customary sources, and access to and use of land-based assets.

## 1.4 CROWN-MĀORI RELATIONSHIPS

Our research looked at the Crown-Māori relationship as it has developed since 1975. Over the past 35 years, "the Treaty partners have challenged, contested, negotiated, mediated and settled their way into the third millennium" (Families Commission, 2009, p. 2). Many stories of resilience are embedded in this history.

Crown-Māori relationship mechanisms have changed over time. There are encouraging signs that Māori are no longer perceived as passive recipients of mainstream programmes. Such programmes placed Māori at the operational end of programme design, strategy, policy and delivery, at the bottom of a very long 'food chain'. This was never where Māori chose to position themselves. From the outset Māori sought representation in Parliament, and opportunities to develop kaupapa Māori solutions for Māori issues.

The initial response of the Crown to Māori was one of polarisation. Since then, time, experience and relationships built through the Treaty settlements process have led to a greater maturity and a desire for integrated solutions. From this platform both Treaty partners are increasingly forming governance to governance partnerships to address crucial issues.

The growing maturity of the Crown-Māori partnership relationship provides a framework not only for the ongoing settlement of Treaty claims, but also for accelerating tribal and inter-tribal development and global opportunities. This landscape allows room for Māori entrepreneurship and self-governance/self-determination to grow further, and develop in a way that can only benefit New Zealand as a whole.

## 1.5 CONCLUSION

The report sets out the findings of this research project:

> The impact of the current and past recessions on individual Māori and whānau has been dire. It has been exacerbated by deep-seated structural inequalities that affect job loss for Māori. This in turn has severe impacts on mental health, and the ability to afford safe and healthy food, and affordable and healthy housing. However, collectively owned assets such as Māori Land Trusts are relatively secure. In the long term, the low debt-to-equity model characteristic of many Māori businesses has been a protective factor in recessionary times, safeguarding the collective assets of the people.

- Māori resilience has always been evident in the face of adversity, at all levels of Māori society. This report supports the view expressed by Durie (2003, p. 70) that resilience for Māori is sourced in access to and best use of cultural, social, economic and environmental resources by whānau, hapū, iwi and Māori.

- Lessons have been learnt in the changing Crown-Māori partnership relationship, which is evolving in maturity. A range of partnership arrangements between iwi/Māori, government departments and private sector stakeholders seek to accelerate the development of whānau wellbeing.

In this paper, 'resilience' is understood at the interpersonal, individual level; at the level of cultural institutions of whānau, hapū and iwi; and in the wider structural pan-Māori and multi-tribal groups. Resilience needs to be considered at all these levels to understand the interplay of factors that support whānau in building resilience. The Families Commission will then be better placed to understand the most appropriate ways to support whānau resilience.

## 1.6 ME HAERE WHAKAMUA

In the pathway ahead, there are real opportunities to understand how government can best work with whānau, hapū, iwi and Māori organisations to support whānau to overcome and mitigate the wide-ranging effects encountered by Māori as individuals and as tangata whenua. These impacts are exacerbated in economic downturns. A key theme of this report is that resilience is strengthened by empowering whānau and by solutions that emerge from within Te Ao Māori.

Resilience is about making the most of opportunity. It is about what works in the face of difficulties, and what can be built upon by both Māori and the Crown to achieve desirable outcomes for whānau and for Māoridom as a whole. This paper will assist the Families Commission in setting the platform for a strengths-based approach, as opposed to one based on deficits, when considering what can be done to support whānau resiliency. Whānau care for and nurture their members, equipping them to participate in and contribute to the social, economic and cultural life in New Zealand. What whānau do matters to us all.

# 2. INTRODUCTION

The Families Commission was established under the Families Act 2003 as an advocate for the interests of families generally. In the exercise of its powers and functions the Families Commission must have regard to:

> the needs, values and beliefs of Māori as tangata whenua (Section 11 (a))

> factors that help to maintain or enhance whānau resilience and strength (Section 7).

These obligations underpin the *Whānau Strategic Framework 2009–2012,* (Families Commission's 2009) framework developed by the Commission for the consideration of Māori and whānau within Aotearoa. It assists the Crown in responding to the Treaty of Waitangi rights of Māori as collective members of whānau, hapū and iwi and as individual citizens. The aim of the *Whānau Strategic Framework 2009–2012* is to perform its role as an advocate for the interests of families as it applies to Māori as tangata whenua and as individuals.

## 2.1 PURPOSE OF THIS REPORT

The purpose of this report is to inform the Families Commission's thinking and to help determine what should be the next steps in contributing to whānau wellbeing and development. This report responds to the Families Commission Board's decision in August 2008 to:

> explore the economic impacts of previous recessions on whānau

> determine the social impacts of recession on whānau and what is likely to happen to whānau in the current recession

> ascertain what can be done to support whānau resiliency.

The Families Commission acknowledges that documenting the effects of economic downturn for Māori is part of a wider analysis. In applying the term 'impact on Māori of the past and current recessions' the Commission is referring to the periods from the mid-1980s to the early 1990s, and from 2007 to the present. The paper will assist the Commission take a strengths-based approach to considering what can be done to support the resilience of whānau.

While negative statistics reflect the impact on Māori, focusing on that alone does not lead to solutions. Solutions require an understanding of the factors in the resilience of whānau, hapū, iwi and Māori organisations. It is important to acknowledge at the outset that for Māori, the impact of the recession is not seen in isolation but within a wider social and cultural framework that includes:

> tikanga Māori and related world views

> historical issues including land confiscations and urban drift

> ongoing policy inequities between Māori and non-Māori (eg, in education)

> the evolution of Māori society since the 1950s.

The ability of whānau to mitigate the social and economic effects of current and future recessions is predicated on building and strengthening factors that impart individual and collective resilience. This report therefore does not merely document disparities but assembles, from selected literature and an environmental scan, the evidence of whānau resilience in the face of challenging odds. We include diverse examples of whānau resilience in action.

## 2.2 WHĀNAU STRATEGIC FRAMEWORK 2009–2012

The Families Commission's (2009) *Whānau Strategic Framework 2009–2012* underpins all the Commission's work. The overarching goal of the strategy is to support whānau in achieving a state of whānau ora or total wellbeing, using the mechanisms of advocacy, engagement, social policy and research.

The Commission received four key messages from whānau and those who work with them, and they are set out in the framework (2009, pp. 6–7):

1. Whānau ora is a non-negotiable outcome. Strong whānau and communities build foundations that allow individuals to participate fully in and contribute to all levels of New Zealand society.
2. Listening to the voices of whānau. The Commission will ensure whānau voices are heard in decision-making, policy, research and advocacy.
3. Speaking out for vulnerable whānau. The Commission is committed to speaking out on those issues that disproportionately affect whānau and to offer advice on how these issues may be understood.
4. To inform best practice of those working with whānau.

## 2.3 OUR APPROACH TO THIS REPORT

The structure and analysis of this report have been informed by the:

> Ngā rā o mua
> Māori society as a whole
> resilience in the context of whānau, hapū, iwi and Māori
> growing Māori economy
> quadruple bottom line
> Treaty of Waitangi and the Crown-Māori relationship
> Families Commission's work programme.

### 2.3.1 Ngā rā o mua

The Māori view of the future is to look at the past. In order to go forward, Māori look to the paths already travelled to understand the path ahead. Looking at the impact of hardship on Māori now as a consequence of the past and current recessions, this report describes key historical impacts that have shaped the context for any work that articulates current issues for Māori. This approach allows the Families Commission to understand recurring patterns of resilience at the whānau, hapū, iwi, pan-Māori and multi-tribal levels as determined from within a tikanga Māori perspective.

### 2.3.2 Māori society as a whole

The Families Commission has published a review of selected literature on whānau, *Definitions of Whānau* (2010). It includes working definitions of whānau, and information about changing whānau dynamics, kaupapa Māori theory, iwi development, Māori models of health and wellbeing, their application to social policy theory and the policy

focus for whānau ora. These elements need to inform ongoing whānau-centred work programmes by the Government. The review also articulates the difference between whakapapa whānau and kaupapa whānau:

> The two pre-eminent models of whānau from the literature are whakapapa (kinship) and kaupapa (purpose driven) whānau. Whakapapa whānau are the more permanent and culturally authentic form of whānau. Whakapapa and kaupapa whānau are not mutually exclusive. Whakapapa whānau will regularly pursue kaupapa or goals. Whereas kaupapa whānau may or may not have whakapapa connections. (Families Commission, 2010, p. 26)

Fundamental structures in Māori society have been the focus of many models for the development of social programmes in a context that is supportive of Māori society as a whole. The social construct within which 'whānau' operates is integral to hapū and iwi, forming the 'tinana', or 'body' of Māori society. Understanding this is fundamental to whānau development. 'Iwi' means tribe, while 'ko iwi' is also another word for bone; 'hapū', the word for sub-tribe, is also a term for the state of pregnancy, and 'whānau' is also a term for the birth position. While some whānau do not function at this level of integration with hapū or iwi, 'whānau' as a term and as a fundamental construct in Māori society has this meaning and context.

### 2.3.3 Resilience in the context of whānau, hapū, iwi and Māori

This report is focused on the impact of the past and current recessions on Māori. It looks at resources of whānau and of Māori that constitute a critical aspect of resilience. Essentially, the report supports the position advocated by Durie (2003, p. 70) that resilience is strengthened when whānau are supported to access and maximise their cultural, social, economic and environmental resources. People can do so both as individuals and as members of whānau, hapū, iwi and Māori collectives.

A literature review by Te Puni Kōkiri (2009a), notes that there is no single agreed definition of resilience in respect of Māori and whānau. However, in general, it is about the ability or protective factors to endure, overcome adversity, learn from experience and to use that experience to bounce back from adversity. It is also about learning to anticipate and to mitigate adversity. The review identifies two key differences between whānau and family resilience. First, whānau are larger and therefore usually more complex than families. The second is that the 'glue' that binds whānau processes and relationships is distinctive and emerges from the Māori world view and related cultural constructs.

Drawing on Durie (2003) and the Te Puni Kōkiri literature review (2009a), this report identifies a number of general characteristics of whānau resilience, including four significant protective factors in contemporary society that support whānau or families in coping with adversity:

- access to and maximisation of resources
- the ability to learn from and build on experience
- the presence of support networks
- good communication within the whānau.

As a consequence of dealing with the impacts of colonisation, whānau have developed resilience in the face of overwhelming odds, often with little support.

The focus of the Whānau Ora Taskforce report (Ministry of Social Development, 2010a) is how government can support initiatives to foster resilience, in a whānau-centred context.

### 2.3.4 Growing Māori economy

Another important aspect to understanding resilience is the role of the Māori economy, especially today when Treaty settlements are empowering economic growth and development and where Māori business is seen as having a competitive edge in the global marketplace. As noted by Mark Solomon in an interview on 'Q and A' (Television New Zealand, 6 June 2010[1]) the Māori economy is worth somewhere between $20–$25 billion. Furthermore, iwi are positioning themselves to be major players in the New Zealand economy:

> …New Zealand needs to come to terms (sic) that Iwi are probably the government's best partner. Number one we are never going to leave this country. Everything we earn will stay in this country. Most of the tribes that are out there doing business now, they heavily invest in their own communities, they create industry, they create income, they create employment. We are in a sense one of the best partners the Crown could have…

It is from this vantage point that iwi are positioned to partner with the Crown in the development of innovative and strategic ways to support whānau and local communities. This is further explored by Te Puni Kōkiri in *Ngā Kaihanga Hou: Māori future makers* (2007a). The point is made that Māori participation in the future New Zealand and economic world systems will be influenced by key drivers such as climate change, redistribution of world economic power and increasing innovation technology.

Furthermore, opportunities exist in:

- leveraging Māori businesses into growth and strategic industries
- increasing export growth participation
- promoting higher levels of entrepreneurship
- nurturing innovation.

These future directions will be supported by key characteristics identified as important for success in current Māori business and in a future innovation economy:

- the existence of low debt-to-equity ratios (Māori businesses tend to rely on their own resources to finance growth)
- separation of commercial from non-commercial activities as an important process for doing business
- a strong movement towards diversifying the asset base of Māori business in order to spread risk
- an increasing focus by Māori businesses on the 'quadruple bottom line', integrating cultural and commercial values
- being Māori is a positive point of difference, especially in the global marketplace
- a notable trend to change the skill sets for both governance and management and to recruit the best skilled people (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2007a, p. 35).

1 http://tvnz.co.nz/q-and-a-news/q-mark-solomon-interview-3580452

### 2.3.5 Quadruple bottom line

The growth of the quadruple bottom line as a means to report on sustainable development outcomes nationally and internationally also provides new opportunities for the inclusion of tikanga Māori in all areas of development. This reporting framework creates space for a kaupapa Māori approach to the reporting of outcomes for some of the examples in this report such as Te Kōhanga Reo, or Whale Watch Kaikoura. Not only can previously unacknowledged cultural, social, economic and environmental contributions to Māori society and to New Zealand as a whole now be recognised, but also planned for and reported on. Its importance in this report is that resilience is strengthened by supporting whānau to access and maximise their cultural, social, economic and environmental resources as Māori and as individual citizens.

### 2.3.6 Treaty of Waitangi and the Crown-Māori relationship

The development of the Treaty partnership over time sets the context for the Crown's interaction with Māori. It is the Treaty that establishes the meaning of partnership in this particular context, and determines how the Treaty partners are to engage with each other. In particular, the Treaty framework of partnership, protection and participation sets the basis for responding to Māori as tangata whenua and members of whānau, hapū and iwi and as individual citizens of Aotearoa New Zealand.

This report discusses the role of the Treaty partnership and its development since the establishment of the Waitangi Tribunal. The past 35 years of Treaty partnership means a growing awareness by government to the importance of tikanga and mātauranga Māori in whānau resilience, and the necessity of Māori participation at all levels of decision-making and operational development.

### 2.3.7 Families Commission work programme

The Families Commission's work programme 2009–2012 spans four strategic areas. The first three – Family Relationships, Family Services and Communities, and Family Economic Wellbeing – are informed by the fourth, Knowledge of Family and Whānau. The *Whānau Strategic Framework 2009–2012* (Families Commission, 2009), which underpins the implementation of all strands, stresses the interconnectedness of economic, social, cultural and environmental analysis.

## 2.4 DEVELOPMENT OF THIS REPORT

This report arose from work in the Family Economic Wellbeing area. In developing this report, the Families Commission combined a review of selected literature with an environmental scan of the current political and social circumstances. The goal was to establish both the crucial issues for Māori and the elements of resilience.

In the early stages of this research the Commission held a small workshop for people engaged in paid or unpaid work, to hear directly from those working in either voluntary or paid capacities in their own communities. Participants were selected on the basis of a broad understanding of the issues whānau faced. The group identified three key areas: job loss; housing affordability; and access to food. While they acknowledged various other issues, they believed that these were the key issues from which all others followed. The literature also makes key links between unemployment, housing, mental health and nutrition.

## 2.5 STRUCTURE OF THIS REPORT

This report tells the history of Māori society in relation to developing social, cultural, economic and structural conditions since 1840. From this analysis, themes of Māori resilience are traced in the context of the development of the Treaty partnership.

This chapter introduces the report with the purpose and role of the Families Commission and the *Whānau Strategic Framework 2009–2012*. We also describe the structural frameworks that inform the analysis of the report.

Chapter 3 outlines the development of Māori society between 1840 and 1980, outlining significant factors impacting on Māoridom, such as the Land Wars, World Wars I and II, urban migration and the development of taura here and Māori organisations.

Chapter 4 discusses the impact of the restructuring of the mid-1980s and the subsequent periods of recession. The serious issues of job loss, food insecurity and poor housing are highlighted.

Chapter 5 sets out key evidence of Māori resilience from the mid-1980s. This was a period when the experience of individual Māori was generally negative. However it was also a time of Māori-led economic and social solutions developed by Māori organisations and iwi, alongside growth in Māori collectives, and an increase in skills, training and educational opportunity. The discussion summarises the key factors in resilience.

Chapter 6 explores key events in the development of the Crown-Māori relationship from 1975 to the present day. This section discusses the many changes in approach to Māori by successive governments, from the days of mainstreaming, through devolution, to the latest focus on whānau-centred initiatives. The discussion summarises the key themes of engagement, what we have learnt from this experience and the challenges of responding to whānau.

The conclusion draws key points together in a summary of the findings of the report.

# 3. MĀORI SOCIETY: 1840–1980s

## 3.1 OVERVIEW OF THE MĀORI ECONOMY

Long before 1840, Māori saw Europeans as a potential source of trade and a way of increasing their wealth. The earliest engagement by Māori in the cash economy involved adaptation to selling both produce and labour to Pākehā, bringing cash, wages and salaries into the Māori economy. This has been described by the New Zealand Institute of Economic Research (NZIER) (2003) as the 'first wave' of the Māori economy.

It was only later that the arrival of Europeans was viewed with concern, as the ever-increasing numbers threatened to swallow up the Māori way of life and their economy with it (King, 2003).

The 'second wave' involved the strengthening of collective ownership of tribal assets, which acquired an increasing market presence. In the 1840s the Whanganui River had thriving cultivations and flour mills, which were also under development in other parts of the country including Taranaki and in the Waikato. As noted in Pūaō-Te-Ata-Tū (Ministerial Advisory Committee, 1988, p. 62), "the system was Māori but the crops and agriculture methods were Pākehā … Before long, the local Pākehā markets were supplied and Māori producers were trading further afield."

In the same period the coastal tribes such as Te Whakatōhea and Ngāti Awa took to the shipping business. By the 1850s Māori tribes owned and operated most of the coastal shipping in the North Island (Ministerial Advisory Committee, 1988). This form of tribal agricultural development and trading thrived; so much so that its collective nature was condemned by the new government, who saw a need to break the power of the Māori collective commercial enterprise (NZIER, 2003).

The influx of new settlers created an ever-increasing demand for Māori land. In 1863, Waikato was invaded. From 1864 to 1865 Tauranga-Moana, Whakatāne and Ōpōtiki were invaded, and South Taranaki was invaded in 1865. In a very short time, millions of acres of land were confiscated (King, 2003).

> …the individualisation of title to Māori land, the Land Wars and the disenfranchisement of tribes themselves – signalled the end of a brief but successful Māori involvement in the non-Māori cash economy. The initial revival came in the 1930s as Māori-owned land-based businesses became incorporated under special Acts of Parliament. (NZIER, 2003, p. 5)

While the 'second wave' of Māori economic development was decimated by the Land Wars of the 1860s, it was not broken. Māori economic development continued and was strengthened significantly by the Land Schemes developed by Sir Āpirana Ngata to develop Māori land and thereby retain Māori land in Māori hands (Ministerial Advisory Committee, 1988). NZIER noted in 2003 that the 'second wave' has been significantly strengthened by recent Treaty of Waitangi settlements, and continues today. Furthermore, the entrepreneurial character of Māori enterprise, shown in the early days of colonial contact, has been a consistent feature of Māori economic development:

> …while iwi have numerous parallels with tribal arrangements throughout the world, a factor that makes Māori institutional arrangements largely unique was the ongoing level of adaption and entrepreneurial flair displayed, particularly during the initial phases of European colonisation of New Zealand before the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi. (Sautet, 2008, p. 10)

As NZIER notes, since the 1990s Māori have been entering the 'knowledge economy' at a growing rate. The knowledge economy has been defined "as industries and occupations that are primarily based on highly skilled employment and sophisticated production" (Department of Labour, 2009a, p. 61). Referred to as the 'third wave' of Māori economic activity, it has been characterised by the rapid growth of Māori service industries since the early 1990s, building on cultural knowledge as well as improvements in the skills of the Māori population (NZIER, 2003, p. 5).

## 3.2 MĀORI AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF CITIZENSHIP

The earliest estimate of the Māori population was 100,000–110,000 in 1769. By 1840 it was estimated to have fallen to 70,000, because of the introduction of diseases (King, 2003, p. 133). The musket wars exacerbated the decline. Fuelled by access to European weapons, some tribes settled old scores against other, unarmed, tribes.

Before the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840, the impact of European settlement on the Māori population was not universal, but restricted to the coastal areas and ports where the majority of the European population lived. In 1830 the Pākehā population was 300; by 1840 it had increased to 2,000. By 1858, Pākehā outnumbered Māori by 59,000 to 56,000. In 1881 the Pākehā population stood at 500,000 (King, 2003, p. 147).

The Treaty of Waitangi opened the doors to mass Pākehā settlement. Instead of the Treaty providing Māori with a period of calm and protection from the settlers' insatiable demand for land and from social exploitation it saw a more rapid decline of the Māori population than any stage before the Treaty (King, 2003).

> …Nationally the Māori population dropped from 65,049 in 1857–8 to 42,113 in 1896. As such figures became known they contributed to the belief among Pākehā and Māori that Māori as a people and culture were headed for extinction. Wellington Provincial Superintendant Dr Isaac Featherston echoed the liberal European sentiment in the late nineteenth century when he spoke of the responsibility to 'smooth the pillow of a dying race'… (King, 2003, p. 203)

At the beginning of the 20th century the Māori population had increased to approximately 45,000 (King, 2003, p. 283). From the 1900s–1950s, the Māori population rapidly grew to exceed 100,000 (Coleman, Dixon, & Maré, 2005, p. 37).

Māori agriculture was quickly adapted to production on a commercial scale, and Māori participation in the New Zealand economy as wage and salary earners increased (NZIER, 2003). Māori became eligible for some government-funded benefits and services, educational attainment slowly began to improve and living standards, as measured by health and life expectancy, began to rise (Coleman et al, 2005).

### 3.2.1 The impact of early education policy on Māori employment and leadership

The academic and economic future of each Māori child, and therefore of Māori society, was limited by design under assimilationist education policies. In 1894 the Schools Attendance Act was passed, making it compulsory for Māori children to attend the native schools. However, Māori education was limited to the provision of manual instruction (Barrington & Beaglehole, 1974).

The story of Te Aute College is an example of resistance to early Māori education policy.

## Te Aute College: A story of resistance and resilience

John Thornton, the principal of Te Aute College, decided that Te Aute would resist the instruction to make the curriculum for Māori one focused on manual labouring. Instead, he styled the Te Aute curriculum along the lines of an English grammar school, with a solid academic basis. He wrote, "I saw that the time would come when the Māori would wish to have their own doctors, their own lawyers, and their own clergymen, and I felt it was only just to the race to provide facilities for their doing so." (*Barrington & Beaglehole*, 1974, p. 166).

In 1906 Thornton was challenged when the Royal Commission on the Te Aute and Wanganui School Trusts recommended that the college "drop Latin, Euclid, and algebra out of the … curriculum altogether" and increase agricultural and manual instruction. Thornton's position was an enlightened one for the time. He vigorously defended the academic curriculum.

Thornton reported that the attitude of Māori parents was, "We do not send our boys to Te Aute to learn to plough – we can teach them at home." To them, Thornton continued, "Te Aute is what Wanganui and Christ's College are to the Europeans; if boys were not taught trades at those institutions, why should they be at Te Aute?" (Barrington, 1993, as cited in Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, p. 539).

A group of old Thornton boys. Back: Sir Maui Pomare, M.D., D.S.O.; Ven. Archdeacon H. Hawkins, L.Th.; Sir Peter H. Buck (Te Rangihiroa), Kt., D.S.O., M.D., Ch.B., D.Sc., M.A. (Yale), F.R.S.N.Z., F.R.A.I. Front: Hamiora Hei, LL.B.; Sir Apirana Ngata, Kt., M.A., LL.B., D.Litt.; Rev. R. T. Kohere, L.Th.

**These 'Old Thornton Boys' attended Te Aute College in Hawke's Bay when John Thornton was headmaster. They are Sir Māui Pōmare (back, left), Archdeacon H. Hawkins, Sir Peter Buck (Te Rangi Hīroa), Hāmiora Hei (front, left), Sir Āpirana Ngata and Reverend Rēwiti Kōhere. From the late 19th century Te Aute was unique in providing an opportunity for Māori boys to prepare for academic study at university. All of these men had distinguished careers.**

The Young Māori Party was formed in 1897 by Māori who had been educated at Te Aute College. They took their place on the world stage, turning the tide for Māori, who were being cast in the role of 'a dying race'. They included Sir Apirana Ngata, Rev Rēweti Kōhere and Tutere Wi Repa of Ngāti Porou; Te Rangi Hīroa (Peter Buck) of Taranaki; Sir Māui Pōmare of Te Āti Awa; and Edward Ellison of Ngāi Tahu, all of whom became prominent politically and in their professions (Barrington & Beaglehole, 1974).

### 3.2.2 The price of citizenship

The signing of the Treaty of Waitangi meant Māori were supposed to have full citizenship from 1840. However, this did not in fact occur. Later, Māori hoped that their participation in both World Wars would make it happen – that surely, after such sacrifice, Māori would achieve citizenship in Aotearoa New Zealand.

The service of the Pioneer Battalion in World War I, and the Māori Battalion in World War II, were historic events for Māori. Not only were many young leaders lost forever on foreign soils, but Māori expected that, if they paid the supreme price of laying down their lives for the country in both wars, then equality would be given in return. Sir Āpirana Ngata called the participation of the Pioneer Battalion in World War I the price of citizenship – after World War II "it was clear that Māori had paid in full" (Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 2009).

**The return of the Māori Pioneer Battalion to Putiki pa, Wanganui, in 1918. The Moutoa flag is in the centre. This flag was presented in 1865 by the ladies of Wanganui to lower Wanganui iwi to mark their success at Moutoa Island against Pai Marire warriors who threatened the settlement of Wanganui in 1864.**

The return of the Māori Battalion in the mid-1940s was a time of great joy and sorrow. Many whānau, hapū, iwi and Māori communities paid heavily with great loss of life. Afterwards, Sir Āpirana Ngata's son Henare, an officer in the Māori Battalion, wrote:

> I doubt if Māori people can point to any specific benefit and advantage which can be attributed to the participation of their men in World War Two. But in a wider sense,

the fact that Māori took an active part in the war produced a number of positive things. Māori have a higher profile in New Zealand life. The Treaty of Waitangi has been given a status unthought of pre-war. Māori is no longer a declining population, nor a dying race. Can it be claimed that these changes took place because Māori men went to World War Two? Probably not. But can it be said that these changes would have taken place if the Allies lost the war? (Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 2009)

**Eruera Tirikatene (wearing a traditional feather cloak) walks in front of the Māori Battalion on its return from World War II.**

Unfortunately, it was soon clear that the promise of citizenship was not being kept. A renowned Māori leader and educator, the late John Rangihau, wrote in 1975:

I am an ex-member of the Māori Battalion. At that time that was just a question of doing one's bit. You didn't really think about this as your commitment to New Zealand till after the war. And then we came back to a situation that had not changed in any way, where we were still treated as second class citizens, where we were still not allowed to purchase alcohol and where we had to get Polynesians or Indians to do this for us. Suddenly there was this annoying thing at the pit of our stomach about having gone away to free this beautiful land and yet still be treated like aliens in our own country… I was struck by the fact that this was the price for total citizenship in New Zealand. I was totally committed to the land of my forbears and this meant for me another commitment to be accepted by the dominant group. I was to be accepted as part of the New Zealand scene not as a noble savage or a descendant of a noble savage, but as a person with rights and privileges I had fought for and bought… In 1957 I came face to face with the whole problem by realising

that I couldn't get accommodation in a number of towns in New Zealand simply and purely because I was Māori. (Rangihau, 1975, p. 228)

## 3.3 THE URBAN MIGRATION FROM 1945–1960s

The war created employment opportunities in the cities. In 1936, a little over 11 percent of Māori lived in urban areas (Harris, 2010). By 1945 just over 25 percent of the Māori population was urban. However, the proportion of Māori living in cities was still very low relative to total city populations. The Māori population of Wellington was less than 1 percent of the total population, and in Auckland it was 2 percent (Harris, 2010).

Until World War II, most Māori and Pākehā "lived and worked in separately located communities" (Consedine, 2007, p. 7). The advent of this war meant that more people moved to urban areas to take part in the war effort. The 1945 Census showed that the most common occupations for Māori men were farmer or farm worker, forestry worker, freezing worker, dairy factory assistant, road grader, road construction labourer, lorry driver and labourer. Māori women worked predominantly as farm workers, school teachers, cooks, housemaids, domestic servants and waitresses (Coleman et al, 2005).

The legacy of the Government's assimilation policy (Barrington & Beaglehole, 1974) for Māori education in the late 1800s and early 1900s was that, when Māori grew more urbanised, most men worked in manufacturing and construction, mainly as labourers. When Māori migrated to the cities in the 1950s and 1960s to work in the urban economy, they mostly worked in factories, and lived in rented accommodation. The Māori labour force in those sectors rose from 9 percent in 1936 to 37 percent in 1951, although the largest group was still in forestry and agriculture (Coleman et al, 2005). In 1956, only 7 percent of the Māori workforce held professional, managerial or clerical positions, compared with 27 percent of non-Māori (Coleman et al, 2005).

**Women hunch over their sewing machines at dressmaking factory California Products in Rotorua, in 1949. Three-quarters of the company's employees were Māori at the time. By 1966 Māori women were 38 percent of New Zealand's production workers (mainly clothing and textile workers) and were well represented in the relevant unions.**

During the 1950s and 1960s, there was growth in secondary industry servicing the primary industries of agriculture, forestry and food production in small urban and rural areas. Whole towns grew around forestry, sawmilling and meatworks. Kawerau grew around the Tasman Pulp and Paper mill, alongside the development of the Tarawera forest, Tokoroa developed around the Kinleith mill and Tūrangi grew to house the workers for the construction of the Tongariro Power Development scheme.

In 1936 the urban Māori population was 11.2 percent. By 1945 this was now 25.7 percent (King, 2003, p. 403). In 1965 nearly two-thirds of Māori still lived in rural areas. By 2006, however, 84.4 percent of Māori lived in urban areas (Consedine, 2007, p. 7). Urban living meant access to better schooling, full-time employment and housing. The demand for low-skilled occupations gave urban Māori a false sense of security. There was a general feeling that this demand would continue. As the next section on the restructuring of the 1980s describes, this was far from the truth.

### 3.3.1 Te Roopu Wāhine Māori Toko i te Ora (Māori Women's Welfare League)

Urbanisation brought the concerns of the whānau to the fore, to be championed by leadership from Māori women. Throughout history Māori women have assumed leadership roles particularly during times of crisis. During wartime Māori communities turned to the women for leadership. In September 1951, 90 women delegates from around the country descended on Wellington for a conference. By the time it had adjourned, the Māori Women's Welfare League was born.

The League took up the issues affecting whānau, such as the substandard state of Māori housing, health, racism and the difficulty of adjusting to urbanisation and a cash economy (Szaszy, Rogers, & Simpson, 1993). The League called on the Government to work with them to address these issues. Since its inception, all governments have sought to maintain a relationship with the League. For many years, its patron was Te Arikinui Dame Te Atairangikaahu. The League has long been a driving force in Māoridom, and is at the forefront of efforts to improve whānau wellbeing.

The Māori Women's Welfare League formed the Māori Women's Development Inc (MWDI) in 1987. "It is a unique, indigenous financial institution formed by Māori women, controlled, managed and operated by Māori women, for the economic development of Māori men and women."[2] The MWDI provides full financial lending services to support Māori women and Māori men into business, build a network of Māori in business, establish innovative marketing to sell and distribute. The MWDI provides full financial lending services. It also provides mentoring services, business planning and support, business training services, financial and monitoring advisory servicing. The financial literacy programme offered is a partnership between the MWDI, the Retirement Commission and the Bank of New Zealand.[3]

The Māori Women's Welfare League has also developed *Whānau Toko I te Ora*, a whānau learning programme which is supported by the Ministry of Education. Delivery of the programme began at the end of 1999 in three trial sites (Tairāwhiti, Ikaroa and Tamaki Makaurau). Since then it has expanded to six regions, with the addition of Aotea, Taitokerau and Te Waipounamu. The services provided are child-centred and whānau-focused, using a holistic approach that integrates tikanga Māori into all aspects of child development, with an emphasis on the first five years. The programme is aimed at whānau with significant needs and is delivered through home visiting, a whānau learning

2 http://www.mwdi.co.nz/about.asp
3 Presentation by MWDI members, financial literacy workshop 19 May 2010.

programme and group support. The main objectives are to develop positive parenting skills, confident family functioning, positive relationships and mental outlook, and learning and development opportunities for children. The whānau learning programme is successfully implemented in many regions of New Zealand. It includes sessions on topics such as literacy, house care, financial management, child development, resource production, Māori values and concepts in child development and Māori cultural topics (Livingstone, 2002).

### 3.3.2 Growth of urban marae, taura here and kaupapa whānau

Urbanisation was a new experience for Māori. In order to support each other in the new urban areas, taura here and urban marae evolved. Groups formed based on kaupapa. This was not to diminish their whakapapa ties, but to show whānaungatanga with their new urban kin, who in many cases were also kin from their own tribal areas. These groups often included taura here – people living outside their own tribal territories. In Auckland, urban marae such as Ngā Whare Watea evolved, and urban Māori authorities such as the Manukau Urban Māori Authority and Te Whānau o Waipareira. The rapid movement of Māori to the cities created a new tension between whakapapa and kaupapa whānau.

### 3.3.3 Te Whānau o Waipareira

Urbanisation for Māori in West Auckland in the 1950s created social problems for whānau, which grew in the 1960s and 1970s. These problems were raised during the Waitangi Tribunal Inquiry into Te Whānau o Waipareira:

> The root of the problem … arose from the breakdown of the traditional whānau links. These whānau links were no longer a guarantee in the new urban environment… (Evidence by Mavis Tuoro, Waitangi Tribunal Report Wai 414, 1998, p. 35)

> Around 1975 and 1977 what we were beginning to see was the emergence of gangs like Black Power, Mongrel Mob and Head Hunters… These gang members were the children of those Māori who came from the rural areas to the cities in the early 1960s. They were the product of the breakdown of the whānau links in those early years. (Evidence by Connie Hanna, Waitangi Tribunal Report Wai 414, 1998, p. 36)

Māori responded to the challenges of urbanisation through establishing urban Māori taura here groups to support each other. In Auckland this led to the establishment of Te Whānau o Waipareira as an advocate and provider of social services for west Auckland residents who were becoming increasingly disconnected from their own whānau, hapū and tribal roots. It is a pan-Māori organisation, one of many emerging. This development occurred alongside the development of Māori community organisations under the Māori Welfare Act 1962, seeking to "advance and promote Tikanga Māori, Te Reo, business, horticulture, health, education, and other social needs in a holistic way" (Nathan, Waitangi Tribunal Report Wai 414, 1998, p. 37).

In 1992, as a consequence of the growth of urban Māori, Te Whānau o Waipareira took court action against the Government's intention to transfer the allocation of the Māori Fisheries Commission solely to iwi, arguing that the term 'iwi' could be applied more widely than was traditionally understood. The Trust won initially, then the Fisheries Commission went to the Privy Council, who asked the High Court in New Zealand to consider "whether iwi were necessarily the sole traditional units to which the Commission must distribute its assets" (Levine, 2001, p. 165). The High Court noted the importance of Urban Māori Authorities, arising as a reponse by Māori to urbanisation.

It ruled that Urban Māori Authorities did not "qualify as iwi" (Levine, 2001, p. 165). Furthermore, it took time for some government departments to understand that, should they need to consult with iwi in a given urban area, they were to go to the local iwi who held mana whenua as opposed to taura here. In some cases the local taura here were consulted, instead of the iwi, on iwi matters.

Following the Fisheries ruling, the Trust filed a claim with the Waitangi Tribunal (Wai 414) that it should receive equal treatment as a service provider. The Tribunal validated the Trust's position in that it recommended it be granted the status of a Treaty partner, changing the way the Crown funded social welfare programmes. Today, Te Whānau o Waipareira's website[4] states they provide a wide range of services such as:

> ...cancer care and support, cardiovascular screening and prevention, nutrition and physical activity, smoking cessation, drug and alcohol counselling, mental health services, early intervention in child health services and healthy housing insulation referral services…
>
> ...early childhood education, distance learning, literary, adult and whānau literacy services as well as te Reo Māori me ona Tikanga, financial literacy, digital and multi media literacy and employment qualifications in trades and other occupations…
>
> ...budgeting, foodbank, wraparound, family start, parents as first teachers, pre-school programmes, whānau development, strengthening families (mokopuna, kaumātua, kuia, rangatahi, tamariki katoa), advocacy, family violence and more…

Te Whānau o Waipareira was described by the Ministerial Taskforce of Whānau-centred Initiatives (2010, p. 37) as "a leading urban provider, delivering across multiple sectors; uses innovative delivery models within a whānau context".

## 3.4 1960S TO MID-1980S: RESISTANCE AND RESILIENCE

By the mid-1960s the Māori population had reached approximately 200,000 (Coleman et al, 2005). An official 'pepper potting' policy was introduced, scattering Māori homes throughout the suburbs in order to hasten Māori assimilation into European lifestyles (Te Reo Māori, Waitangi Tribunal Report Wai 11, 1986, p. 10).

The growth in the Māori population put pressure on rural lifestyles and on Māori families "reliant on seriously fragmented lands, the product of over a century of land legislation designed more to dispossess than entitle" (Nikora, Geurin, Rua, & Te Awekotuku, 2004, p. 4). The zoning restrictions of the Town and Country Planning Act 1947 prevented many Māori building on their own land. Without the ability to build housing on their own papakāinga many simply had no choice but to move away from their tūrangawaewae (Nikora et al, 2004).

### 3.4.1 Shifting demographics

The urban migration of Māori has been described by Meredith (2009) as the most rapid movement of any population. In 1945, 26 percent of the Māori population lived in the towns and cities. By 1956 this had increased to 35 percent. Mass migration continued into the early 1960s. The urban population grew to 62 percent in 1966, and reached nearly 80 percent by 1986, leaving many rural villages depopulated. The places in which urban Māori were largely employed included factories, wharves, freezing works,

4 http://www.waipareira.com/services.html

transport and the city municipal works. Others went into teaching and government departments, particularly the Department of Māori Affairs. A number of young school leavers found their way to the cities through educational opportunities, including the trade training schemes promoted by the Department of Māori Affairs until the 1970s (Meredith, 2009). This meant that the Māori labour market was particularly vulnerable to the restructuring and recessions that followed.

### 3.4.2 The Hunn Report

In 1961, the Department of Māori Affairs produced the Hunn Report. Until this time, the official policy of successive New Zealand governments had been to assimilate Māori, followed by the policy of integration of Māori into New Zealand life – both looked the same to Māori. Durie describes reaction to the Hunn Report:

> The 1961 Hunn Report, while drawing attention to Māori disadvantage in social and economic endeavors, welcomed urbanisation as an opportunity for integration and predicted that assimilation would be the destiny for the two races in the distant future. Predictably Māori reaction was hostile … there was particular criticism of the term 'pepper potting' which was used in the report to describe the preferred method of settling rural migrants into towns and cities, dispersing Māori houses amongst European houses to promote closer integration. (Durie, 2007, p. 98)

King (2003) notes that tribal Māori leaders had become increasingly frustrated by the failure of successive governments to address their representations about the growing needs that urbanisation was bringing. Adding their voices to those of these leaders, young Māori attacked the assumption that urbanisation meant assimilation, in effect requiring Māori to become Pākehā. Māori were expected to learn English and fit in. This assumption was deeply resented by Māori and led to the generation of urban protests (King, 2003).

The first of the Māori activist groups was the Māori Organisation of Human Rights, established in Wellington. Auckland, which contained the largest Māori population, quickly followed suit with the establishment of Ngā Tamatoa (the Young Warriors). This group evolved from the Auckland University Māori Club, but also included young manual workers.

The new generation of young Māori urban leaders challenged personal, institutional and cultural racism directly. They were articulate and well-organised leaders, who placed Māori rights and grievances, Māori language and education, Māori health, Māori housing, Māori as workers and union members, all firmly into the society of middle New Zealand.

### 3.4.3 Contesting the loss of Māori land

A key issue for these groups was the return of land. Three significant land protests were seen in this decade. There was the Māori Land March of 1975, which started in the Far North with Dame Whina Cooper.

This was followed by an occupation of Parliament grounds. At the same time the Raglan Golf Course was on land originally taken from Māori as a landing strip during World War II, on the understanding that it be returned when and if it was no longer required. The landing strip was never built, and Eva Rickard used both protest and court action to finally see the land returned to its Māori owners (King, 2003).

**In 1975 veteran leader Whina Cooper and her mokopuna (grandchild), Irenee, started off a hīkoi (march) at Te Hapua in the Far North of the North Island. The hīkoi arrived at Parliament in time to support the passing of legislation that set up the Waitangi Tribunal. Courtesy of the New Zealand Herald.**

The third significant protest was a high-profile land occupation at Takaparawha (Bastion Point) in Auckland in 1977–78. It is remarkable partly for the duration of the occupation, which lasted for 506 days from January 1977 to 5 May 1978 (Taonui, 2009). Māori from all over New Zealand came to support Ngāti Whātua, who were demonstrating against the loss of their land and destruction of their village by the Government of the time. On 25 May 1978, Police removed the people in scenes reminiscent of the forced removal of indigenous peoples overseas. This was televised nationally and internationally. Suddenly New Zealand's record of race relations was badly tarnished.

**TAKAPARAWHA: BASTION POINT**

**Protesters and police at Bastion Point during its occupation in 1978.**

This was very much a flashpoint in race relations. There was culture shock, there was outrage on both sides, but most importantly Māori visibility and grievances were no longer confined to rural areas or to the factory. 'Middle New Zealand' was forced for the first time to come to terms with a history and a people of which the majority had only a superficial knowledge.

### 3.4.4 Establishment of the Waitangi Tribunal

The Waitangi Tribunal was established by the Waitangi Tribunal Act in 1975. However, it was not until 1985 that the Tribunal was permitted to inquire into historical grievances. Prior to this, the Waitangi Tribunal could only inquire into claims arising after 1975. The establishment of the Tribunal redefined Māori land and Treaty rights in New Zealand law and society, thereby redefining New Zealand society as a whole. While the Tribunal's findings and recommendations have never been binding, their impact on the Government and on the place of Māori issues in official and general consciousness has been significant.

**The late Honorable Matiu Rata, MP for Northern Māori 1963–1980, was instrumental in the establishment of the Waitangi Tribunal in 1975, while Minister of Māori Affairs in the Labour Government. He formed Mana Motuhake in 1979.[5]**

5 'Matiu Rata', http://www.nzhistory.net.nz/people/matiu-rata (Ministry for Culture and Heritage), updated 11-May-2009.

## 3.5 DISCUSSION

Leadership, resilience and change characterise Māori development in both the economy and society as a whole. The time from the devastation of the Land Wars of the 1860s to the arrival of young Māori leaders on the New Zealand scene was only 40 years. Not only were these leaders successful on the marae, in Parliament and on the global stage, their impact far exceeded their lifetimes. Such leadership was exemplified repeatedly in both World Wars in the heroism of the Pioneer and Māori Battalions.

Urbanisation brought another new generation of young leadership to the fore. They were educated and championed the honouring of the Treaty partnership. The actions of Ngā Tamatoa, combined with those of the New Zealand Māori Council, the Māori Women's Welfare League, Māori parliamentary representation and the Māori church groups brought about major changes in the Departments of Education, Social Welfare, Justice and Māori Affairs (King, 2003).

Collectively, these gains included a flourishing of Māori culture, including arts, literature, knowledge and traditions, in an urban context, along with Māori workforce development, both urban and rural. This period also marked the growth of the Māori industrialised workforce and the emergence of the Māori union movement. Marae became places of resilience for both Māori and non-Māori whānau in long-running labour disputes such as the Māngere Bridge strike.

The passing of the Waitangi Tribunal Act 1975 contributed to the building of nationhood in New Zealand. The Tribunal was given the power to inquire into historical grievances in 1985. King (2003, p. 415) describes this as:

> …one of a series of measures which so changed the face of New Zealand life in the 1980s and 1990s that their cumulative effect could legitimately be called a revolution.

# 4. IMPACT OF RESTRUCTURING AND RECESSIONS

## 4.1 OVERVIEW

In economics, a recession is a material period over which the level of economic activity is falling (Reddell & Sleeman, 2008). The focus of this report is on the several recessions that have affected New Zealand's economy since the mid-1980s.

## 4.2 BACKGROUND

From 1979 to 1982 the New Zealand economy was starting to recover from the shock rise in oil prices. However, the Iranian revolution and the start of the Iran-Iraq war caused a further rise in oil prices by 150 percent. Economic recovery stalled and unemployment rose rapidly. In response, the exchange rate was devalued at the same time as the Government embarked on the 'Think Big' projects (Reddell & Sleeman, 2008).

By the mid-1980s Western economies were in a recovery phase, credit was more readily available and there was a boom in equities and commercial property. In New Zealand, wide-ranging deregulation of the financial sector allowed financial institutions to create credit, some of it used to finance speculation in the share market. But in 1987 the share market crashed, halving the value of the New Zealand share market (Reddell & Sleeman, 2008).

## 4.3 RESTRUCTURING AND RECESSION

In 1984 a new government was elected and was confronted with low economic growth, high inflation and an uncompetitive export sector. The policies and actions that resulted had a dramatic impact on private and public enterprises and the population at large, as a highly regulated economy moved quickly to a market-led economy.

An initial 20 percent devaluation was followed in 1985 by a float of the New Zealand dollar. Export assistance, domestic subsidies, and price controls that existed on some products were removed, tariffs were lowered and the extensive import licensing system was dismantled. Investment and land development concessions were withdrawn, the taxation law was amended and cost recovery for previously free government services was introduced. A number of government-owned businesses, including government commercial forestry, were corporatised and then privatised. (Rhodes & Novis, 2002, p. 48).

The restructuring of the 1980s saw the introduction of privatisation of state-owned assets, accompanied by closures and redundancies in secondary industries. Meat works closed throughout the country, and the forestry industry was privatised. Through this process thousands of Māori workers lost their jobs (Department of Labour, 2004). Unemployment continued to rise from the mid-1980s to the early 1990s (Department of Labour, 2009a). The trend was longer and more severe for Māori.

Urbanisation initially led to better employment conditions. However, the structural inequalities of the education system meant the majority of employment opportunities for Māori were in secondary industries. In the mid-1980s the majority of Māori (39 percent) were employed in the secondary industries of manufacturing, construction, electricity, gas and water supply.

Māori had been enticed to come to the cities in the 1960s to swell the developing industrial workforce. By the mid-1980s the industries that employed large numbers of Māori had suffered severe job losses, and never returned to their pre-restructuring employment levels. The impact on whānau, hapū, iwi and Māori communities was far reaching and contributed to intergenerational poverty for many Māori. The effects are still felt today.

In an article on New Zealand's vulnerability to global economic and financial crisis, Jensen (2009) states that over the last few decades New Zealand's prosperity has been driven through two channels – a credit channel and a growth channel based on exports and tourism. Jensen points out that New Zealand has been living beyond its means, building up a stockpile of debt to the rest of the world. A short-term response is necessary to "keep the financing lines that fuel investment open" (Jensen, 2009, p. 2) and, in the long term, it is necessary to address the structural issues that made us so vulnerable to foreign market disruptions and reliant on external debt.

The Department of Labour discussion paper *How Bad is the Current Recession? Labour market downturns since the 1960s*[6] (Department of Labour, 2009b, p. 4) states:

> During the five recessions preceding the current one, the average rise in unemployment was around 110 percent. If the current recession proceeds as projected by the RBNZ, [Reserve Bank of New Zealand] the increase in unemployment would be of a similar magnitude to the average of past recessions.

The paper also distinguishes five periods of past recession: 1966–67; 1976–78; 1987–91; 1997–98; and 2007 to the present. The Department of Labour (2009b, p. 1) identified the following key points about recessions:

- On average, unemployment more than doubles and increases for around two years.
- When there is a downturn it is usually those with low or no qualifications, youth, Māori and Pacific peoples, and those in low-income, lower-skilled occupations that are most affected.
- Labour force participation rates fall as people get discouraged from looking for work.
- Net migration usually declines as more New Zealanders go overseas to work.
- Wage growth is slow to move and lags changes in unemployment by 1–2 years.

The next section looks at the key trends for Māori in relation to the labour market trends from the 1980s to 2009 and identifies its impacts in terms of health and social costs for Māori. The Māori population is relatively young and more highly represented amongst those with no or low qualifications. At the time of the 1980s restructuring and ongoing recession, Māori congregated largely in secondary industries.

## 4.4 THE MĀORI LABOUR MARKET 1980–2009

### 4.4.1 The impact of the mid-1980s restructuring

The restructuring of the mid-1980s and the recession of the early 1990s impacted severely on Māori. More than 25,000 Māori lost their jobs during those years, and in 1992, when things were at their worst, the Māori unemployment rate hit 26 percent

6 http://www.dol.govt.nz/publications/discussion-papers/current-recession/index.asp

(Department of Labour, 2004, p. 11). Large numbers of Māori lost their jobs rapidly in industries such as manufacturing and trades.

Extensive economic reforms resulted in high interest rates, which in turn impacted upon small businesses and caused unemployment to rise further. Many local-level government services were cut back, including postal, banking, health and education services (Kelsey, 1993). In 1990, the incoming National government extended these reforms to include industrial relations, social welfare and political reform (Belich, 2000).

The impact of the restructuring of the mid-1980s and the recession of the early 1990s affected those in the low-semi-skilled occupations the most (Figures 1 and 2). Māori suffered large-scale job losses as they were largely employed in the secondary industries of manufacturing, construction and gas, water and electricity supply. Māori employment in secondary industries did not 'bounce back'. After 16 years, Māori employment in these industries was 13 percent lower in 2003 than it had been in 1986 (Department of Labour, 2004).


**FOREST SERVICE PROTEST**

**In 1987 the New Zealand Forest Service was disestablished with the loss of thousands of jobs. Because Māori were disproportionately represented in forestry, the closure of the service, along with other government departments, had a big effect on Māori unemployment.**

The occupational classifications on which the following charts are based have been created from the Australian and New Zealand Standard Industrial Classification (1996) for industries:

> 'Primary' comprises agriculture, fishing, forestry and mining.

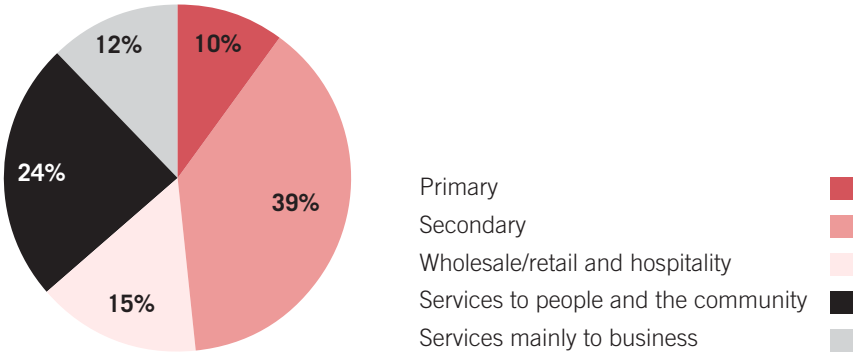
> 'Secondary' is manufacturing, construction, electricity, gas and water supply.

> 'Services mainly to business' comprises business and property services, communication services, finance and insurance, transport and storage.

> 'Services to people and the community' comprises health and community services, education and similar services.

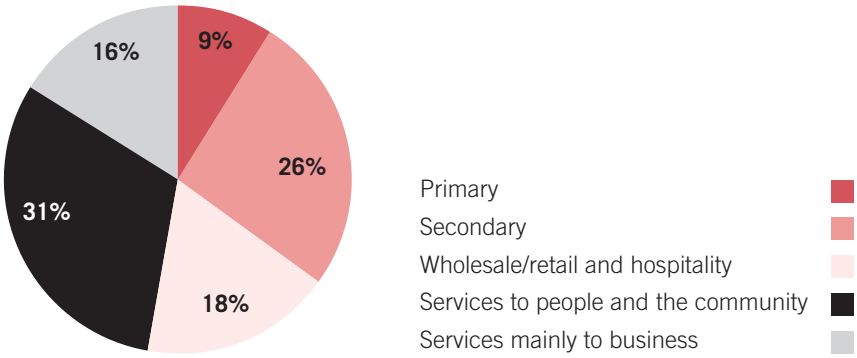
> 'Wholesale/retail and hospitality' comprises wholesale trade, the retail trade and accommodation, cafes and restaurants.

**FIGURE 1: INDUSTRIES IN WHICH MĀORI WERE EMPLOYED IN 1986**




**Source: Department of Labour (2004) Work Insight.**

**FIGURE 2: INDUSTRIES IN WHICH MĀORI WERE EMPLOYED IN 2003**




**Source: Department of Labour (2004) Work Insight.**

## 4.4.2 Changes in employment patterns 1992–2009

In the recession of 1991–92, Māori unemployment rose from 18.4 percent to 26.3 percent, while the overall rate rose from 7.2 percent to 11.2 percent. During the recession of 1997–98, the Māori unemployment rate rose from 15.3 percent to 18.7 percent, while the overall rate rose from 6.7 percent to 7.9 percent (Department of Labour, 2009a, p. 21). However, from 1999, unemployment began to trend downwards, as shown in Table 1.

**TABLE 1: TRENDS IN MĀORI LABOUR PARTICIPATION, EMPLOYMENT AND UNEMPLOYMENT RATES FROM SEPTEMBER 1999–2008**

| SEPTEMBER QUARTERS | LABOUR FORCE PARTICIPATION RATE (PERCENT) | EMPLOYMENT RATE (PERCENT) | UNEMPLOYMENT RATE (PERCENT) | YOUTH UNEMPLOYMENT RATE (PERCENT) |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1999 | 62.0 | 52.8 | 14.8 | 24.3 |
| 2000 | 62.8 | 53.9 | 14.1 | 31.4 |
| 2001 | 63.5 | 55.7 | 12.3 | 27.7 |
| 2002 | 65.9 | 58.1 | 11.9 | 22.5 |
| 2003 | 65.7 | 59.3 | 9.7 | 20.7 |
| 2004 | 63.7 | 58.4 | 8.3 | 20.9 |
| 2005 | 67.1 | 60.8 | 9.4 | 28.3 |
| 2006 | 66.4 | 61.3 | 7.6 | 22.4 |
| 2007 | 67.4 | 62.1 | 7.9 | 19.7 |
| 2008 | 67.4 | 62.1 | 7.9 | 19.7 |

**Source: Statistics New Zealand (2008) Household Labour Force Survey, cited in Te Puni Kōkiri (2009b, p. 16), *The Implications of a Recession for the Māori Economy. A paper presented to the 2009 Māori Economic Summit.* Unpublished paper.**

Between 1999 and 2008, there were significant improvements in Māori employment and participation rates. Even the Māori youth unemployment rate, although relatively high, was trending downwards.

However, as the current recession affected employment, Māori unemployment rose significantly. In 12 months from December 2008 to December 2009, Māori unemployment rose from 9.8 percent to 15.4 percent, more than three times the European unemployment rate.

In the September 2008 quarter Statistics New Zealand started publishing ethnicity data using the single/combination output method. In this method, people are counted just once according to the ethnic group or combination of groups they reported. This created a complete break in the ethnicity series, because data before that date cannot be compared with that for the classification 'Māori' in earlier publications (Statistics New Zealand, 2009).

**TABLE 2: MĀORI AND EUROPEAN UNEMPLOYMENT RATES SEPTEMBER 2008–DECEMBER 2009**

| | MĀORI | | EUROPEAN | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| QUARTER | LABOUR FORCE PARTICIPATION RATE (PERCENT) | UNEMPLOYMENT RATE (PERCENT) | LABOUR FORCE PARTICIPATION RATE (PERCENT) | UNEMPLOYMENT RATE (PERCENT) |
| 2008 December | 67.6 | 9.8 | 70.0 | 3.2 |
| 2009 March | 64.3 | 10.7 | 69.5 | 3.9 |
| 2009 June | 64.8 | 12.6 | 69.2 | 4.0 |
| 2009 September | 63.3 | 14.4 | 69.1 | 4.5 |
| 2009 December | 65.2 | 15.4 | 69.9 | 4.6 |

**Source: Statistics New Zealand (2009), *Household Labour Force Survey.***

Tables 1 and 2 highlight the vulnerability of Māori in the labour market. Māori entered the latest recession in a more vulnerable state owing in part to the large numbers of Māori still employed in trades and in the least skilled areas which are the most vulnerable in a recession. Table 3 identifies the Māori job loss by categories within the

affected skill groups (Department of Labour, 2009a, p. 20). Māori youth are also quickly affected, with a rapid increase in Māori youth (15–24 years) unemployment. In the year from September 2008 the rate rose from 16.8 percent to 23.1 percent, while the overall youth employment rate increased from 10.5 percent to 15 percent (Statistics New Zealand, 2009).

**TABLE 3: DECREASE IN MĀORI JOBS BY INDUSTRY**

| | DECREASE IN MĀORI JOBS FOR THE YEAR TO SEPTEMBER 2009 | |
|---|---|---|
| **INDUSTRY** | **PERCENT** | **NUMBER OF JOBS** |
| Construction | 15.0 | 4,100 |
| Manufacturing | 3.0 | 1,300 |
| Transport and storage | 12.9 | 2,000 |

As in the earlier recessions, Māori employment has proved to be less resilient than that of other groups, and more vulnerable to job loss. Māori unemployment is exacerbated by lower average qualifications and youthful population. The decline of industries, such as manufacturing and forestry which have traditionally employed high proportions of Māori, have also impacted on Māori employment (Department of Labour, 2009a).

### 4.4.3 Growth of the knowledge economy

There have been some encouraging signs in the growth of Māori participation in the 'knowledge economy', which has been defined "as industries and occupations that are primarily based on highly skilled employment and sophisticated production" (Department of Labour, 2009a, p. 61).

In the five years from 2004 to 2009, there was rapid growth in the number of Māori workers in higher-skilled occupations (eg, legislators, administrators and managers), increasing by 60.8 percent, or 8,000 workers. Technical and associated professional occupations have grown by 40.3 percent, or 7,500 workers. Trades have grown by 36.2 percent, or 5,400 workers. In spite of this growth, there are still obvious disparities between Māori and non-Māori. There is a greater proportion of non-Māori employed as legislators, administrators and managers (ie, 14 percent compared with the Māori proportion of 8.3 percent). In the professional groups, non-Māori employment is 18.8 percent compared with Māori 11.5 percent (Department of Labour 2009a, pp. 58–59).

When looking at the low-skilled occupation groups, Māori were more dominant at 16.3 percent compared with 6.9 percent of non-Māori. The least skilled, elementary occupations employed 10.4 percent Māori compared with 5 percent non-Māori (Department of Labour, 2009a, pp. 60–61).

The number of Māori workers in occupations requiring a lower skill level has declined over the past five years. The number of Māori who identified as agriculture and fishery workers has decreased by 25.7 percent. The fall in these two groups was due to the contraction of employment in these two industries for all workers; however, it was considerably greater for Māori than non-Māori (Department of Labour, 2009a).

### 4.4.4 Māori mobility

The Māori population is characterised by high rates of mobility. In 2001, 61 percent of Māori changed their place of residence, compared with 49 percent of non-Māori. The youthfulness of the Māori population means that Māori are not only more mobile, but are more likely to move longer distances (Housing New Zealand Corporation, 2007).

The three reasons most commonly given for moving, in order of preference, are social reasons, proximity to family and economic reasons such as better job opportunities or less expensive living, and housing (Department of Labour, 2009a, p. 32).

Frequent movement from town to town does not necessarily benefit whānau development. Children have to change schools, and the whānau may leave the developing support networks associated with schools. If some of these whānau are 'at risk', this is the point at which they may easily fall beneath the radar. Furthermore, lack of stability means a corresponding lack of community participation and support.

### 4.4.5 Future employment forecasts

Between 2004 and 2009, changing patterns are evident in Māori employment. While manufacturing is still a key employer, health and community services, and property and business services are areas that have experienced the highest growth in employment for Māori. It is predicted that forestry and logging jobs will increase by 2.6 percent per annum till 2018. The increase may be bigger for Māori, because of the return of Crown forests as part of Treaty settlements, such as the large Central North Island settlement. However, there are predicted declines in manufacturing, construction and agriculture, and a static rate of employment in retail (Department of Labour, 2009a).

During the last two recessions, employment in highly skilled occupations grew while low-skilled employment declined. It is predicted that, with the recent movement of Māori to more highly skilled occupations, the impact of recessions should lessen in the long term. However, the Māori employment profile means that Māori will be disproportionately impacted by the recession for some time to come.

## 4.5 EDUCATION AND TRAINING

Education and training are the means whereby Māori can enter the knowledge economy, increasing their job options and security. The slow rise of Māori in the knowledge economy can be understood by reviewing the education attainment rates of Māori and non-Māori. The critical impact that educational attainment has on health and quality of life was highlighted by Salmond (2003, p. 3), who noted:

> University qualifications yield a 62 percent privilege in life-long earnings over all other tertiary qualifications. Given these educational disparities, it is not surprising to discover that the median income for Māori and Pacific peoples in the workforce is 80 percent of other workers.

Table 4 shows that Māori school leavers are under-represented in the group with University Entrance or a Level 3 qualification or higher, but have improved in proportion to other ethnic groups. In 2007, 18 percent of Māori school leavers were at this level, an increase of three percentage points from 2006. Importantly, the percentage of those leaving school with little or no formal attainment has dropped from 22 percent to 10 percent in the 2006–07 year.

**TABLE 4: HIGHEST ATTAINMENT OF SCHOOL LEAVERS BY ETHNIC GROUP 2006–07**

| HIGHEST ATTAINMENT OF SCHOOL LEAVERS | NZ EUROPEAN/PĀKEHĀ | | MĀORI | | PASIFIKA | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 2006 PERCENT | 2007 PERCENT | 2006 PERCENT | 2007 PERCENT | 2006 PERCENT | 2007 PERCENT |
| UE, Level 3 qualification or higher[1] | 41 | 44 | 15 | 18 | 17 | 20 |
| Half-way to a Level 3 qualification | 8 | 8 | 7 | 8 | 14 | 15 |
| Level 2 qualification | 16 | 19 | 14 | 17 | 19 | 21 |
| *Sub-total NCEA Level 2 or above* | *65* | *71* | *37* | *44* | *50* | *56* |
| Half-way to a Level 2 qualification[2] | 7 | 8 | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 |
| Level 1 qualification | 7 | 7 | 9 | 9 | 5 | 4 |
| Half-way to a Level 1 qualification[3] | 7 | 7 | 13 | 15 | 12 | 12 |
| Less than half-way to a Level 1 qualification | 4 | 4 | 10 | 10 | 8 | 8 |
| Little or no formal attainment | 9 | 3 | 22 | 10 | 12 | 6 |
| **TOTAL** | **100** | **100** | **100** | **100** | **100** | **100** |

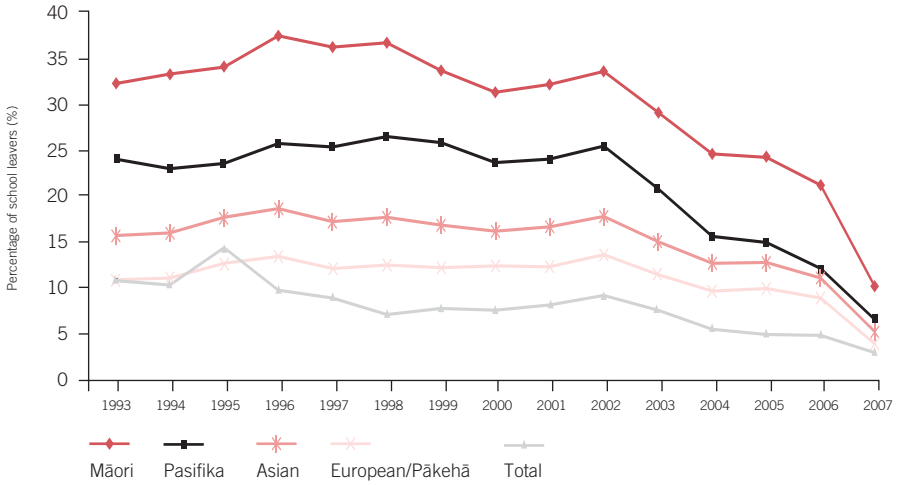
1. Includes leavers with Year 13 Cambridge International, International Baccalaureate, Accelerated Christian Education (ACE) or any other overseas awards.
2. Includes leavers with Year 12 Cambridge International, International Baccalaureate, ACE or any other overseas awards.
3. Includes leavers with Year 11 Cambridge International, International Baccalaureate, ACE or any other overseas awards.

Note: Numbers do not add up to 100 due to rounding.

Source: Ministry of Education, *Education Counts*, 2007.

Figure 3 shows that the proportion of Māori leaving school with few or no qualifications has fallen from almost 40 percent in 1996 to approximately 10 percent in 2007. The attainment levels for Māori have shown continuous improvement since 2000. While significant gains have been made, especially between the 2006 and 2007 years, Māori school leavers are still over-represented in the group with little or no formal attainment, with 10 percent of Māori school leavers at this level (compared with 5 percent of total school leavers). This disparity flows through into the workforce, where the average earnings are 21 percent higher for those with a tertiary education than for those with only upper secondary and post-secondary non-tertiary education (Ministry of Education, 2007a). For those without Level 1, the disparity is even greater, as is employment vulnerability. Furthermore, the Adult Literacy and Life Skills Survey 2006 (Satherley & Lawes, 2009) found that a large number of Māori in the workplace have low literacy and numeracy skills, making them more vulnerable to job loss.

**FIGURE 3: PERCENTAGE OF SCHOOL LEAVERS WITH LITTLE OR NO FORMAL ATTAINMENT, BY ETHNIC GROUP (1993–2007)**




**Source: Ministry of Education, *Education Counts*, 2007.**

Table 5 provides the qualifications data for Years 11, 12 and 13 for the 2009 academic year. It identifies the qualifications gained by ethnicity, broken down by socio-economic decile ratings. For New Zealand schools, deciles 1–3 are those schools in a community with a low socio-economic rating (as opposed to the New Zealand Deprivation Index which reverses the ratings).

As the results are cumulative, it is to be expected that by Year 13, a very high proportion of students will have Levels 1 and 2 NCEA. The table shows the comparative advantage of deciles 8–10 schools in almost all areas. However, it is of note that in 2009, there was a greater proportion of Māori students from lower socio-economic areas with University Entrance in Year 12, than Māori students in the higher deciles. In Years 11 and 13, deciles 8–10 had a greater proportion of qualifications than deciles 1–3 for Māori.

To qualify for entrance to a New Zealand university and some other tertiary course providers using NCEA, students need at least Level 3 or higher (42 credits).

**TABLE 5: 2009 QUALIFICATIONS BY YEAR LEVEL, ETHNICITY AND DECILE (CUMULATIVE)**

| | | NATIONAL | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | YEAR 11 | | | YEAR 12 | | | YEAR 13 | | |
| QUALIFICATION | ETHNICITY | DECILES 1–3 | DECILES 4–7 | DECILES 8–10 | DECILES 1–3 | DECILES 4–7 | DECILES 8–10 | DECILES 1–3 | DECILES 4–7 | DECILES 8–10 |
| National Certificate of Educational Achievement | | | | | | | | | | |
| **NCEA (LEVEL 1)** | | | | | | | | | | |
| | NZ Māori | 54.0 | 54.7 | 67.4 | 82.0 | 85.7 | 90.6 | 93.0 | 95.3 | 97.2 |
| | NZ European | 70.1 | 76.6 | 84.8 | 90.6 | 93.9 | 96.0 | 95.5 | 97.6 | 98.0 |
| | Pasifika peoples | 46.4 | 54.8 | 62.3 | 76.9 | 83.7 | 86.7 | 87.9 | 88.1 | 92.0 |
| | Asian | 100.0 | 72.0 | 78.3 | 78.9 | 82.2 | 83.7 | 82.4 | 88.5 | 91.8 |
| | Other/ Unspecified ethnicity | 62.4 | 64.1 | 75.4 | 76.2 | 77.3 | 83.0 | 78.3 | 83.4 | 90.4 |

**TABLE 5: 2009 QUALIFICATIONS BY YEAR LEVEL, ETHNICITY AND DECILE (CUMULATIVE) – CONTINUED**

| | | NATIONAL | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | YEAR 11 | | | YEAR 12 | | | YEAR 13 | |
| QUALIFICATION | ETHNICITY | DECILES | DECILES | DECILES | DECILES | DECILES | DECILES | DECILES | DECILES | DECILES |
| National Certificate of Educational Achievement | | 1–3 | 4–7 | 8–10 | 1–3 | 4–7 | 8–10 | 1–3 | 4–7 | 8–10 |
| **NCEA (LEVEL 2)** | | | | | | | | | | |
| | NZ Māori | 50.7 | 37.0 | 62.1 | 60.5 | 61.7 | 73.8 | 84.4 | 87.4 | 93.6 |
| | NZ European | 35.0 | 56.6 | 66.8 | 70.5 | 78.9 | 86.9 | 89.6 | 95.2 | 97.0 |
| | Pasifika peoples | 25.0 | 44.4 | 50.0 | 52.4 | 55.1 | 67.2 | 80.8 | 82.0 | 86.7 |
| | Asian | 100.0 | 64.6 | 75.0 | 68.5 | 76.1 | 82.1 | 84.2 | 89.2 | 92.9 |
| | Other/ Unspecified ethnicity | | 44.4 | 64.7 | 62.1 | 64.7 | 73.0 | 76.5 | 80.9 | 89.3 |
| **NCEA (LEVEL 3)** | | | | | | | | | | |
| | NZ Māori | 40.9 | | | 44.9 | 37.0 | 42.1 | 52.7 | 52.0 | 61.1 |
| | NZ European | | 57.1 | 85.7 | 21.4 | 50.9 | 61.5 | 61.5 | 72.6 | 79.7 |
| | Pasifika peoples | | | | 28.6 | 42.9 | 50.0 | 44.2 | 47.6 | 49.4 |
| | Asian | | | 100.0 | 61.5 | 72.9 | 58.1 | 61.9 | 72.6 | 78.9 |
| | Other/ Unspecified ethnicity | | | 100.0 | | 71.4 | 100.0 | 65.8 | 62.5 | 73.6 |
| **UNIVERSITY ENTRANCE** | | | | | | | | | | |
| | NZ Māori | | | | 14.0 | 4.3 | 10.5 | 36.4 | 41.9 | 58.1 |
| | NZ European | | 14.3 | 71.4 | 17.9 | 41.1 | 62.0 | 56.6 | 65.6 | 76.3 |
| | Pasifika peoples | | | | 14.3 | 28.6 | 50.0 | 32.6 | 37.8 | 45.7 |
| | Asian | | | 50.0 | 46.2 | 70.8 | 58.1 | 53.5 | 68.6 | 76.9 |
| | Other/ Unspecified ethnicity | | | | | 71.4 | 100.0 | 58.9 | 53.0 | 71.4 |

**Source: http://www.nzqa.govt.nz/qualifications/ssq/statistics/provider-selected-crystalreport.do**

### 4.5.1 Adult workplace literacy and numeracy

In 2010, a review completed by Te Puni Kōkiri showed that both the state and private sectors are involved in Māori adult literacy and numeracy education (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2010b). Those government departments that had the most involvement in adult workforce literacy and numeracy were Accident Compensation Corporation, Department of Corrections, Department of Labour, Ministry of Education, Ministry of Social Development, New Zealand Qualifications Authority and the Tertiary Education Commission which is the main funder of programmes and initiatives. The review also provided examples where literacy and numeracy programmes were provided by the private sector for their Māori staff. For instance, Downer EDI Works is a company that specialises in infrastructure, roading and pavements and asset management.[7]

Downer EDI Works Teamworks leadership programme was part of the Upskilling Partnerships Programme with the Department of Labour. The review noted Māori participants were motivated to enrol for a variety of reasons, such as the desire to have the confidence to discuss problems with their manager, wanting more involvement in decision-making and having the confidence to put forward ideas at meetings. The review noted that:

7 http://www.works.co.nz/Content.aspx?ContentID=10

> …the natural integration of te reo Māori helped to validate Māori participants' language and culture… Some non-Māori facilitators who recognise the importance of whakapapa and connectedness as a basis for building relationships with Māori learners have been successful in bridging the cultural gap and in breaking down barriers. (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2010a, p. 36)

> Benefits included increased opportunities for income and increased confidence and self-belief to suggest solutions to problems, identifying career pathways and pursuit of further learning. Communications skills improved and flow-on effects included more involvement in their children's education and more communication with their partner and children. (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2010a, p. 47)

The review identified good programme design as including consideration of Māori needs and aspirations, and barriers to access, retention and achievement by Māori. Good programme delivery needs to be delivered in a way that is "responsive to tikanga Māori, makes use of contextualised learning and resources (to the life of the learner), collaborate with whānau and other authority figures in the learner's life and ensure providers and tutors are skilled and capable to deliver to Māori" (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2010a, pp. 20–21).

## 4.6 GEOGRAPHIC DEPRIVATION

The index of deprivation is constructed from nine Census 2006 variables, and provides a summary deprivation score from 1 to 10 for small areas. A score of 1 is allocated to the least deprived and 10 to the most deprived. (White, Gunston, Salmond, Atkinson & Crampton, 2008, p. 2).

In 2006, 24 percent of Māori lived in decile 10 areas, compared with 4.5 percent of non-Māori. Only 3.4 percent of Māori lived in decile 1 areas, compared with 13 percent of non-Māori (White, et al, 2008). In total, 54.6 percent of the Māori population live in the three most deprived categories of deprivation compared with 20.2 percent of non-Māori.

**TABLE 6: MĀORI AND NON-MĀORI POPULATIONS, BY SOCIO-ECONOMIC DEPRIVATION 2006 CENSUS**

| DECILE INDEX OF DEPRIVATION | MĀORI (PERCENT) | NON-MĀORI (PERCENT) |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | 3.4 | 13.0 |
| 2 | 4.4 | 12.4 |
| 3 | 5.2 | 12.0 |
| 4 | 6.0 | 11.4 |
| 5 | 7.1 | 10.9 |
| 6 | 8.9 | 10.3 |
| 7 | 10.4 | 9.7 |
| 8 | 13.0 | 8.5 |
| 9 | 17.5 | 7.2 |
| 10 | 24.1 | 4.5 |
| **TOTAL** | **100** | **100** |

**Source: Adapted from White, Gunston, Salmond, Atkinson, & Crampton (2008, Fig 8: p. 23)**

Regional disparities have been exacerbated because areas with the highest proportion of Māori are also those heavily reliant on particular industries. The highest Māori

unemployment rate is in the Gisborne/Hawkes Bay region (15.8 percent), followed by Northland (12.6 percent) (Department of Labour, 2009a). The impact of recession is harder on some regions than others. When this effect is combined with limited education and access to housing and health, the impact on Māori is harsh.

For example, the risk of hospitalisation to young people aged 0–14 years for rheumatic fever is 28.65 times greater in deciles 9–10 than in decile 1. Furthermore, young Māori aged 0–14 years are 22.9 times more likely to risk hospitalisation for rheumatic fever than their European counterparts. (Craig, Jackson & Han 2007, p. 282).

### 4.6.1 Life expectancy and socio-economic differences

It is well known that there are ethnic disparities between Māori and non-Māori in a number of social indicators such as health and education. However, it is also important to note that, as more Māori move into higher socio-economic deciles, existing socio-economic disparities in addition to structural inequalities in both the health and the labour market mean Māori are still vulnerable to lower quality of life. *The Social Report* (Ministry of Social Development, 2009) notes an association between life expectancy and the level of deprivation in the areas where people live. Males in the least deprived areas lived 8.8 years longer than males in the most deprived areas (82 years compared with 73 years). As Māori are more represented in deciles 8–10 on the New Zealand Deprivation Index, it is not surprising that socio-economic differences are a factor in male Māori life expectancy, which is 70.4 years compared to 79 years for non-Māori. Socio-economic factors also contribute to the disparities in smoking, obesity and hazardous drinking. A fact sheet released by the National Centre of Mental Health (2010) says that the risk of mental health problems is higher for those who are unemployed, younger, have low socio-economic status or are of Māori and Pacific ethnicity.

Māori youth are much more likely than non-Māori not to be in education, employment or training. In the year to September 2009, 14.2 percent of Māori youth aged 15–19 years were not in education, training or employment, compared with 6.8 percent of non-Māori youth. In the 20–24 years age group the rates were slightly higher, with 16.1 percent of Māori and 9.7 percent of non-Māori not in education, employment or training (Department of Labour, 2009a). This category is of particular concern. Unless they enter some form of training, the outlook for young people is bleak, and not just economically; Durie (2005) has shown, for example, that unemployment is a personal risk factor in Māori youth suicide.

The higher incidence of mental health problems among unemployed people increases their risk of suicide. In December 2009, the Ministry of Health reported the latest (2007) data on self-harm. These data showed that the overall suicide rate of 11 deaths per 100,000 population has declined significantly (by 27.3 percent) since the peak rate in 1998. However, Māori suicide rates (16.1 per 100,000 Māori population) in 2007 were significantly higher than non-Māori suicide rates (9.9 per 100,000 population). Māori suicide rates were 19.1 percent lower than the peak rate in 1998. These data are variable, however, rather than trending consistently downwards.

Another issue for Māori is that suicide rates are higher in the most deprived socio-economic areas, where Māori are more likely to live. In 2007, males from the most deprived areas were almost three times as likely to be hospitalised as those in the least deprived areas, and females from the most deprived areas were almost twice as likely to be hospitalised.

### 4.6.2 A case study of the impacts of job loss

A comparative analysis was conducted between employed and unemployed freezing workers at Whakatu and Tomoana freezing works. The study compared employed workers from both Whakatu and Tomoana meat works before they closed (1977–1986) and employed Tomoana workers after the closure (1986–1994) with unemployed Whakatu workers (1986–1994) post closure. The study also looked at the impact of the closures of these two plants on Ngāti Kahungunu and Hawkes Bay communities when Tomoana later closed in 1994 (Keefe, et al, 2002; Te Rōpū Rangahau Hauora a Eru Pomare & Ngāti Kahungunu Iwi Inc, 2001).

In 1986, Whakatu, owned by the Hawkes Bay Farmers Meat Company, closed and 2,200 workers lost their jobs. In 1994 at nearby Tomoana, owned by Weddel Crown, a further 1,300 became unemployed when the works closed, with a total loss of 1,990 jobs if the 690 jobs that were about to start are included. Tomoana workers did not receive any redundancy payment. This was the community's largest single employer, with successive generations of whānau employed since 1912.

Both these sites were not merely places of employment, they were an extension of the whānau, with three generations of families working side by side daily. A report of the study released in 2001, *Mauri Mahi*, is dedicated to Bill Bennett (Te Arawa). The dedication goes to the heart of the people – how Whakatu was enveloped into the tikanga of the people:

> …through the words of this story we share the life of both … they were born in the same era. Whakatu in 1912 and Bill in 1917… throughout their childhood they grew up in sight of each other. From mere babes in arms through their adolescence to maturity, through old age. Each not realising how their destinies were so inextricably bound to each other.
>
> And so from those early days … the man and the freezing works lived and worked side by side.
>
> Whakatu had already impacted on the people of Kohupatiki and Bill's with it. It provided the Ngaruroro with food for the abundance of its many fish. The eels, the whitebait, the kahawai, herring, not to mention the flounder from which Kohupatiki took its name. And the Ngaruroro then gave of its fish to the people of Kohupatiki and the district.
>
> And Whakatu prospered to become the biggest freezing works in the land, generations came and went. From all parts of the world they came … with Whakatu and its money as the magnet and Bill and the union as the filter…
>
> [Now] he lies in the shadow of his old friend, waiting to hear the whistle blow again to mark the beginning or the end of another working day… And he and his brothers lie and wait… (Te Rōpū Rangahau Hauora a Eru Pomare & Ngāti Kahungunu Iwi Inc, 2001, p. 2)

## Health impacts of the closing of Whakatu and Tomoana freezing works

During the 10 years before Whakatu closed, both works had very similar levels of deaths and suicides among their employees, with no significant differences in mental health admissions or cancer registration. The researchers found, however, that while Whakatu and Tomoana workers had similar rates of cancer, those made redundant at Whakatu were more likely to die from their cancers.

Following the closure of Whakatu in 1986, there was an increased risk of serious self-harm[8] leading to hospitalisation or death in the unemployed group compared with the employed group. While those made unemployed had significantly higher rates of serious self-harm, it concerned the researchers that there was no corresponding increase in admission to hospital for mental disorders such as depression. It was evident that those who suffered from depression did not seek or get help from the health system.

The study concluded that being made unemployed caused people severe mental stress, and this showed up as increased serious self-harm and suicide. Researchers also concluded that if the study had continued beyond 1994 when Tomoana closed, then other health effects might have been identifiable.

Community leaders and families speak of Whakatu and Tomoana:

The closures had a huge impact on the community. I think we can say that the combination of setbacks like Whakatu and Tomoana took out multi-millions of dollars of spending into retail and light industry … and on top of that there were massive benefit cuts … this provincial city took a hammering…

So when the Works closed they were really lost and a lot of them became depressed and just couldn't bear life without going to the Works. My husband was one of those; he really became depressed and from then on stayed like that until he died.

Being a Friday night the younger ones were running around as if it was to be a night off. I went back to the supervisor and we waited for the fax and when it came through it read 'cease all production as of now, all Weddel plants have gone into receivership'. That was a bit of a shock for me and the supervisor. Meanwhile we had people out there getting ready for the evening so we had to tell them to come upstairs so that we could address them with the news … I don't think some of them, especially the younger ones, knew what it meant by a company 'going into receivership' … everybody … saying see you on Monday. So I had to explain to them what receivership meant and tell them to remove all their gear from their lockers, because the security that we usually have will not be on the gate. Sure enough when we got to the gate the chains and padlocks were already in place.

(Te Rōpū Rangahau Hauora a Eru Pomare & Ngāti Kahungunu Iwi Inc, 2001, pp. 5–9)

8 'Self-harm' refers to suicide, and attempted suicide resulting in hospital admissions.

## 4.7 FOOD SECURITY AND MĀORI

The report *Food Insecurity and the Food Bank Industry: Political, individual and environmental factors contributing to food bank use in Christchurch* (McPherson, 2006) notes the definition from the 1996 Rome Declaration World Food Security, "food security exists when all people at all times have physical and economic access to sufficient, safe and nutritious food to meet their dietary needs and food preferences for an active life". (FAO, 1996, cited in McPherson, 2006, p. 16). The report also notes that "other definitions require that food be culturally appropriate and accessed in an acceptable manner" (McPherson, 2006, p. 16). As a consequence, food security for Māori is also influenced by loss of mahinga kai either through pollution, legislation, confiscation, urbanisation or lack of access (Te Hotu Manawa Māori, 2007, p. 20).

Food insecurity is the "inability to access adequate and nutritious food on a regular basis, key factors being income and financial insecurity" (McPherson, 2006, p. 16).

### 4.7.1 Economic restructuring and food insecurity

The report noted that the reforms of the mid-1980s, early 1990s and benefit cuts in 1991 resulted in a growth of food banks. It also found that Māori are over-represented among food bank clients, despite being only 7.2 percent of the Christchurch population. A range of factors contribute to food bank uptake, the most common being cash shortage after payment of bills, and the second being housing costs.

Ethnicity was also found to have an effect independent of deprivation. Māori who are over-represented in poverty statistics are also over-represented amongst food bank clients across all 10 deciles of the New Zealand Deprivation Index (McPherson, 2006).

### 4.7.2 Food insecurity and price increases

Barriers to healthy eating are many, and include social, environmental and behavioural factors. United States and European research has shown that factors such as cost and taste are more relevant to people's food choices than healthy eating and weight control (McPherson, 2006). For example in New Zealand, food prices increased by 2.1 percent from December 2009 to January 2010. During this period, fruit and vegetables rose by 4.8 percent, meat, poultry and fish by 3.3 percent and grocery food prices and non-alcoholic beverages rose by 1.8 percent (Statistics New Zealand, 2010b). People are therefore likely to make poorer nutritional choices as the prices of healthy foods rise proportionately higher.

Nutrition-related factors such as low fruit and vegetable intake, obesity, high blood cholesterol levels and high blood pressure increase the risk of many chronic diseases including diabetes mellitus and cardiovascular disease. In New Zealand, approximately 11,000 deaths (40 percent) per year are attributable to the joint effects of nutrition-related risk factors. Nevertheless, these factors are modifiable and targeting them could reduce nutrition-related mortality and morbidity (Mhurchu & Ogra, 2007).

In 2007, the Obesity Action Coalition contracted Te Hotu Manawa Māori to develop a toolkit on food security. The toolkit, which summarised issues on food security, identified:

> Māori are more likely to live in socially deprived areas where it is difficult to access healthy food.

> These areas tend to have fewer quality supermarkets and more fast food outlets.

- Māori struggle more than other groups to afford and access healthy kai and are more likely to seek assistance from Foodbanks and Work and Income.
- Considerable disparity exists between Māori and non-Māori for food security.
- Households the least food secure had the highest Body Mass Index; those with the highest food security the lowest Body Mass Index.
- There is a link between food security and obesity as many foods high in fat and sugar are cheaper than healthy foods.
- Overweight and obesity have been linked to many medical and psychological problems.
- Childhood obesity is a major concern. (Te Hotu Manawa Māori, 2007, p. 6).

The 2002 National Children's Nutrition Survey (Parnell, Scragg, Wilson, Schaaf & Fitzgerald, 2002, p. 143) compares Māori with New Zealand European, Other (NZEO).

**TABLE 7: KEY FINDINGS OF THE 2002 NATIONAL CHILDREN'S NUTRITION SURVEY (PERCENT)**

| | COULD AFFORD TO EAT PROPERLY SOMETIMES | RAN OUT OF FOOD SOMETIMES OR OFTEN | ATE LESS SOMETIMES OR OFTEN | LACK OF $ AFFECTED VARIETY | RELIED ON OTHERS FOR FOOD | USED FOOD BANKS, FOOD GRANTS ETC |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Māori** | 33.6 | 37.5 | 30.7 | 45.2 | 23.4 | 20.0 |
| **NZEO** | 12.1 | 13.0 | 10.2 | 27.8 | 5.8 | 4.5 |

**Source: Adapted from Parnell, et al, (2002), Table B6, Household food security over the last year.**

In addition to the factors discussed above, 40 percent of Māori sometimes felt stressed about lack of money for food, compared with 16.5 percent of NZEO. Provision of food for social occasions is also a stress factor, with 28 percent of Māori reporting they sometimes felt stressed when there was no food for social occasions, compared to 14.8 percent of NZEO.

### 4.7.3 Food security and health disparities

There is considerable disparity in food security between Māori and non-Māori households. Those who were the least food secure had the highest Body Mass Index (BMI); those who were the most food secure had the lowest. In other words, poverty contributes to obesity. Overweight and obesity have been linked to many medical and psychological problems such as Type 2 diabetes, insulin resistance, gallstones, cardiovascular disease, osteoarthritis, low self-esteem, depression and some cancers (Te Hotu Manawa Māori, 2007).

The 2006 Census shows that 54.6 percent of Māori are in the three most deprived categories of deprivation, and food insecurity is most frequently reported by people living in the most socio-economically deprived areas. In deciles 8–10 it is more difficult to access healthy food for a number of reasons, including lack of transport to shops, and easier access to fast food outlets.

## 4.8 MĀORI HOUSING

### 4.8.1 Hardship and housing

The Ministry of Social Development report *New Zealand Living Standards 2004* noted that 17 percent of Māori were experiencing severe hardship[9], compared with 4 percent of European ethnicity experiencing severe hardship. The significant hardship category shows 11 percent Māori and 6 percent European. (Jensen, Krishnan, Hodgson, Sathiyandra & Templeton , 2006, p. 31)

The *New Zealand Living Standards Survey 2008* states, "a commonly agreed high level conceptualisation is that a person is in poverty or is experiencing material hardship or deprivation when they are excluded from the minimum acceptable way of life in their own society because of inadequate resources" (Perry, 2009, p. 13). The survey shows that when looking at the bottom two categories of severe and significant, 26 percent of Māori are experiencing serious hardship. The report summarises that 'Māori' and 'Pacific' are likely to have hardship rates some two or three times higher than 'European' or 'Other'. (Perry, 2009, p. 55)

The survey uses Housing New Zealand Corporation (HNZC) tenancy as an indicator of hardship (Perry, 2009, p. 75) as this housing is based on need. When looking at hardship rates by various personal and family characteristics, those in HNZC tenancies are nearly three-and-a-half times more likely to be at risk of hardship than the overall population. (Perry, 2009, p. 25)

In 2009, Māori represented the largest HNZC occupant group, with a total of 75,255 Māori occupants accounting for 38 percent of people living in houses provided by the Corporation. HNZC predicts that Māori are likely to make up a growing proportion of their tenants, and this will be more pronounced in some regions. The interplay of underlying factors impacting on Maori HNZC tenants is noted by HNZC:

> The poor state of Māori social outcomes (low incomes, low levels of employment, and low levels of education) coupled with larger family sizes and the prevalence of single parent families place Māori among the most at-risk families and households in New Zealand. (Housing New Zealand Corporation, 2009, pp. 68–69)

The working-age Māori population is projected to grow by 102,000 before 2026, and with unemployment on the rise current demand for housing assistance from Māori is likely to increase further (Housing New Zealand Corporation, 2009).

Between 1991 and 2006 fewer Māori owned their own homes than Europeans. In 2006, 43.3 percent of Māori lived in owner-occupied homes, compared to 69.7 percent of Europeans. The proportion of people living in owner-occupied homes between 1991 and 2006 decreased faster for Māori (by 13.4 percent) than Europeans (by 9 percent). This decline has generally been attributed to lower income, higher unemployment, the younger age structure of the Māori population, and the number of Māori living in urban and metropolitan areas. Māori continue to have much lower rates of home ownership than Europeans. In the long term, Māori who are reliant on the rental housing market will have fewer opportunities to increase personal equity, financial wealth and security, than those who own their own homes (Housing New Zealand Corporation 2009).

9 The Economic Living Standards Index shows direct living standard outcomes determined not only by income but also other factors which can affect wellbeing such as personal health. The definition is explicitly relative, and includes both input and outcome elements For further information, see http://www.msd.govt.nz/about-msd-and-our-work/publications-resources/monitoring/living-standards/

## 4.9 RESPONDING TO THE RECESSION: THE MĀORI ECONOMIC SUMMIT

In January 2009, the Minister of Māori Affairs invited Māori leaders to a Māori Economic Summit to develop proposals to reduce the impact of the recession on Māori; and to decide upon potential areas for both Māori and the Crown to work together on issues associated with Māori poverty. The workshop was divided into five clusters: Tribal Assets; Small to Medium Enterprises (SMEs); Primary Sector; People; and Commentators. The clusters agreed upon four key themes: working together; education and training; enterprise; and leveraging off existing assets. These themes were then developed further in each of the clusters with reference to their particular areas.

At the Summit the Māori leaders decided that to address Māori poverty there is a need for:

> job protection and creation as a priority, accompanied by upskilling, education and training (including literacy and numeracy)

> more leverage off existing resources, including land and tribal assets and networks, to encourage more investment in SMEs

> identifying the needs of whānau and creating jobs to service them exposing whānau more to business development

> more collaboration between iwi and with the government

> joint ventures and private-public partnerships

> much greater recognition of the leadership provided by Māori women and kaumātua at the hapū and whānau levels. (Sharples, 2009)

### 4.9.1 Māori Land Trusts and Incorporations

One of the issues raised was that, of necessity, Māori Land Trusts and Incorporations are conservative in their approach to management of Māori land. This reflects a long history of lack of access to finance to develop multiple-owned Māori land. The difficulties that the owners of these lands face include the complexity of land law and title arrangements, and the reluctance of lenders to accept land held in multiple ownership as security. Nevertheless it was believed that an element of risk is required to address Māori poverty. If Māori are to leverage off their land-based assets, a way must be found to address the sheer number of owners of multiple-owned Māori land. For example, in 2005 the Waiāriki Māori Land Court District reported 5,145 land blocks under the Te Ture Whenua Māori Act (1993), comprising 387,292 hectares with 668,549 owners (Housing New Zealand Corporation, 2007, p. 16). There are provisions in the Act to amalgamate title, but if Māori are to benefit further from their existing assets, a comprehensive strategy is required to help the owners access and utilise their land.

**The quadruple bottom line**

Other priorities identified by Māori leaders at the Economic Summit included the need for recognition of, and support for, kaupapa Māori in economic policy and interventions. This comes from the wider imperative by Māori for many years for the inclusion of kaupapa Māori frameworks in research and development, strategy, policy and operations across all sectors. Such inclusion results in the acceptance and implementation of solutions by Māori for Māori as part of the expression of the Treaty partnership within the day-to-day functioning of the machinery of government.

Furthermore, the inclusion of kaupapa Māori frameworks not only creates opportunities to implement kaupapa Māori solutions but also the opportunity to acknowledge the previously untold Māori cultural, social, economic and environmental contributions and successes across all areas of private and state sector development in reporting and evaluation.

As sustainable development has grown as a field in its own right, so too has the desire to include 'environmental' alongside economic and social indicators in terms of reporting success. As a consequence, the time was right for a fourth indicator to be added – that of culture – to economic, social and environmental indicators. This is known as the 'quadruple bottom' line which refers to the inclusion of cultural, social, economic and environmental indicators of success in both sustainable development and business development. Drawing on the quadruple bottom line, researchers have described Māori culture as a leading example of how indigenous cultures can benefit the international community:

> There is significant untapped potential to harness the power from Māori insights to add additional value to the way businesses have conventionally approached concepts of business ethics and sustainable development. (Spiller & Lake, 2003, p. 14)

At the July 2002 conference of the Tahu, Pōtiki, CEO of Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu, presented a keynote address on the quadruple bottom line. Pōtiki said that the quadruple bottom line integrates reporting on social, economic, cultural and environmental indices (Pōtiki, 2002). This reporting framework creates space for a kaupapa Māori approach to the reporting of outcomes for such intiatives as evidenced in the reference:

> …iwi are partnering in new ways to engage in social and economic development (Tainui and Ngāi Tahu for example). Guided fishing tours off the East Coast draw on traditional knowledge and protocols in their commercial activities. Tāmaki Tours have created commercial cultural experiences that broaden the base of people who have access to Māori culture and language. Treaty settlements are adding to tribal resource bases in significant ways. (Irwin, 2008, p. 1)

## 4.10 MĀORI ECONOMIC TASKFORCE

Following the January 2009 Māori Economic Summit, the Minister of Māori Affairs established the Māori Economic Taskforce to propose ideas to mitigate Māori unemployment and help Māori organisations through the recession.

The Minister also stressed that Māori entrepreneurship and flexibility, or the 'Māori edge', put Māori in a position to offer leadership to New Zealand. Although Māori were in a better economic position now than in previous recessions, it was acknowledged that they remained vulnerable.

The role of the Taskforce is to:

- explore support for Māori in the economic recession, including education and training, resilience for communities and employment opportunities

> identify key opportunities where Māori can lift their participation in the economy, identify long-term strategic economic opportunities to take advantage of and drive economic recovery

> consider utilisation of kaupapa Māori and Māori structures as drivers of prosperity.

The Taskforce has focused on human capital and education, communities, whānau, hapū and iwi, investment capital and enterprise, and the Māori asset base (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2009a). It has also selected key areas for development, including aquaculture, Māori branding and business development, research and innovation, strengthening business networks and partnerships, information technology and community initiatives (Māori Economic Taskforce, 2010).

**Ngahiwi Tomoana, Leith Comer, Bentham Ohia, Mark Solomon, June McCabe, Rob McLeod, Hon Dr Pita Sharples, Hon John Tamihere, Daphne Luke. Hon Georgina te Heuheu, Associate Minister of Māori Affairs, is also a member of the Taskforce. Source: Te Puni Kōkiri**

## 4.11 DISCUSSION

Urbanisation brought about the industrialised Māori workforce. This workforce was typically employed in the secondary and related industries in largely semi-skilled and skilled roles. With 39 percent of the Māori workforce in construction, manufacturing and electricity, gas and water supply, Māori benefited as long as these industries required labour (Department of Labour, 2004). However, this was not to last, and these industries were the hardest hit by successive recessions. During the worst years, the Māori unemployment rate soared to 26 percent, with 25,000 Māori losing their jobs. Māori employment in the secondary industry never recovered its previous rate of 39 percent (Department of Labour, 2009a).

The economic changes of the 1980s impacted on Māori and are still felt today. Firstly, the Māori labour market was over-reliant on secondary industries. Employment in these industries rapidly decreased when economic restructuring and the privatisation of state-owned assets, along with the deregulation of the financial sector, resulted in wholesale business closures. Secondly, as Māori educational opportunities had been constrained by structural inequities for generations, whānau were not prepared for being unemployed, especially for long-term unemployment.

From the 1980s until the end of 2008, there were encouraging signs of growth in the Māori labour market. However, the gains the Māori labour market had made were stripped away in 12 months from December 2008. The unemployment rate for Māori grew from 9.8 percent to 15.4 percent, nearly three times the European rate of 4.6 percent. Again, the Māori labour market was overly reliant on the vulnerable construction, manufacturing and transport industries.

In spite of growing Māori participation in the knowledge economy, the pattern of the late 1980s has been repeated, albeit not as severely as in 1992. There are gains in that more Māori school leavers have qualifications and Māori are increasingly entering knowledge-based employment. However, these improvements are slow and on their own will not reduce the impact of recession on Māori. While there is an increase in Māori school leavers with qualifications, the Government, employers, Māori and the trade union movement have recognised the need for greater collaberation to address issues of adult literacy and numeracy in workplace education and training.

The high unemployment rate is exacerbated by the fact that as at the 2006 Census, 54.6 percent of the Māori population live in the three most deprived NZDep categories which also impacts on health, hospitalisation rates, housing and food security.

The impact on whānau from the recession is seen in the case study on Whakatu and Tomoana. This study concludes that mental health is affected and leads to a rise in self-harm as a consequence of job loss. Furthermore, the impact of job loss is not distributed evenly throughout New Zealand. Gisborne and the Hawkes Bay regions have the highest Māori unemployment rates, followed by Northland. This means that job recovery, when it does occur, will be slower for these regions.

The decline in Māori home ownership and rise in state house tenancy is not a socially sustainable outcome for Māori. As of 2009, 38 percent of people living in state houses were Māori (Housing New Zealand Corporation, 2009).

Iwi/Māori and central and local government and the private sector are beginning to work together to address issues of home ownership. However, the sheer scale of effort required to address this disparity can only occur through sustained intervention of all stakeholders whose actions impact either collectively or individually on Māori.

The *Fourth Vulnerability Report* of the Council of Christian Social Services showed that the recession is continuing to hit Māori hard, with Māori over-represented in all areas of vulnerability, and their income levels and standard of living dropping rapidly. The recently released *Fifth Vulnerability Report* notes that 'Māori are disproportionately represented in benefit statistics and constituted 32 percent of working aged people in receipt of the main benefit in March 2010' (New Zealand Council of Christian Social Services, 2010, p. 3).

Māori leadership is therefore working with the Government to develop ways to address poverty. Proposals include:

> prioritising job protection and creation, accompanied by upskilling, education and training (including literacy and numeracy)

> more leverage off existing resources including land, tribal assets and networks to encourage more investment in small and medium-sized enterprises

> recognising the needs of whānau and creating jobs to service them leading to greater exposure of whānau to business development

> more collaboration between iwi and with the Government

> joint ventures and private-public partnerships

> much greater recognition of the leadership provided by Māori women and kaumātua at the hapū and whānau levels.

The Māori Economic Summit led to the establishment of the Māori Economic Taskforce, which is working on ways to address Māori poverty by focusing on human capital and education, communities, whānau, hapū and iwi, investment capital and enterprise and the Māori asset base.

How have Māori coped through these times? What are the mechanisms and factors that Māori as both individuals and as a people have drawn on for support? These issues are explored in the next section 'Māori resilience'.

# 5. MĀORI RESILIENCE

Māori have a long history of resilience and adaptation, born of a culture that by necessity embraced the unknown, pioneered challenges and adapted quickly to new and different physical and social environments.

Individuals, tribes, hapū, whānau and Māori can draw on their history in times of both adversity and abundance to create new opportunity. This is underpinned by cosmology and whakapapa, and through its manifestation in whanaungatanga, kaitiakitanga and manaakitanga in relationships with each other and the natural world. How Māori have responded to challenge and adversity, drawing on cultural beliefs and values, is a common theme in oral and written tradition. It is expressed in waiata and pō, woven into tukutuku, painted on kōwhaiwhai and carved into whare nui. The purpose of the oral and written histories is to ensure that events are never forgotten. They describe the ways in which difficulties were overcome and record the steps taken to mitigate adversity.

A key part of resilience for Māori is the increase in the Māori population. This report tracks that the Māori population fell from an estimated 100,000–110,000 in the late 18th century to 70,000 in 1840, to 56,000 in 1858 (King, 2003, p. 147), to only 42,113 in 1896 (King, 2003, p. 203). Against the predictions, it rose to 45,000 at the beginning of the 20th century (King, 2003, p. 283), to exceed 100,000 from the 1900s–1950s (Coleman et al, 2005).

In the 1990s the Māori population was approximately 600,000. In 2004, Statistics New Zealand predicted that the Māori population is expected to increase to about 750,000 in 2021, 17 percent of the New Zealand population. (Smeith & Dunstan, 2004, p. 3).

## 5.1 DEFINITION OF WHĀNAU RESILIENCE

The literature review by Te Puni Kōkiri (2009a) notes that there is no single, agreed definition of what resilience means for whānau or Māori. However, in general it is about having the ability or protective factors to overcome adversity, to learn from experience and to use that experience to transform.

As noted by Durie (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2009a, p. 29):

> Māori endurance is about resilience in relation to time. Māori cultural endurance, like resilience, is having the capacity to respond to, cope with and persevere through adverse conditions and continuing to cope with each subsequent difficulty.

The review articulates that resilience for indigenous communities often has its roots in the colonisation experience. Te Puni Kōkiri notes that, while some risk and protective factors for Māori may be similar to those in Western culture, additional factors arise from unique aspects of history, culture and social structure.

The development of resilience for whānau is inextricably linked to the wider imperatives of Māori development and the success and resilience of distinct Māori collectives. Te Puni Kōkiri points out two key differences between resilience for whānau and for family. The first is that whānau are larger and usually more complex than family as understood by Western culture. The second is that the 'glue' that holds whānau processes and relationships together is distinctive, emerging from the Māori world view and its related cultural constructs.

Discussion of resilience is often concerned with the concepts of 'risk' and 'protection'. Protective factors are buffers that improve outcomes for whānau (Duncan et al, 2005, as cited by Te Puni Kōkiri, 2009a). They include those family processes that facilitate families' survival in harsh situations (Kali, 2003, as cited by Te Puni Kōkiri, 2009a, p. 21). In the context of resilience, protective factors support whānau or families in coping with adversity.

In his work on Māori youth suicide, Durie (2005, pp. 103–104) discusses the concept of individual and collective risk factors. Personal risk factors are directly related to the individual; collective risk factors to deculturation and colonisation. For example, the personal risk factors for Māori youth include low socio-economic status, limited educational achievement, low family income and material disadvantage, physical and sexual abuse, families under stress, poor parental care, foster homes, families with multiple problems, issues of mental health and problems with the law.

Collective risk factors include "deculturation, insecure cultural identity, whānau dysfunction, loss of balance between self, environmental and other human relationships, and impact of colonisation seen in oppression, loss of autonomy, alienation from land and humiliation" (Durie, 2005, p. 195). Further, "urbanisation, alienation from physical resources, loss of language and other cultural skills, limited access to society's wealth and frank oppression, have combined to render many whānau vulnerable. While there are a range of conditions and varying levels of successful adaption to modern times, whānau are often struggling to maintain reasonable standards of living and cultural heritage" (Durie, 2005, p. 195).

Whānau resilience is about the ability of the whānau to provide a protective environment for its members from adverse influences of both personal and collective risk factors. However, the absence of material and social resources counts against caring for others, which in turn undermines the very purpose of whānau (Durie, 2005, p. 200). As a consequence, it is enormously difficult for whānau to protect members from personal and collective risk factors.

## 5.2 MAXIMISING WHĀNAU, HAPŪ, IWI AND MĀORI RESOURCES

In *Launching Māori Futures* Durie argues that whānau have a right to expect to be wealthy, and the pathway to wealth creation for whānau is maximisation of whānau assets and cultural resources such as language, physical resources such as land and social resources such as people (Durie, 2003, p. 70). He notes:

> A wealthy whānau is one whose members obtain full benefit from their resources; they will be able to enjoy the heritage of language and custom; reap profits from land, fisheries and investments in the wider economy; and enjoy the gains from their own work, the efforts of the collective whānau, and the work of their forebears.

Implicit in the above quotation is the interconnectedness of whānau, hapū, iwi and Māori organisations with resources at the interpersonal, institutional and structural levels.[10] The interpersonal level relates to the individual. Whānau, hapū and iwi are cultural institutions; and pan-Māori and multi-tribal groups are cultural structures and constructs (Irwin, 2002, p. 21)

10 Gibson (1986) argues that explanations of social issues can be developed at three distinct levels. Namely, the structural level; the institutional level; and the personal / interpersonal level (Irwin, 2002).

**Gathering kai moana.**

Resilience can be observed at the interpersonal, institutional and structural levels within Māori society. While these levels are very much inter-related, some things occur more at the macro level (eg, pan-Māori or multi-tribal) and others more comfortably at the micro, interpersonal level (eg, whānau reunions). At the same time as mobilising at the institutional and structural levels, Māoridom has always mobilised at the whānau and personal level (eg, whānau hui, tangi, reunions, unveilings, etc). The major point is that all levels feed and support each other. For example, at whānau reunions critical whānau, hapū and tribal whakapapa and/or land issues may also be discussed.

## 5.3 RESILIENCE THROUGH WHAKAPAPA AND THE ROLE OF THE AHI KAA

While the tūrangawaewae is the place to stand, the ahi kaa are the whānau that literally keep the fires of mana whenua/mana moana burning. Without these whānau standing strong, there is no platform for the people as a whole.

It was often difficult for urban-based workers to fulfil their cultural obligations to their whānau and rural kin, and to keep the principle of ahi kaa alive, because of the cost of returning to tūrangawaewae, often distant from their places of work. Most employers did not support time off for tangi and other whānau events. It was not until the late 1980s that tangihanga leave was achieved for Māori by the union movement, leading to better bereavement leave provisions for all workers.

It fell to the people left behind in the rural areas to fulfil all the daily cultural obligations that were once shared by large numbers of whānau. The rural whānau fulfilled the ahi kaa obligations for their whanaunga living away. This included the upkeep of marae, papakāinga and multiple-owned land, looking after mahinga kai and other kaitiaki roles as well as attending inter-hapū and inter-tribal events. These whānau by necessity often became the repositories of expertise on culture and language and its transmission. They kept the ties to the land warm for their urban relatives, thus providing those living away with a tūrangawaewae on which to stand. Furthermore, they are often the repositories of oral historical account, so necessary for their hapū and iwi to draw on in the Treaty Settlement environment.

These whānau, at very short notice, prepared marae for large events, catering often for hundreds with minimal resources except what could be caught or grown and cooked. Before the urban migration, when a tangi took place, many people were on hand to bring kai from their gardens or farms or to catch kai, to light and prepare the hangi fires and butcher the meat. They oversaw the continuous presence needed on the paepae, the obligations inside the house and preparations in the kitchen, dining hall, whare nui, whare puni and whare mate. It was also the role of the ahi kaa to preserve and maintain kōwhaiwhai, tukutuku and carvings.

**Preparing fish for hāngī in Te Kaha.**

There are more than 1,300 marae in New Zealand (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2009c) mostly in rural and semi-rural areas. The marae is a critical dedicated space where whānau can go to be Māori in a world where finding the space to be Māori is a daily battle. Whānau on the marae are in a place of healing and continuity of whakapapa, amongst those who have passed on. The marae therefore offers a range of opportunities to nuture the resilience of individuals, whānau, hapū and iwi at all levels of society.

The responsibility for maintenance and use of marae falls to the whānau living there or nearby. With the majority of the Māori population now living in urban areas, the role of these ahi kaa is critical for the maintenance of tūrangawaewae for the hapū and iwi, and thus for the intergenerational wellbeing of the whānau living away. It is common for whānau to make sacrifices for the wellbeing of the marae, often forgoing a good income, comfortable housing and opportunities to relocate. The ahi kaa whānau ensure that the marae is looked after and used, that the culture is carried on and that the promises of prophecy are being fulfilled. Often lives get put on hold while important maintenance and cultural functions are carried out at the marae, and this can happen repeatedly.

Those living away who wish to continue to participate as if they were actually physically located in their home communities also make sacrifices, which can mean constant travelling all hours of the day and night. This may be for tangi and other important events, to support the ahi kaa in their obligations and, most importantly, to ensure the face of their whānau is seen, he kanohi kitea. Often significant financial and social sacrifices are entailed.

### 5.3.1 Ahi kaa and the return home

It is often the role of the ahi kaa to reintegrate those returning home from urban areas. Sometimes these returning whānau are very much in need of support. They may have had to move back for economic reasons. There may be no work in the city, and the children are often at risk of getting into trouble. Urban whānau move back home and take advantage of any seasonal work in order to provide a more wholesome and grounded lifestyle for the whānau. They want their children to know where they came from, their whānaunga, their marae, their history, their tikanga and language. In many cases, the urban whānau have not been raised in their tribal areas, and do not have the skills to support themselves and their whānau, such as hunting and fishing, forestry, building and gardening. They need to understand who their relations are, and the tikanga and te reo necessary to live in the Māori world. It is the ahi kaa whānau who provide this support and knowledge to support those returning home. The hope is that these returning whānau will eventually contribute to the life of the marae, the hapū and the iwi.

Māori traditionally moved around to take advantage of seasonal food supply. On the East Coast when the moki were running, whānau would relocate to catch the fish. Post colonisation, they moved for work opportunities such as the kauri gum fields of last century.

Today this same pattern can be seen in whānau following seasonal work such as shearing or horticulture; but relocation also now has different drivers. Whānau may relocate for cheap housing or for a better lifestyle. Being unemployed in Auckland may be harder than being unemployed in a small, coastal town where there is an ample food supply at your door and the pace of life is slower. These whānau may stay for a short time or a lifetime. Some marry into the tribal people of the area, becoming part of the community working on the marae and contributing to the community life.

Where such immigration occurs, the ahi kaa may also end up mentoring and supporting people who are not from their own tribal area. These whānau too may greatly need support, but prefer to stay away from mainstream agencies and under the radar. Often whakapapa links will be found for them to their adopted area; they will then be connected to local whānau and marae and there will often be an ‘auntie’ who keeps an eye on them. She may arrive unexpectedly at 7.00am with a big heart, an armful of locally caught or home-grown kai and a big smile totally disarming the new whānau while leaving them no opportunity to collect their wits and find a defence! In these circumstances, the question “Where are you from?” is a lifeline. Even if they do not know their whakapapa or tribal area, there will be elders who may take it upon themselves to determine these facts. The study on Whakatu revealed that the workplace often filled this role for people new to the area. Fellow workers would act as whānau, providing the sort of support described above for those who had moved there for the work opportunities.

## 5.4 RESILIENCE AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF MĀORI LAND-BASED ASSETS

Paradoxically, while whānau and Māori individuals were severely affected in the 1980s, it was also a period of resilience and development as hapū, iwi, Māori land owners and Māori organisations grew in strength. Consedine (2007, p. 2) observes this trend:

> From the 1980s, there has been an apparent paradox in the actions of Māori organisations and iwi groups, versus the experience of Māori as individuals. Māori organisations and iwi groups began (and continue) to seek Māori-led development and solutions through innovation, enterprise, leadership and enhancing whānau capacities. However, Māori as individuals were significantly impacted upon by the economic reforms of the 1980s.

The growing strength of the economic Māori collective was assisted in part by changes to the management of Māori Reserve Lands. These lands had been administered by the Māori Trustee since 1923. In 1975 a Commission of Inquiry (the Sheehan Commission) was held to investigate Māori Reserved Lands. The Commission found that:

> the beneficial owners are not a contracting party and their role is a completely passive one. They are treated as children or persons under disability. They are not well informed upon the law or the facts concerning the lands in which they have an interest. They are not adequately consulted either ... or indeed capable of being consulted, even when major changes in the law or the leases which affect their interests are contemplated. Even on occasions when they have expressed views in these matters their representations have not carried weight.
>
> …in reality the parties who alone are free to determine the nature and terms of the leases are Parliament, ie, the Crown and the lessees. (Waitangi Tribunal Ngāi Tahu Report, 1991, pp. 766–790)

The Royal Commission effectively called into question the flawed practice of Māori owners of Reserve Lands being alienated from key decisions made by the Crown over their lands. In particular the owners had no right of participation in determining the prices set for the leases on their own land.

As a consequence of the inquiry changes were enacted to provide Māori owners with the options of establishing trusts or incorporations to manage their own lands. Since gaining the right to exercise self-management, the Reserve Lands trusts and incorporations have undergone considerable change. For example, Wakatu Incorporation has diversified its portfolio from land-based leases to seafood, commercial property, horticulture, dairy farming, forestry, viticulture and property development. The core purpose of Wakatu is "to grow our economic base, enabling whānau (family) to achieve their social and cultural goals". At the first half of the 2009/10 year, total assets stood at $241.6 million.

Similar to Wakatu, the Wellington Tenths Trust, established to manage Reserve Lands, says on its website[11] that it must incorporate cultural, social, spiritual and financial considerations in its decision-making, and uphold the mana whenua in the region. The Tenths Trust has built up a large property portfolio that includes a retirement home and hospital, and commercial property development. In 2007 further legislative change enabled the Tenths Trust to take over full responsibilities of management of the Trust.

The ability of Māori land owners in general to maximise their own assets is compromised, however, by the difficulty of obtaining finance against land held in multiple ownership.

11 www.tekau.maori.nz/wellingtontenthstrust/aboutus

NZIER (2003) reports that Māori authorities face higher costs when borrowing capital because of land ownership legislation under the Te Ture Whenua Māori Land Act 1993. This has meant that Māori land owners have tended to rely on retained earnings as a primary source of funds for development. However, the legislation has also served to prevent speculation on Māori land. Te Puni Kōkiri observes that the majority of Māori entities have low debt to equity ratios, largely because Māori organisations are risk-averse regarding debt (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2007a, p. 37).

Māori businesses have also been affected by the global market for New Zealand product. However, the typically low debt to equity ratio of Māori business has meant that the land-based assets of whānau, hapū, iwi and Māori have been protected during the recession, for the long-term collective benefit of whānau nationally. This was one of the objectives of the Te Ture Whenua Māori Act 1993.

## 5.5 RESILIENCE AND EDUCATION

| | |
|---|---|
| *E tipu, e rea* | *Grow tender shoot for the days of your world* |
| *Mō ngā rā o tou ao* | *Your hand to the tools of the Pākehā* |
| *Ko tō ringa ki ngā rākau a te Pākehā* | *For the welfare of your body* |
| *Hei ora mō tō tinana* | *Your heart to the treasures of your ancestors* |
| *Ko tō ngākau ki ngā taonga a ō tipuna* | *As a crown for your head* |
| *Hei tikitiki mō tō māhunga* | *Your spirit unto God the author of all things* |
| *A, ko tō wairua ki te Atua* | |
| *Nāna nei ngā mea katoa* | |
| (Mead & Grove, 2001, p. 48) | |

Since Sir Āpirana Ngata wrote these lines in the autograph book of Rangi Bennett, daughter of Sir John Bennett, they have become a famous pēpeha (proverb) for Māori education. However, over time the meaning of these words has been debated as policies of assimilation sought to subordinate the treasures of the ancestors to the tools of the Pākehā.

The overall impact of assimilation on Māori education and especially the maintenance and use of te reo Māori culminated in the Te Reo Māori Treaty of Waitangi claim (1986, Wai 11). Evidence presented to the Tribunal by Dr Richard Benton, Acting Director, New Zealand Council for Educational Research, identified the reasons for the decline of the Māori language. These were that language needs to be used socially and opportunities to use te reo Māori socially were very limited, beyond a very small number of rural villages. Urbanisation had also made a significant impact on te reo with far fewer chances to speak the langauge. However, the major reason given was the lack of support for te reo in the New Zealand community as a whole. The risk of punishment for Māori children who spoke te reo in the classroom and playground meant that "the only language that really counted was English" (Waitangi Tribunal, Te Reo Māori Report, 1986, p. 11).

In its report on this claim, the Waitangi Tribunal wrote:

> Some New Zealanders may say that the loss of the Māori language is unimportant. The claimants in reply have reminded us that the Māori culture is a part of the heritage of New Zealand and that the Māori language is at the heart of the culture. If the language dies, the culture will die, and something quite unique will have been lost to the world. (Waitangi Tribunal, 1986, p. 1)


**WAITANGI TRIBUNAL VISIT TO A KOHANGA REO**

**Waitangi Tribunal members Chief Judge Edward Durie (left) and Paul Temm QC visit a kohanga reo at Waiwhetu, Lower Hutt, in 1985. Kohanga reo or language 'nurseries' immersed infants in a Maori language environment; the first of these opened in 1982.**

The Tribunal found that the Māori language is a taonga under Article II of the Treaty of Waitangi, which provided for all taonga to be actively protected by the Crown. The recommendations of the Tribunal led to the passing of the Māori Language Act in 1987. The Act declared the Māori language to be an official language of New Zealand, conferred the right to speak Māori in certain legal proceedings and established Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori as a Crown entity (Māori Language Act 1987 and Amendment 2007).

### 5.5.1 Emergence of te kōhanga reo

In the 1960s to 1990s, Māori education was a battleground, as Māori fought for structural, institutional and interpersonal space, challenging a system with deep-seated inequalities. A landmark victory was the establishment of Te Kōhanga Reo.

The movement drew on the understanding that as pre-school children were receptive to new sounds and symbols, it would be easy for them to learn two or more languages simultaneously (Waitangi Tribunal 1986, Te Reo Māori Report, p. 12).


**Ngaio Te Kohanga Reo, Wellington.**

## Te Kōhanga Reo

In 2003 the Kōhanga Reo National Trust addressed the United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues, 2003, on the development of Te Kōhanga Reo. The introduction to the presentation summed up the journey and experiences of the Māori people, from near extinction in the 1800s to revitalisation in 2003 and the role played in this by those living and those who have gone before us; to revitalise te reo Māori:

We are not supposed to be here. Not as a people. Not as a language. Not as a unique indigenous culture. Our fate, in the eyes of some, was that we would die out. Their actions were driven by this view. They used government policy in the 1800s to try to 'smooth the pillow of a dying race'[12].

Dying out, however was not a fate our ancestors saw for us. They saw a vibrant and positive future for our people. A future in which we would stand tall and strong.

We come bearing precious treasures. We carry with us the dreams and hopes of our ancestors. Te Kōhanga Reo is a movement created to keep these dreams alive and give hope to future generations that they too, like their ancestors before them, can walk this earth in a particular way, as Māori, as tangata whenua of Aotearoa and as citizens of the world. (Black, Marshall, & Irwin, 2003, p. 1)

The development of kōhanga reo was inspired by Māori elders in 1980 at the Wānanga Whakatauira which proposed that Māori people would lead the way in the revitalisation of the Māori language.

The four cornerstones of the Kōhanga Reo kaupapa are:

> total immersion in te reo Māori and tikanga Māori

> management and decision-making by whānau

> accountability to the Creator, the mokopuna (children) the kōhanga reo movement, whanāu, hapū, iwi and the government

> commitment to the health and wellbeing of mokopuna and whānau.

(Black, et al. Introduction paragraphs 1–5)

12 Barrington and Beaglehole (1974).

The first kōhanga reo, Pukeatua, was opened in 1982 (near Wellington). From 1982 to 1989 kōhanga reo flourished in an environment of excitement and celebration. One hundred kōhanga reo were established in 1982 and growth continued until 1994 when there were 800 kōhanga reo catering for 14,000 mokopuna (grandchildren). Kōhanga reo were virtually springing forth all over the country and with very little financial assistance from government.

Today, the language still has a fragile hold in Māori society as a whole, but every year now there are several thousand young children entering the education system already fluent in the language and tikanga (customs) of their ancestors.

This remarkable turnaround was not an accident but the result of a deliberate decision in Māoridom to keep the language alive. These mokopuna, and there are now something like 60,000, are the young 'graduates' of the Kōhanga Reo movement.[13]

In 2010, a report by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO), *Reaching the Marginalised*, commended kōhanga reo "for its important role in challenging discrimination and building a more multi-cultural national identity" (Segedin, 2010).

UNESCO communications officer, Leila Loupis, said the new report, "Reaching the marginalised", looked at how countries have attempted to improve the education provided to indigenous people.

"We take New Zealand's indigenous language movement as a positive example of having contributed to the expansion of education for Māori children," she said. "The report says te kōhanga reo have provided a social, political and cultural focal point for the empowerment of Māori, and have shown how powerful a revitalised indigenous language can be and its educational and social benefits."

With their ethos of self-help and commitment to continuity across generations, kōhanga reo became a source of inspiration for young Māori parents.

The report's findings also showed year 11 Māori students enrolled in kura kaupapa immersion schools did significantly better than Māori in English-language schools. Kōhanga reo are whānau co-operatives where children and families are immersed in an environment where the Māori language can flow.

Dame Iritana Tawhiwhirangi of the Kōhanga Reo National Trust said she was not surprised by the UN's findings. "It was caught, not taught. That is the fundamental principle of kōhanga reo," she said.

Dr Pita Sharples, the Associate Education Minister, said, "It was created to save the Māori language and in doing so reinvented a Māori way of teaching." The Kōhanga Reo model has also been taken to Papua New Guinea, North American Indians and Hawaii. (Segedin, 2010)

13 www.kohanga.ac.nz

### 5.5.2 Emergence of kura kaupapa and whare kura

The majority of delegates at the 1984 Māori Educational Development Conference agreed that 25 years of attempting to reform an education system designed to assimilate taha Māori had failed. The conference urged Māori withdrawal, and the establishment of alternative schooling modelled on the principles of te kōhanga reo.

This discussion also occurred against a background of tests biased towards European culture and the downgrading of te reo Māori in the subject hierarchy. The techniques to 'stream' students into academic and manual classes included aptitude and/or intelligence tests. One was the Test Of Scholastic Achievement, or TOSCA, which was later discontinued. This test was criticised for its bias towards European culture and its inability to predict Māori students' achievement, for which reason critics said it should not be used to stream Māori pupils (McCreanor, as cited in Olsen, 1988). The practice of streaming consigned the majority of new generations of the Māori population to 'manual' classes (Nash, in Olsen, 1988). Furthermore, Walker, noted that "Māori language learning in the 1970s was down-graded by making it a subject option alongside non-prestigious subjects such as technical drawing, art, and domestic science, making it difficult for children in academic streams to take the subject" (Walker, as cited in Codd, Harker & Nash, 1985, p. 77).

The Te Reo Māori Report Treaty of Waitangi Claim (Wai 11, Waitangi Tribunal, 1986, p. 31) cited Maika Marks (1984) who gave a presentation to the 1984 Māori Educational Development Conference in which she described the frustrations of being a Māori language teacher:

> The frustrations of being a Māori language teacher are just the same as those of being a Māori in New Zealand society. The frustrations of being a Māori language teacher are essentially summed up in the feeling that the education system has invited you to become a mourner at the tangihana of your culture, your language and yourself…

The resilience of whānau in the maintenance and revitalisation of te reo Māori in the success of kōhanga reo, exposed the fact that primary and secondary schools were largely unprepared to accommodate the kōhanga reo graduates in offering continuity of te reo immersion. In 1975 the first bilingual school was opened in Ruātoki, followed by other bilingual schools. However, it was not until 1986 that the first total immersion school was established in Auckland at Te Kura Kaupapa Māori o Hoani Waititi.

**The Honorable Parekura Horomia, MP for Ikaroa-Rawhiti Labour Party since 1999, at the launch of Te Reo Māori in the New Zealand Curriculum, Newlands College, Race Relations Day, 21 March, 2007. (Source: Parliament)**

In 1989 the Education Act provided for the establishment of kura kaupapa Māori and recognition of *Te Aho Matua*, the guiding principles for the teaching and learning in kura kaupapa. *Te Aho Matua* is underpinned by *Te Marautanga o Aotearoa*. This document states that "central to *Te Marautanga o Aotearoa* is the Treaty of Waitangi. Arising from the Treaty are the overarching principles to guide school-based curricula". Further, *Te Marautanga o Aotearoa* states "the school-based curriculum provides for learning programmes which affirm and revitalise Māori language and culture" (Te Marautanga o Aotearoa, Ministry of Education, 2007, p. 5).

### 5.5.3 Cultural resilience in recession: the Pātea Māori Club

The Pātea Māori Club, which drew together whānau in a cultural context to create new opportunity in the face of adversity, was remarkably successful. Its success is based on the ability of particular whānau to utilise cultural structures and resources to support the renaissance of te reo me ōna tikanga Māori over time. The entrepreneurial combination of cultural and social resources provided a financial return. However, the driving force was to win the hearts and minds of disaffected Māori youth, to draw them into te reo me ōna tikanga Māori by combining tikanga Māori with break dance. In 2010, the magic of Poi-E once again powerfully evokes the struggles of this era in the hit movie *Boy*.[14]

14 http://folksong.org.nz/poi_e

## The Pātea Māori Club

**South Taranaki Māori Club – Polynesian Festival 1977**

**Winners of Choral Section – Dr Gregory Trophy**

**Back row L-R: W Ruruku, M Morunga, T Prime, D Kershaw, T Maruera, B Rangiwananga, P Davis.**
**Fourth row L-R: S Kahu, J Maruera, G Ngarewa, W Hikuroa, S Kershaw, S Prime.**
**Third row L-R: A Volk, J Maruera, G Kahu, D Maruera, W Cassidy, M Broughton, H Davis, S Broughton, M Broughton.**
**Second row L-R: P Ngarewa, J Jeremaia, M Tohia, D Broughton, M Korau, M Warbrick, P Prime.**
**Front row L-R: H Kahu, G Wanahi, R Pirikahu, A Kershaw, S Tamaka, V Kershaw.**
**Source: Pātea Māori Club.**

The Pātea Māori Club responded to individuals and whānau affected by the closure of the Pātea freezing works. They set out to do something about it and to create a way of supporting those affeacted through the renaissance of tikanga and waiata.

When we wrote the musical it was about what happens to a group of people who leave Pātea, what happens to them when they go into the urban environment and try and make a living. Looking at the lyrics and translations they were all about identity and Māori seeking their heritage.

Dalvanius was born and brought up in Pātea, a small west coast village between Wanganui and New Plymouth which was dependent for jobs on the big freezing works. (The works had opened in 1883, canning meat for export. It started freezing meat in 1904.) When 'The Works' closed in 1982 there was huge social disruption, and young Māori people had to leave their close-knit marae and head for the cities to find work.

Some could not cope with the loss of communal support and were destroyed by prostitution and drugs. The Poi-E musical tells this story, and how the Pātea community coped with the problem.

Dalvanius said that the musical he and Ngoi Pewhairangi wrote was about "what happens to a group of people who leave Pātea, what happens to them when they go into the urban environment and try and make a living"; the lyrics were "all about identity and Māori seeking their heritage".

Their song Poi-E became a runaway hit record in 1984, and Ngoi and Dalvanius started working on a musical telling of the impact on the Pātea people of the closing of the freezing works there and how Ngoi's songs helped inspire them. The Pātea Māori Club took this on a world tour in 1986.

For the first time the poi was combined with break dancing, appealing instantly to thousands of young people. 'Poi-E' has remained on top of Kiwi party playlists to this day.

Dalvanius knew he had to market the Māori language and culture in a rescue mission to alienated young Māori. So he worked to develop Poi-E legends, Poi-E action dolls, Poi-E children's games, Poi-E clothing and more.

### Marketing Māori culture

Dalvanius decided Poi-E was about marketing the Māori language:

I told Ngoi of my personal life experience of growing up in Pātea in an environment void of any indigenous heroes or icons, Māori or Kiwi.

I asked her who her favourite singers were. She replied, Perry Como and Frank Sinatra. I confessed I was a Motown/Beatles/Rolling Stones fanatic and had grown up in a household full of music by Elvis and posters of James Dean. I then asked her, what did all these singers and stars have in common? For me, their entire persona – fact and fiction – was a perfectly managed marketing exercise.

We designed Poi-E using that marketing strategy. Apart from a calculated urban consumer-oriented publicity campaign, Poi-E's strength was its rural roots, the promotion of Te Reo Māori, the Māori language and Kiwi culture. Long after her and I have left our earthly bodies, the language – via our anthem – will live on from generation to generation.

Ngoi asked me how I would describe what I have done. I said it is a hybrid of our rural roots and urban influences. This sound was a product of the urban drift when our rural jobs were lost and she agreed with me.

(all material from http://folksong.org.nz/poi_e)

## 5.6 CULTURAL RESILIENCE AND ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY

Throughout the 1980s, the Māori economy had been quietly growing. It, too, was knocked by the recession, but maintained its growth. In particular the return of assets to Māori through the Treaty claims process accelerated Māori economic development.

### 5.6.1 The 'Māori Edge'

In a discussion document[15] *The Māori Edge: Growth of Māori-owned business* (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2007b) the point is made that there is a 'Māori edge' in economic development – a comparative advantage. That is, "traditional values, activities and protocols are providing Māori with natural advantages they can exploit" (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2007b, p. 1).

15 A summary of the 2006 discussion document *Te Wa O Te Ao Hurihuri, Ki Te Ōhanga hanaketanga Māori – A Time For Change In Māori Economic Development* prepared for Te Puni Kōkiri by NZIER.

Furthermore, in an address to the Public Sector Financial Management Conference, December 2009, John Whitehead, Secretary to the Treasury, stated that "New Zealand's economic growth in recent years has been badly skewed towards the nontradeable sectors – that is, towards growth in household and government spending … there has been no growth in output at all from the tradeable sector over the past five years. While growth is slowly returning, the sobering reality is that there remains a degree of uncertainty about whether it's sustainable" (Whitehead, 2009b, p. 3).

While Māori businesses are also dealing with the impact of recession, they are continuing the success story for Māori in the global economy (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2007b). Considering the need for New Zealand to grow its overall economy, the 'Māori edge' is a distinct advantage in the global marketplace and one that benefits New Zealand as a whole.

The discussion paper (Te Puni Kōkori, 2007b, p. 2) notes that in 2005, further work was undertaken looking in particular at Māori business interests. This research found:

- **A relatively strong, but tightly centred asset base:** Assets are centred around agriculture, fishing and forestry ($3.1 billion assets), and less well known, a major shareholding in property and business services ($2.4 billion assets).
- **Regional assets skewed towards the North:** Over three-quarters of Māori assets are held in the North Island. Māori property investments are heavily concentrated in the Auckland region, with lesser, but still significant, assets held in Waikato, Canterbury and Wellington.
- **Growth prospects also lying in the North:** The makeup of Māori business in the North Island is more heavily weighted towards higher growth service sectors. Consequently, Māori business in the North Island appears to have more high-growth opportunities.
- **Education, health and social services are key:** Māori business in the North Island generally has a much stronger growth platform in the social services of education and health, and community services, than business in the South Island.
- **'Crossing over' of service delivery providing opportunities:** Strong growth platforms in these services may reflect growth in service delivery 'by Māori to Māori'. Therefore, while the platform is there now, the real opportunity may lie in crossing over to non-Māori service delivery.

There are also key differences between Māori business and other business in the way they perceive and manage distribution of wealth and return to beneficiaries. Beneficiaries of some Māori businesses are not 'shareholders' as such, but tribal members, who will also judge performance on social investment and return. Consequently, Māori businesses often have to balance the competing imperatives of investment and growing the asset base, with the social investment of the people.

### 5.6.2 Resilience and the Māori edge

The discussion document notes that, "economic and social events over time have disproportionately impacted Māori in a negative way. Yet on every occasion, Māori bounced back" (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2007b, p. 5). In doing so, it could be argued that they are demonstrating precisely what has been characterised as the Māori edge.

The key elements of the Māori edge concept are summarised:

> resilience/flexibility

> inherent and acquired trading capacity

> a culture well suited to transactions in growing markets, including the focus on relationship building and a long-term perspective

> curiosity and increasing willingness to diversify

> uniqueness/freshness, the ability to combine spiritual and physical elements

> dual-world skills, the ability to be equally at home in more than one culture is a valuable commodity in the global marketplace

> a preference to under-promise and over-deliver. (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2007b, pp. 5–6)

A central premise is that Māori and non-Māori aspirations are not mutually exclusive, so that Māori can indeed enjoy an 'edge' in pursuing goals shared by non-Māori. The challenge is how best to lever off these comparative advantages, to benefit not only Māori but all New Zealanders.

## 5.7 ROLE OF IWI IN CONTEMPORARY ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Forestry and fisheries settlements have necessitated developing Post Settlement Governance Entities in order to create infrastructures for managing the return to Māori of assets that are significant for both Māori and New Zealand. In some cases, this has required restructuring charitable trusts into new iwi entities. These entities tend to place the commercial assets into an asset holding company distinct from the social arm of the iwi.

In *Once Were Iwi,* Sautet (2008) argues that, as iwi employ modern institutional arrangements, "issues of tikanga and mātauranga Māori become pivotal", since the rules and norms of such institutions are crucial to the "uniquely Māori" identity of contemporary iwi and thus their cultural legitimacy:

> Given that contemporary iwi employ modern institutional arrangements, issues of tikanga and mātauranga Māori become pivotal as it is the rules and norms associated with them that give contemporary iwi their identity as uniquely Māori organisations – and hence their cultural legitimacy. (Sautet, 2008, p. 23)

## Māori interests in the fishing industry

The Treaty settlements process involved the return of certain Crown assets to Māori. One of the first to be returned was fisheries. Māori have long been involved in fishing, and the settlement opened the way for the Māori fishing entrepreneur to chart a course for international opportunities, while continuing and reinforcing customary practices and sustainable management of the resources.

Māori became established as serious, long-term players in the commercial seafood industry. They built on the Quota Management System (QMS) introduced in 1986, the Māori Fisheries Act 2004 and the Aquaculture Commercial Claims Settlement Act 2004. These developments led to the advent of Te Ohu Kai Moana, Aotearoa Fisheries Limited (as a 100 percent Māori-owned company) and Sealord Group Limited (which is 50/50 Māori-owned).[16] Currently, Māori control about 60 percent of the marine seafood interests in New Zealand and about 30 percent of marine aquaculture.

## Aotearoa Fisheries Limited (AFL)

The importance of an organisation like AFL cannot be overstated. Not only is it Māori owned but, by the time all cash, assets and shares have been distributed to iwi, all iwi will hold shares in AFL. A multi-tribal company, as AFL grows and develops it will be producing business models that are unique.

## An international Māori brand

A fully Māori-owned export company creates an opportunity for the development of an international brand that announces a clear point of difference. At the AFL interim conference in 2009, a presentation proposed building an organisational structure based on ngā tikanga o Tangaroa, making AFL unique in the marketplace, and adding value (AFL, 2009).


**SEALORD GLOBAL PRESENCE**

**Aotearoa Fisheries Ltd Annual Report October 2006 to 20 September 2007: p. 15.**

16 www.afl.Māori.nz

Simultaneously, some iwi who have received shares, cash and quota in the fisheries settlement are also gearing up to receive forestry assets. These combined responsibilities place an enormous demand on the capability and capacity of individual, and in some cases, quite small iwi. This burden has led some iwi to develop joint frameworks for collective management of assets by several iwi, such as the Central North Island Iwi Collective. This collective comprises the seven Central North Island tribes of Ngāti Rangitihi, Ngāti Whakaue, Ngāti Tūwharetoa, Ngāti Raukawa, Ngāi Tūhoe, Ngāti Whare and Ngāti Manawa.

### 5.7.1 Whale Watch Kaikoura

It would be a mistake to think that cultural resilience, economic opportunity and entrepreneurship operate only at the pan-Māori or corporate level. They are also present at the whānau level, where people are challenged daily to 'create a silk purse out of a sow's ear' while balancing wider relationships and obligations to other whānau and hapū members.

The story of Whale Watch Kaikoura (WWK) is an apt demonstration of how one group of whānau successfully created their own opportunities.

#### Whale Watch Kaikoura

Whale Watch Kaikoura was formed in 1987. After being turned away by mainstream banks, local Ngāti Kuri pledged their meagre assets to secure a commercial loan from an indigenous peoples' bank... To expand, local Ngāti Kuri then went to their tribal authority, the Ngāi Tahu Māori Trust Board with a proposition to borrow money. The board agreed and also bought a major shareholding in the expanding company (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2005, p. 1).

**2009: Whale Watch Kaikoura, overall winners of the Virgin Holidays Responsible Tourism Awards**

Since 2004 the awards, organised by responsibletravel.com, have called on travellers to nominate the very best organisations, the most dedicated individuals and the most committed destinations in the tourism industry to be recognised for the most prestigious awards of their kind in the world.[17]

Whale Watch Kaikoura was named the supreme winner in the Virgin Holidays Responsible Tourism Awards in London. The awards attract more than 5,000 exhibitors from over 200 countries, and had over 2,000 entrants, which were surpassed by Whale Watch Kaikoura.

The Chair of the international judges, Dr Harold Goodwin, said of Whale Watch Kaikoura: "Rarely do we see a tourism initiative developed from the ground up by a local community to such a successful and grand scale.

"The founding of the enterprise by four Māori families has demonstrated that the local Māori community can not only grow a considerable tourism business but more significantly, use that business to buy back their ancestral land for the benefit of the indigenous people and their cultural identity." (Booker, 2009)

17 http://www.responsibletourismawards.com/pastwinners.htm

**2010: Whale Watch Kaikoura winners of Tourism for Tomorrow Community Benefit Award**

Whale Watch Kaikoura has won a second international accolade – in the Tourism for Tomorrow Awards announced in Beijing today (26.05.2010)... The multi award-winning Kiwi company, which annually takes around 100,000 visitors whale watching on the Pacific Ocean, won the Community Benefit Award – recognising best practice in sustainable tourism... Whale Watch won against fierce competition. More than 160 entries from over 45 countries were received for the awards. Only 12 made it to the finals, and there were just four winners.[18]

The Tourism for Tomorrow Awards, now in their sixth year under WTTC's[19] stewardship are aimed at recognising best practice in sustainable tourism within the travel and tourism industry worldwide.

Categories are selected to show how destinations can develop their tourism using sustainable methods. Apart from the 'community benefit' award won by Whale Watch, the other categories are 'destination stewardship', 'conservation' and 'global tourism business.[20]

## 5.8 DISCUSSION

Whānau in today's world have the difficult role of providing resilience and support for their members in two key areas. The first is in relation to general risk factors resulting from the recession, such as unemployment, mental health issues, reduced access to healthy food and housing stress. The second key area is that of risk factors resulting from colonisation: loss of culture, language, land and other resources. In practice all these factors interact. Even the most resourced whānau would find it difficult to resist these inter-related influences. How much more so is it for those who are unable to access their own cultural, social, economic and environmental resources?

Despite the many barriers, Māori resilience occurs at all levels and institutions in Māori society. The ahi kaa have a central role in the intergenerational transmission of whakapapa, history, culture and in maintaining tūrangawaewae. They also reintegrate urban whānau who return home, and those from other tribal areas. Tikanga Māori is a key factor in the resilience of whānau and in Māori business – it is what gives Māori business unique leverage in the global marketplace.

An overarching theme can be seen to emerge – it is the need to support whānau in accessing and maximising their assets and resources (cultural, social, economic and environmental) at the interpersonal, institutional and structural levels, both as Māori and as individual citizens of New Zealand.

18 Friday, 28 May 2010, 11:08 am Press Release: Tourism New Zealand. http://www.scoop.co.nz/stories/BU1005/S00881.htm
19 WTTC – World Travel and Tourism Council.
20 http://www.tourismfortomorrow.com/The_Awards/)

The examples provide a snapshot of how cultural, social, economic and environmental resources support the resilience of whānau, hapū, iwi and Māori.

**CULTURAL RESOURCES**

> **The critical importance of whakapapa:** Whakapapa is a protective factor even though some people may not know their own. It is what binds Māori as whānau, hapū and iwi. It provides shared stories, behaviours and characteristics. It teaches how our tīpuna responded to events in the past, what was valued and what was passed on. Importantly, for those who choose to draw on it, whakapapa is both a spiritual and physical link to the wisdom and guidance of the tīpuna to be drawn on in today's world. Characteristics of tīpuna are often recognised by elders in today's children. Whakapapa gives context to the individual.

> **Marae:** Within the walls of the whare nui the very ribs and backbone of the ancestor, in whose name the house stands, reach down to embrace the people at all stages of their lives, from birth to death. Marae and other venues provide the space needed for Māori to be Māori, where people come to learn and share together.

> **Whanaungatanga:** This is a celebration and coming together of whānau to support and share in times of abundance and adversity. When whakapapa and whanaungatanga are jointly engaged, no one is ever isolated.

**Te Aka Puaho Hui (Māori Synod, Presbyterian Church), Te Maungārongo Marae, Ōhope 2009. (Source: Te Aka Puaho Archives)**

**SOCIAL RESOURCES**

> **Māori social organisations:** These are critical for those "distanced from and disestablished from their home iwi" (Waitangi Tribunal, 1998). Such organisations deliver critical social services, and nurturing and support for individuals and whānau. They, too, are a protective factor from isolation and understand the desire by many whānau not to engage directly with mainstream agencies.

> **Knowledge and education:** These are significant protective factors. Māori engage with knowledge and education as both individuals and as members of whānau, hapū and iwi. The social institutions in Māori education have been a galvanising force for change. The development of te kōhanga reo, kura kaupapa Māori, whare kura and whare wānanga all draw on ancient concepts of teaching and learning. All are now recognised internationally as exemplars of indigenous education, charting new futures for whānau, hapū and iwi.

**ECONOMIC RESOURCES**

> **The adaptability of whānau and Māori entrepreneurs:** This is apparent in the embracing of national and international business models to create something uniquely Māori. There are opportunities to maximise whānau resources at many levels. For example, Aotearoa Fisheries Limited is a pan-tribal commercial enterprise. Each tribe has assets and opportunities that they can use to assist the wellbeing of the beneficaries and their whānau. Whale Watch Kaikoura began with four whānau developing a business. Their iwi entity, the Ngāi Tahu Trust Board, then purchased a major shareholding in the business. The Pātea Māori Club, a cultural and social initiative, shows whānau affected by the same circumstances coming together to draw on their collective cultural and social strengths.

**ENVIRONMENTAL RESOURCES**

> These are of two main kinds:

- The ability of whānau to access customary food sources from the foreshore, lakes, wetlands, rivers and bush as a vital food source makes many ahi kaa whānau resilient, especially in times of economic adversity.

- The ability of whānau to access and maximise their land-based resources, much of it held in multiple ownership, for their own wellbeing and development. Access may be either indirectly as shareholders, or directly by whānau wanting to build on their papakāinga.

This section has identified key areas of resilience in Māoridom. The next section looks at the development of the Crown-Māori partnership as a basis from which both Treaty partners can work to support the development of resilience in whānau.

# 6. THE CROWN-MĀORI RELATIONSHIP

This section describes the development of the Crown-Māori relationship since the establishment of the Waitangi Tribunal. The Treaty provides for Māori to be treated first and foremost as whānau, hapū and iwi, and secondly as individual citizens. This 35-year journey demonstrates a growing maturity as government policies are becoming more responsive to Māori. As a result, there are now opportunities for Māori to partner with the Crown.

The 1980s were a time of economic restructuring, mass redundancies and recession which impacted significantly on Māori. It was also a time of immense growth and development, and the shaping of the landscape in which the implications of the Treaty of Waitangi would be played out.

## 6.1 THE TREATY OF WAITANGI AND THE WAITANGI TRIBUNAL

### 6.1.1 Privatisation of state-owned assets

During the 1980s the fourth Labour Government began to look at selling state-owned assets. The New Zealand Māori Council was extremely concerned at this turn of events, which they thought undermined significant national Treaty claims yet to be settled. They believed this action to be in breach of the Treaty clause in the State Owned Enterprises Act 1986. Known as the *Māori Council* case, this was to be a watershed issue for Māori, and would set the agenda for treating with Māori.

In 1987, the full Court of Appeal unanimously declared that transferring state assets without establishing whether such transfers would be consistent with the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi was unlawful.

As noted by the Hon Mark Burton in a speech to the House on 29 June 2007, the Court then left it to the Crown and the New Zealand Māori Council to agree on a mechanism to ensure that State Owned Enterprise assets remained available to settle historical claims.[21]

In 2007, Justice Baragwanath described the *Māori Council* case as having the following effect on the building of nationhood in New Zealand:

> Since 1987 we have been mercifully free of the angry reactions to injustice seen in other colonising and post-colonial societies, including the USA, France, Canada and Australia. On the contrary, what may perhaps be the best evidence of increased Māori confidence in the rule of law is the advice from Chief Judge Williams of the massively increased number of choices by Māori to register as such on the electoral roll. (Baragwanath, 2007, pp. 13–14)

The decision to sell the Crown's commercial forestry assets was announced in the 1988 Budget. The New Zealand Māori Council and the Federation of Māori Authorities (FOMA) took court action, resulting in the *Forests* case. In 1989 the Court of Appeal recommended negotiations to resolve the dispute (Dickson & Laughton, 2008).

These Court of Appeal cases left no doubt that Māori saw themselves both in partnership with the Crown in terms of their structures and institutions, and as individual citizens of the Crown.

21 http://www.beehive.govt.nz/node/29927

### 6.1.2 Article I: Partnership

In both the *Māori Council* and *Forests* cases, the finding of the Court for both Treaty partners to negotiate with each other to develop a solution was an enormous step forward in that it recognised in law, the principle of partnership which underpins Article I of the Treaty. This recognises that Māori have the authority to manage their own affairs, and that by ceding a right of governance to the Queen they secured in return the promise of active protection.

Secondly the establishment of a joint Crown-Māori body as an independent trust to manage the forestry assets for allocation was an instrumental step forward in nation-building. The Crown Forestry Rental Trust was established under the Crown Forests Assets Act 1989.

The Act allowed the Crown to sell licences for forestry, but prevented it from selling the land until the beneficial owners of the land had been determined (Crown Forestry Rental Trust, 2007). The Trust is an independent agency with three Crown trustees and three Māori trustees (appointed by the New Zealand Māori Council and the Federation of Māori Authorities). The Trust employs field staff to support the iwi who will receive forestry assets, providing access to specialist advice to build the structures and access the resources needed for such a major asset transfer.

The *Fisheries* case is also a landmark. As noted in the preamble to the Māori Fisheries Act 2004 (p. 6) Māori brought Treaty claims against the Crown and filed in the High Court that the quota management system introduced by the Fisheries Amendment Act 1986 was unlawful and in breach of the principles of the Treaty:

> In the mid 1980s, New Zealand's highest courts found that the Crown had not done enough to protect Māori commercial fishing interests since the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840. Through negotiation, a proportion of fishing quota in New Zealand's Quota Management System (QMS), shares in fishing companies and cash were subsequently returned to Māori to settle all commercial fishing claims under the Treaty. This was an interim settlement and was enshrined by the Māori Fisheries Act 1989.[22]

Te Ohu Kaimoana, the Māori Fisheries Commission[23], was established by the Māori Fisheries Act 2004 and is governed by a board of directors. Its main role is administrating, allocating and transferring settlement assets to mandated iwi organisations.

## 6.2 DIRECT NEGOTIATIONS

Direct Negotiations is the name given to a process whereby Treaty claimants could choose either to go to the Waitangi Tribunal then undertake negotiations, or to go directly into negotiations. The success of Direct Negotiations in the early days relied very much on good faith and trust in the relationships between tribal leadership and key Ministers of the Crown:

> We were meeting at Hopuhopu. It was late at night and we had hit a stalemate… At that point Bob [Mahuta] and Doug [Graham] decided to go for a walk… A thick mist hung in the air and as they walked around the perimeter road all we could see was the faint glow of Doug's cigar fading into the misty night… When they came back, the deal was done. (Wayne Taitoko, Tainui Negotiating Team, 1994)

22 http://afl.Māori.nz/about/history.htm
23 www.teohu.Māori.nz

**The Waikato Raupatu Claims Settlement Act 1995 received the Royal Assent from Queen Elizabeth II, shown here with the Māori Queen, Dame Te Atairangikaahu, Prime Minister Jim Bolger (left), and Minister in Charge of Treaty of Waitangi Negotiations Doug Graham. The Act included an apology by the Crown acknowledging the Treaty breach in its relationships with the Kingitanga (King Movement) and Waikato iwi. It expressed regret for the loss of lives from the invasion of Waikato in 1863 and resulting devastation of property and tribal life.**

Since the passing of the Waikato Raupatu Settlement Act 1995, and the Ngāi Tahu Settlement Act 1998, many iwi have been through the settlements process, with many more yet to come.

**THE PASSING OF THE NGĀI TAHU SETTLEMENT LEGISLATION**

**Ngāi Tahu members Kuao Langsbury, Charles Crofts, Tipene O'Regan, and Mark Solomon in parliament as the Ngāi Tahu settlement legislation passes its last stages in 1998.**

**The Tribunal held a comprehensive inquiry into the claim and reported in 1991 that the Crown had 'acted unconscionably and in repeated breach of the Treaty'. Negotiations started, and in 1998, a settlement provided compensation valued at $170 million. It also confirmed Ngāi Tahu's ownership of pounamu.**

**Central North Island Settlement 2008**

In 2008 the Crown and seven iwi involved in the central North Island forests signed an historic agreement:

> "With the transfer of the majority of the forests held by the Crown in the region to the seven iwi, or tribes, represented in the collective, a nearly half-billion dollar asset-base will finally be utilised in the interests of local Māori," Treaty Negotiations Minister Michael Cullen said.
>
> The deal will see almost 180,000 hectares of prime central North Island forestry handed back to Māori, including Kāingaroa and Whakarewarewa forests, making the iwi collective the largest forestry land owner in the country.
>
> The forests are mainly large-scale commercial plantations of pine operated by major forestry companies.
>
> "By signing this settlement today we are also signalling our intention to be a positive and inextricable part of the New Zealand community," said Tumu Te Heu Heu of Ngāti Tūwharetoa.
>
> The land is worth around $200 million, add in accumulated forestry rentals and an unidentified amount for future carbon credits, it is potentially a half billion dollar package.
>
> The assets will be divvied up between seven iwi, with more than 100,000 members. They include Ngāi Tūhoe, Ngāti Tūwharetoa, Ngāti Manawa, Ngāti Whakaue, Ngāti Whare, Ngāti Raukawa and Te Arawa.[24]

### 6.2.1 Article II (protection) and Article III (participation): Iwi post settlement

Article II provides for the protection of taonga, both material and cultural. For example, the Waitangi Tribunal report on the Te Reo Māori (1986) claim found Te Reo Māori to be a taonga. Article III provides for Māori to have the same rights as British subjects.

This means the Treaty therefore provides for Māori as *tangata whenua* under Article II of the Treaty, and for Māori as *individual citizens* under Article III of the Treaty. The redress for historical grievances received through the Treaty process goes to iwi as a whole, and is not a substitute for the Crown's obligation to Māori as individual citizens of New Zealand under Article III. However, many iwi are keen to continue their relationships they have built with the Crown through the Treaty negotiations process or in other fora. They want to work closely on key issues for both Māori and the Crown such as water, climate change, education, health, housing and environmental management.

The establishment of the Waitangi Tribunal gave Māori a forum in which to air historical and current grievances against the Crown. This was an important step forward in the journey towards nationhood. However, this had not always been the case. When the Tribunal was first established in 1975, its powers were to inquire into and report on alleged Treaty breaches from 1975 onwards. It was not until the 1985 amendment that the Tribunal was permitted to inquire into breaches of the Treaty occurring from 1840.

The early *Māori Council, Forests* and *Fisheries* cases gave much greater legitimacy for Māori to take control of Māori development, led to recognition of the principles of partnership, active protection and participation and established the pathway for

24 Source: ONE News/Reuters; cited in http://www.tuwharetoa.iwi.nz/node/180

Direct Negotiations of Treaty settlements between Māori and the Crown partner. There is also greater opportunity for the creation of structural and institutional space within the machinery of government for the Treaty partnership to be applied, and for self-determination of iwi and Māori development at all levels.

## 6.3 TŪ TANGATA – REFORM FROM WITHIN

In 1982, Kara Puketapu released a paper entitled *Tū Tangata: Reform from within*. Tū Tangata (The Stance of the People) challenged the way all government bureaucracies worked with Māori. Initially bringing about cultural change in the Department of Māori Affairs, Tū Tangata was the forerunner of many programmes, such as Strengthening Families, with an emphasis on the client, not the bureaucracy. Sectors such as health, education, social welfare, justice, Māori affairs and the arts were identified by Puketapu as 'ready for significant change' in the way they related to Māori.

Two key changes were advocated:

1. That organisations shift their culture to enable them to support the very lifestyle or fabric of their clients' community.

2. That bureaucracy change the point of decision-making, and place it in the community itself.

Puketapu anticipated that this might be interpreted as recommending devolution; however, he made the point that devolution might be a by-product of Tū Tangata, not a goal. The goals were:

> Tū Tangata – "to recognise the stance of the people"

> Whaka whaiti – "to harness the resources and strengths of all the people"

> Ko tou rourou – "to increase the contribution each of us can make to the advancement of Māori and to New Zealand as a whole" (Puketapu, 1982, p. 10).

In essence, Māori people were, for the first time, encouraged to stand tall in all aspects of New Zealand life. To sustain such change, Tū Tangata also advocated working out policy development and implementation with the communities to be affected by them. The goals proposed by Puketapu directly challenged the state sector as a whole to work with Māori, rather than positioning Māori as passive recipients of mainstream programmes. This work is a forerunner of many recent philosophical shifts in policy development and service delivery.

## 6.4 HUI TAUMATA 1984

The Labour Government of 1984 was keen to pursue a policy of devolving decisions away from the centre to the places where they were experienced on the ground. It called Māori leaders to Wellington for the Hui Taumata.

The hui prescribed a Decade of Māori Development within a framework of self-sufficiency and Māori control (Durie, 2003).

The hui "emphasised reducing reliance on the state, conversion of negative spending into positive funding, and confidence in tribal delivery systems to enhance Māori social and economic advancement. The Treaty was to be the basis for interaction with the government" (Durie, 2007, p. 146). There was growing support amongst Māori and the Crown for devolution of central services and funding away from the centre to iwi and iwi authorities.

However, in a classic instance of 'talking past each other' Māori self-determination became a rationale in government circles for reducing state services and devolving funding to Māori providers at the delivery end of a long programme and policy development 'food chain'. As Durie says, this happened "despite warnings from iwi that hasty decisions and inadequate funding could undermine any advantages that devolution might bring" (Durie, 2007, p. 147).

These warnings were borne out in the devolution of Minginui to Ngāti Whare.

## The devolution of the village of Minginui to Ngāti Whare

The history of Minginui and its transfer to Ngāti Whare ownership is an early example of Crown devolution to iwi. It entailed the devolution of an entire village. The episode is one from which there is much to be learnt.

### Background

The Ngāti Whare Deed of Settlement (2009, p. 17) states that Minginui was established as a model village by the Forest Service in 1948.

> By mid-1950, 69 houses had been built, and by 1980 there were a total of 94 houses at Minginui. Between 1951 and 1981 Minginui supported a population that fluctuated between 374 and 444 persons… The Forest Service administration of Minginui from the late 1940s to 1984 had a positive impact on Ngāti Whare's social and health conditions, with improved social and health services, good employment, better housing and new schools.
>
> In 1984 the Crown stopped the felling of indigenous timber. From early 1985 the Forest Service was restructured.
>
> In 1987, many jobs were lost in Minginui because milling of native species had ceased. Unemployment in Minginui was recorded at 51 percent in April 1987 and estimated at 95 percent in late 1988 after the last private mill closed. Many left, and those who chose to remain on their traditional lands became, and remain, largely dependent on benefits. This, and a dramatic decline in services, had a significant impact on Ngāti Whare and the community, increasing poverty and creating poorer health conditions (Ngāti Whare Deed of Settlement, 2009, p. 19).

The Deed (2009, p. 19) states that in 1989, Ngāti Whare and the Crown, for different reasons, agreed to vest the village of Minginui in Ngāti Whare ownership. At the time, Minginui's infrastructure was below government standards. The Crown was aware that rectifying this was estimated at over a million dollars. This funding was not forthcoming. Furthermore, many of the houses handed over to redundant mill workers as part of redundancy packages were made of untreated *pinus radiata*. Infrastructure problems identified in 1987 went largely unaddressed for 20 years. The Crown and Ngāti Whare are currently working on resolving these issues (Ngāti Whare Deed of Settlement, 2009, p. 22).

Minginui village was vested in Ngāti Whare ownership through the Māori Land Court, in a context of devolution and the aspirations expressed in the 1984 Hui Taumata. But it is clear this model never received the resources and support to ensure its success. Ngāti Whare struggled largely on their own for 20 years before finally gaining some traction through their Treaty negotiations. Key issues emerge here:

> The Crown-Māori partnership does not finish at devolution. There is a continuing need for the Crown to support devolution aspirations.

> Minginui needed a 'whole-of-government' approach.

> Moving from disadvantage to self-determination requires a long-term approach.

Since those early days, a greater understanding has developed of the need for the Crown-Māori partnership to continue beyond initial devolution if self-determination is to be successful. This is not a quick process, especially when the Māori partner is starting from a base of disparity. It requires resourcing, and time to mature and develop.

## 6.5 *PŪAŌ-TE-ATA-TŪ* 1988

### 6.5.1 The report of the Ministerial Advisory Committee on a Māori perspective for the Department of Social Welfare

In 1985 the Advisory Committee was established to investigate and report on the operations of the Department of Social Welfare from a Māori perspective. The aim was to advise the Minister of Social Welfare on the most appropriate means of meeting the needs of Māori in policy, planning and service delivery (Ministerial Advisory Committee, 1988). The committee, chaired by the late John Rangihau, held 65 meetings on marae, at institutions and in department offices. The final report was released in 1988.

The report begins by stating:

> The history of New Zealand since colonisation has been the history of institutional decisions being made for, rather than by, Māori people. Key decisions on education, justice and social welfare, for example, have been made with little consultation with Māori people.
>
> Throughout colonial history, inappropriate structures and Pākehā involvement in issues critical for Māori have worked to break down traditional Māori society by weakening its base – the whānau, the hapū, the iwi. It has been almost impossible for Māori to maintain tribal responsibility for their own people. (Ministerial Advisory Committee, 1988, p. 18).

The Committee's 13 recommendations recognised the need to address key issues of racism and structural iniquities in New Zealand society in general and the Department of Welfare in particular. The Committee recommended that social policy objectives be adopted in the development of social welfare policy to address the "many faces of racism at the personal, cultural and institutional levels". Institutional racism was identified as the most destructive, requiring subjugation of minority cultures by the "power culture" in order to participate (Ministerial Advisory Committee, 1988).

## 6.6 A COMPREHENSIVE APPROACH

> The Committee observed and heard first hand the frustration, the resentment and even anger that arise when there are serious structural imbalances in society. The symptoms of these imbalances are unemployment, poor housing, street kids, young offenders, homelessness, dropouts, child abuse, alienation, family disruption, low incomes, low self-esteem and lack of opportunity.
>
> The Committee is convinced that only a concerted effort by government and community can address the crisis that is occurring not only in the larger city areas but in some rural centres as well. The problem is of such magnitude that the response requires a major shift of social and economic resources among all social service and community agencies that can deliver them.
>
> The need is urgent. A sense of injustice arises from:
>
> – a perceived lack of understanding of the reception and treatment of the problems faced by the community
>
> – a sense of injustice towards law enforcement, legal, judicial, penal and welfare systems
>
> – a sense of rejection and failure by an education system within which many of the young fail to reach their potential and leave under-educated and under-skilled
>
> – unemployment
>
> – acute difficulties in finding independent accommodation
>
> – feelings of prejudice and discrimination leading to young people seeking common identity within groups and gangs.
>
> We believe the approach must be integrated and comprehensive and supported by local and central government, Māoridom, business – in fact, by the whole community. (Ministerial Advisory Committee, 1988, p. 43)

The Waitangi Tribunal, in its inquiry into the Waitangi Tribunal Claim brought by Te Whānau o Waipareira, considered the implications of *Pūaō-Te-Ata-Tū* as a key aspect to the claim. In its 1998 report, the Tribunal stated:

> It is understandable that the Crown should rely on *Pūaō-Te-Ata-Tū* given its high calibre, the standing of its authors, and the status of the chairperson of the reporting committee in particular in both Māori and Pākehā worlds … it is commendable, in our view, that the Crown has shown, or now expresses a commitment to its principles (p. 128)

The Tribunal also considered the key themes of *Pūaō-Te-Ata-Tū*, which included:

> the need for the department to develop a bicultural, partnership approach to working with Māori. Importantly this included that the responsibility and authority for decisions be shared with Māori

> that control over resources be devolved closer to the consumer and that the institution be accountable to clients for meeting their needs in accordance with their cultural preferences

> that there be an integrated cross-government approach in which the Department of Social Welfare would take the lead role (Evidence by P. Boag to the Waitangi Tribunal, 1998, pp. 111–112).

Despite the fact that all 13 recommendations were accepted, Margaret Bazley told the Waitangi Tribunal that the essence of *Pūaō-Te-Ata-Tū* did not become entrenched in the department (1998, p. 120). The Tribunal considered that opportunity to do so and to develop a more integrated approach was overshadowed by government restructuring. However the Tribunal noted that:

> Pūaō-Te-Ata-Tū … may justly stand as an important milestone in the development of the country's administration. (Waitangi Tribunal, 1998, p. 129)

## 6.7 THE MAINSTREAMING OF MĀORI AFFAIRS

In 1992 the National Government replaced the Department of Māori Affairs with Te Puni Kōkiri. The purpose was to 'mainstream' the social, education, health and welfare services to Māori, previously carried out by the Department of Māori Affairs, to the respective mainstream agencies. There was also to be a monitoring and evaluation function, whereby Te Puni Kōkiri would review delivery to Māori by government departments. Parata (1994) observed that there were two schools of thought as to how this should happen. The first was that the programmes should be transferred "at all costs". The second was that the programmes should be transferred "only if the respective agencies were properly equipped to administer them and the vote that went with the programmes".

In 1999 Te Puni Kōkiri published *Evaluation for Māori: Guidelines for government agencies*. In the foreword, the Chief Executive Officer Dr Ngātata Love wrote:

> I've also been concerned more recently over how little information on outcomes for Māori had been included in employment and training evaluations by mainstream departments... I believe these guidelines will provide a useful resource for agencies undertaking evaluations of programmes that have an impact on Māori or hold an interest for Māori. (Te Puni Kōkiri, 1999, p. 4)

In its reviews of the Department of Labour (1999), the Ministry of Housing (1998), ACC (1998), the Ministry of Education (1997) and Income Support (1996) Te Puni Kōkiri identified four characteristics in government's treatment of Māori issues:

- not involving Māori (nil analysis of Māori)
- involving Māori (minimal analysis of Māori)
- focus on Māori (moderate to maximum analysis of Māori)
- kaupapa Māori (maximum analysis of Māori).

Te Puni Kōkiri then proceeded to advise government departments on the steps to take to develop strategies, policies and operations that would be more responsive to Māori and to work towards reducing inequalities.

## 6.8 CLOSING THE GAPS/REDUCING INEQUALITIES

In 1999, the Minister of Māori Affairs launched the Closing the Gaps policy. Closing the Gaps (later renamed Reducing Inequalities) became a priority of the Labour Government. Te Puni Kōkiri's guidelines provided a means for government departments to begin to reform their internal policies and processes to reduce the socio-economic inequalities between Māori and non-Māori.

A key focus was on the obligations of government departments to address these disparities through their strategies and business plans. Closing the Gaps, in combination with Te Puni Kōkiri's monitoring and evaluation role, meant more emphasis in government departments on building internal capacity and capability. In Te Puni Kōkiri stress was also placed on building the capability of Māori providers. This was a step towards solutions by Māori for Māori. However, this also meant that the relationship between the government departments and Māori providers became an area of focus. More capability was needed in both areas to respond to the new directions for greater autonomy for Māori.

## 6.9 WHOLE-OF-GOVERNMENT

The 'whole-of-government' concept was a key plank in the Government's Strengthening Families platform for service delivery, developed in 1997. It is described as a:

> …cross-sectoral, whole-of-government initiative which uses a structured process of government agencies and community organisations working together to achieve better education, housing, health and social outcomes for families. Government and non-government/community organisations participate in the Strengthening Families programme to coordinate support to families to access the services they need. Agencies work collectively with a family to provide support and develop joint solutions to issues, rather than each agency dealing with one aspect of the family and never seeing the bigger picture.[25]

Strengthening Families was developed to address concern about intergenerational cycles of disadvantage, gaps in local service provision, multiple needs (apparent in multiple agencies dealing with the same clients) and the common interest of these agencies in improving the outcomes for vulnerable families.

### 6.9.1 Whole-of-government and iwi/Māori

The mainstreaming of Māori Affairs created a situation where iwi/Māori needed to work with multiple government departments rather than just one. This had its advantages and disadvantages. It meant that iwi/Māori could address issues directly with government decision-makers, build relationships and develop flexible solutions for specific sector interests. But negotiating with a range of different government departments meant duplication of iwi/Māori resources, and also opened up potential for inconsistent approaches to the Treaty partnership.

Drawing on the Strengthening Families approach, 30 government and local government agencies entered into a Memorandum of Understanding with Te Rarawa to develop a single government contract for services to support the iwi's development plan, which aims to provide "a strategic framework for improving social and economic outcomes for the iwi". This was a first for New Zealand (Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry, 2002).

25 http://www.strengtheningfamilies.govt.nz

## 6.10 HUI TAUMATA MĀTAURANGA 2001

Hosted by Tūwharetoa at Tūrangi and Taupō, this joint Crown-Māori initiative aimed at developing pathways for Māori education. This hui was a significant step forward in proposing specific ways the Crown and Māori could work together to achieve common purposes. The hui proposed a framework for the advancement of Māori education:

> three principles: best outcomes, integrated action and indigeneity

> three pathways: Māori centred, Māori added and collaborative

> a capacity for independent Māori action

> three broad goals: to live as Māori, to participate as citizens of the world, and to be healthy and enjoy a high standard of living (Durie, 2003, pp. 201–209).

A second Hui Taumata Mātauranga followed in the same year, which continued similar themes and proposed five key platforms for Māori education:

> educational policies

> social and economic policies

> the Crown-Māori relationship

> Māori synergy

> Māori leadership (Durie, 2003, pp. 224–228).

Such initiatives would not have been possible without the significant gains by Māori in the creation of Māori solutions at all levels of implementation. Of the Hui Taumata, Durie (2003, pp. 197–198) wrote:

> There are at least three reasons why the Hui Taumata Mātauranga is important. First because it is being hosted by Tūwharetoa at Tūrangi and Taupō it acquires a significance that dates back at least to Pukawa in 1853 and more recently to 1989 when the late Sir Hepi Te Heuheu along with Te Arikinui Te Atairangaikaahu and the (late) Te Reo Hura head of the Ratana movement convened a meeting to discuss ways for concerted Māori acting across a broad range of issues… Tūrangi has come to symbolise Māori determination and integrity.
>
> Second the Hui Taumata Mātauranga is highly significant because it is being held at the beginning of the third millennium …
>
> The third reason … is linked to the numbers and representativity of the participants. There is wide representation of Māori women, men, rangatahi (young people), iwi (tribes), teachers, parents, whānau (families), education administrators and planners, public servants and the churches…

## 6.11 HUI TAUMATA 2005

This third Hui Taumata was held a year after the passing of the Foreshore and Seabed Act in 2004. This Act caused much tension in the relationship between the Crown and Māori, and led to unprecedented numbers of iwi representatives and Māori individuals marching from all over New Zealand to Wellington, down Lambton Quay to Parliament.

Government support of the Hui Taumata was, amongst other things, a means of beginning to regain lost trust. The focus of the Hui Taumata was on accelerating Māori economic development at all levels in Māori society. As tribal trusts and governance entities have multiple objectives, which include the spiritual, cultural, social and economic needs of their people, Māori economic development does not occur in a cultural vacuum. That being the case, the issue was how could Māori development be accomplished in the most effective way for the future.

Key messages from the Hui Taumata included the critical imperatives to "increase Māori human capital to raise Māori average incomes and to drive economic growth" and to "create an intensive focus on growing enterprise and entrepreneurial skills – including those that are also life skills – amongst Māori" (Hui Taumata Trust, 2008, p. 11).

The Hui decided that entrepreneurship education was a key way to address these needs, especially the building of the entrepreneurial mindset required for leadership at the whānau, hapū, iwi and Māori organisational level:

> The growth of Māori assets, the success of Māori entrepreneurs over the last decade, and the return of significant assets through the Treaty settlements process provides an economic foundation for Māori to unify and make a significant investment to contribute to securing the future for New Zealanders. (Hui Taumata Trust, 2009, p. 11)

## 6.12 THE HIGH TRUST MODEL

In 2009/10, the Ministry of Social Development implemented a new approach to funding and contracting, to streamline related processes with social services providers. Known as the 'High Trust Model'. It brings together multiple contracts into one, simple, results-based agreement.

The High Trust Model allows long-established community-based organisations with a sound track record to focus more on the needs of the families they serve, and less on compliance and reporting. For these organisations to flourish and achieve their goals they need a degree of flexibility and informality. For the Government, a trust-based approach is inherently lower in transaction and compliance costs.

The essence of a high trust agreement is recognition of the quality of the relationship between the parties. It is based on the trust that has built up over time between the organisations, as expectations have been continually met in a cooperative way.

It allows government and the community organisations the opportunity to agree how to best work together for the benefit of families and communities, and move towards a common outcome. Complex, detailed and highly specified contracts are not conducive to this way of working, and may in fact get in the way of achieving positive outcomes for families.

The key elements of the High Trust Model (Ministry of Social Development, 2010) are:

- It is based on strong, successful relationships – each party is well informed about the other, shares and understands risks, and respects each other's expertise, credibility and reputation.
- It allows for a flexible approach to service delivery – enabling providers to better meet the needs of families in their local community.

- It takes a customised approach, recognising the holistic needs of families.
- It focuses on achieving positive outcomes for families, rather than on compliance and monitoring, so supporting documentation is able to be simpler eg a short agreement rather than a long contract.
- It provides meaningful, results-focused reporting, once a year.
- Funding is paid up-front, in annual installments.
- The relationship between funder and provider is ongoing, with a longer-term focus.

## 6.13 THE TREATY OF WAITANGI AND WHOLE-OF-GOVERNMENT

In 2008 the Treaty settlement between Taranaki Whānui ki Te Upoko o Te Ika, Port Nicholson Block and the Crown was the first of its kind to embed an ongoing whole-of-government process in the post-settlement era directly into its settlement legislation:

> The Crown acknowledges and supports the desire of the governance entity to provide for the enhanced wellbeing, revitalisation and protection of its members. The Crown intends to support these aspirations by:
>
> – 5.1.1 facilitating access by Taranaki Whānui ki Te Upoko o Te Ika to government programmes and services that relate to social, economic and cultural development. The Crown will assist the governance entity in working through the necessary administrative procedures so that Taranaki Whānui ki Te Upoko o Te Ika shall have ready access to such programmes and services; and
>
> – 5.1.2 an appropriate Minister of the Crown will chair an annual hui between relevant Ministers of the Crown and the governance entity. The hui will take place in November, or at another date convenient for all parties, and will be based on a mutually agreed agenda. The purpose of the annual hui will be to review progress with the implementation of the social, economic, and cultural aspirations of Taranaki Whānui ki Te Upoko o Te Ika to identify and progress meaningful opportunities for Taranaki Whānui ki Te Upoko o Te Ika to play a more direct role in the provision of social, economic and cultural outcomes for its members; and
>
> – 5.1.3 relevant Government agencies working with the governance entity to identify and explore areas of mutual interest. Those agencies will report progress to the annual hui between the Minister of Māori Affairs, relevant Ministers, and Taranaki Whānui Ki Te Upoko o Te Ika representatives. (Port Nicholson Block Taranaki Whānui Ki Te Upoko o Te Ika Deed of Settlement, 2008, p. 22)

The importance of this settlement is that there is Crown recognition of an ongoing Treaty partnership with Taranaki Whānui to jointly work together at governance-to-governance level across all sectors "for the enhanced wellbeing, revitalisation and protection of the people of Taranaki Whānui". (Deed of Settlement, 2008, p. 22)

Another growing opportunity is to explore the role and contribution that a third party can bring to the Crown-Māori relationship. For example, the role of Kiwibank, Housing New Zealand Corporation and Māori land owners in securing finance for housing on multiple-owned land. Māori owners have always had difficulty accessing lending for housing on multiple-owned land. This is because "third party financiers do not consider multiple-owned Māori land as meeting their requirement for security. Second, there is a

general perception that the probability of non-performance in servicing a loan increases their risk" (Housing New Zealand Corporation, 2007, p. 10). The difficulty to secure finance undermines the intent of Te Ture Whenua Māori Act 1993, which is to "promote the retention of that land in the hands of its owners, their whānau, and their hapū" (Te Ture Whenua Māori Act 1993, p. 9).

Consequently, how could finance be obtained for multiple-owned land? The development of a way forward came through an arrangement between Kiwibank, Housing New Zealand Corporation and Māori land owners.

### Housing New Zealand Corporation, Kiwibank and housing on multiple-owned Māori land

This is a very recent example of how a government department or Crown entity can work with business to support Māori aspirations. At present, financial institutions do not lend on Māori land as multiple-owned land is not considered to be security. An opportunity for Māori to build on multiple-owned Māori land has come about through a partnership between Housing New Zealand Corporation and Kiwibank, announced in February 2010. Māori who want to move back to ancestral land will now be able to get a $200,000 loan from Kiwibank, with no deposit, to build or buy a home. The Crown will guarantee the loans under the Kāinga Whenua scheme. Generally, loans will be capped at $200,000 but in some cases, in more expensive areas including parts of Auckland, Wellington and Queenstown, higher limits up to $350,000 could be negotiated.

Kiwibank Board Chairman Jim Bolger said the scheme was overdue but now was the time.

"What we've done is broken through a barrier," he said. "We have to resolve some of these issues if we are going to meet the needs of Māori New Zealanders. The land is held in different title and will continue to be held in different title. The non-divisibility of some of this land is permanent so we either say we can't use that land or we find ways of using it." Tait (2010)

Over the past 20 years the relationship between Māori and the Crown has evolved to the point where many iwi and/or Māori organisations are establishing partnerships directly with specific ministers and/or their agencies. There is growing recognition that processes can be streamlined if many government agencies work together, as they are doing with Te Rarawa. This indicates a growing maturity in government departments' understanding of the contribution made by iwi and Māori at the governance level at the 'front end' of strategy, policy and business planning, as well as inclusion in operational delivery.

The proliferation of partnership agreements between Māori and the Crown and the need for consistency has led to joint guidelines being developed for government departments by the Ministry of Justice and Te Puni Kōkiri on Crown-Māori Relationship Instruments.[26]

## 6.14 MINISTERIAL TASKFORCE OF WHĀNAU-CENTRED INITIATIVES

Drawing on previous government initiatives and Māori aspirations, the Taskforce of Whānau-centred Initiatives, established by the Honorable Tariana Turia, recently

26 www.tepunikokiri.govt.nz

released a discussion paper, proposing a new approach to the design and delivery of government-funded services and initiatives to whānau.

The Taskforce was charged with delivering advice on preferred approaches to whānau-centred interventions in order to contribute to the best outcomes for whānau. It developed a framework for whānau-centred approaches to service delivery with whānau, inclusive of the following factors:

> **Whānau action and engagement** in which whānau strengths are endorsed, whānau ownership of solutions and actions is encouraged and partnerships between whānau and service providers are normal.

> **Whānau-centred design and delivery of services** building onto whānau strengths and capabilities in whānau.

> **Whānau, hapū, iwi leadership** – recognising that whānau, hapū and iwi have critical contributions to make in facilitating whānau ora. The Taskforce notes that "roles, relationships and responsibilities are based on whakapapa connections and lie largely outside of government interventions".

> **Active and responsive government** so that agencies are flexible enough to align with and support whānau, hapū and iwi aspirations.

> **Funding** – funding arrangements that support a whānau-centred approach to service delivery (Taskforce of Whānau-centred Initiatives, 2010, p. 21).

**Honorable Tariana Turia, MP for Te Tai Hauāuru, Co-leader of the Māori Party.**

### 6.14.1 Taskforce's recommendations

The Taskforce made six key recommendations in its report:

1. That an independent Trust be constituted to govern, coordinate and implement Whānau Ora, and report to a dedicated Minister of Whānau Ora.

2. That specific Whānau Ora appropriation(s) be established, to be managed by the Trust.

3. That Whānau Ora services are integrated and comprehensive, and focused on measurable outcomes that contribute to whānau empowerment.

4. That Whānau Ora services are shaped by te ao Māori.

5. That all government agencies with responsibilities for any aspect of whānau wellbeing commit to the Whānau Ora principles and support the Whānau Ora approach.

6. That the Trust establishes regional panels to ensure Whānau Ora contributes in positive and realistic ways in local communities (Taskforce of Whānau-centred Initiatives, 2010, pp. 8–9).

### 6.14.2 Key issues for Māori and the Crown

Following the report from the Taskforce of Whānau-centred Initiatives, expectations are high for both Māori and the Crown. However, it is unfair to see the establishment of the Whānau Ora fund and associated mechanisms as a panacea for issues, including those covered in this report, which span 160 years.

Key lessons from the past 35 years of Crown-Māori engagement need to be drawn on, if the implementation of the Whānau Ora work programme is to be successful.

Firstly, the focus on whānau development requires government departments to understand that 'whānau' is not interchangeable with the term 'family'. To see it as such undermines the purpose and concept of working with whānau (Lawson-Te Aho, 2010).

Secondly, a process will need to be developed to determine how continuing mainstream government work programmes will interact with the Whānau Ora work programme and its outcomes. A worst-case scenario would be government agencies adopting the view that they are now no longer required to focus as much on Māori social issues, leaving this to Te Puni Kōkiri and the Whānau Ora programme.

Thirdly, to determine how mainstream government departments will support and work with Te Puni Kōkiri for Whānau Ora at all levels of government planning, strategy, policy and delivery. This is very important if the programme is to be put into operation successfully. Other government departments will require a comprehensive working framework that is based on whānau as distinct from 'family'.

A significant issue for whānau-centred delivery is ensuring that government does not merely target individuals, but seek to involve the whānau. For example, Te Puni Kōkiri has determined that best practice for Māori adult literacy and numeracy programmes in the workforce includes:

> being responsive to Māori culture and te reo Māori

> the ability for tutors to build relationships of trust with learners and their whānau

> collaborating with whānau and with other authority figures, to gain the support of other influential people in the learner's life. Whānau provide a critical influence that needs to be engaged to support the learner (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2010, pp. 20–21).

There is a critical need for long-term support for whānau-centred, strengths-based initiatives from *within* the whānau rather than crisis-driven, short-term interventions from the outside. Furthermore, the implementation of Whānau Ora needs to be informed by past experiences of devolution regarding Crown engagement with Māori. It would be a risk to Crown-Māori engagement if Māori became responsible for correcting the impact of the unintended consequences of historical structural, resourcing and policy inequities. Māori have neither the resources nor the funding to do so, and want to avoid situations where they have very little influence over such a model.

The Taskforce recommendations are not new ideas. Indeed, 'Whānau Ora' has been part of government and policy discourse for the past 15 years, with limited success. That being the case, what is different in 2010? It appears that three inter-related key factors are very different in 2010 which change the tribal landscape significantly:

> Crown responsiveness

> commercial tribal and Māori development

> the Treaty settlements process.

### 6.14.3 Crown responsiveness

The past 35 years have seen the Crown shifting its dialogue with Māori towards greater partnership and engagement. The types of partnerships now occurring between government departments and the Crown were not possible when *Pūaō-Te-Ata-Tū* was developed. The Crown's position now is that it is ready and willing to engage with Māori on many issues across the government sectors.This willingness was reflected, for example, in the Port Nicholson settlement with Taranaki Whānui.

### 6.14.4 Commercial tribal and Māori development

Māori business is a growing part of the global marketplace. It operates in the traditional fields of primary production and natural resources, as well as in diversification of goods and services from those primary industries (eg, tourism). At the same time, Māori leadership in business development is meeting the growing demand for tikanga Māori overseas. It is about the pursuit of the added Māori advantage in the global marketplace. Future opportunities for Māori commercial development is articulated in the report *Ngā Kaihanga Hou: Māori Future Makers* produced by Te Puni Kōkiri in 2007c. In the Introduction, Leith Comer, Chief Executive Officer, states:

> …Ngā Kāihanga Hou suggests a course so that Māori prosperity grows still further. This course challenges Māori to leverage their businesses into growth and strategic industries; to nurture innovation; to further improve the qualification base; and to promote high levels of entrepreneurship.
>
> Other work of Te Puni Kōkiri shows that being Māori in the global marketplace in the 21st Century isn't just cool – it contains a comparative economic advantage. I believe this 'Māori edge' concept as we have called it, will take on a growing significance, and suggests that Māori, secure in their culture, have traditions, skills, and values that resonate with those looking to purchase New Zealand goods and services…
>
> Ngā Kāihanga Hou is part of a new journey of discovery. For Māori to reach out into the unknown, to survive tempests and arrive positively at their destination, they will have to embrace new technologies, develop new skills and couple this to a positive sense of self-belief.
>
> And above all, Māori will again have to show considerable daring. But the signs are all good. (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2007c, p. 7)

### 6.14.5 The Treaty settlements process

In New Zealand the transfer of large national forestry and fisheries assets to iwi is part of assisting iwi to move from historical grievance to opportunity and entrepreneurship. As part of the Direct Negotiations process many tribes are building relationships with ministers and government agencies.

There is growing opportunity for iwi/Māori organisations to partner with each other and/or with government or other stakeholders. These partnerships can support whānau in their efforts to maximise the resources available to them at various levels.

The experience gained through asset transfer and partnership development over the past 35 years has created strengths on which Māori and the Government can draw to work together for the benefit of whānau.

## 6.15 DISCUSSION: CROWN-MĀORI ENGAGEMENT

Māori society is very able to mobilise quickly and flexibly at interpersonal, institutional and structural levels in response to threats and challenges. This can be observed in the High Court/Court of Appeal challenges of the 1980s–1990s in the State-Owned Assets case, and then the Forestry and Fisheries cases. The legal challenges played out on all three occasions with all the strategy, ritual of engagement, dignity, passion, honour, mana and absolute resolve of Māori in the Land Wars of the previous century. At the same time, respect was reserved for the same qualities in one's opposition, and there has been a willingness to negotiate kanohi ki te kanohi to resolve and settle issues. Imperative to the culture that framed the Māori response to such challenges is the absence of a word for enemy in te reo Māori; there is only hoa riri – 'angry friend'– or hoa whawhai – 'a friend one fights with'. In the Māori world view, dialogue, negotiations, and treating honourably are necessary to restore the balance.

During the early stages of engagement, the Waitangi Tribunal, Privy Council, Court of Appeal and High Court all played key roles in the building of nationhood. Together the Treaty partners and the law courts helped New Zealand as a whole mitigate what Justice Baragwanath (2007) described as the "angry reactions to injustice seen in other colonial and post colonial societies". The process of Direct Negotiations was born, and New Zealand began its journey as two Treaty partners working to achieve agreement and understanding.

It is a long and eventful journey from the Department of Māori Affairs as a 'one stop shop' for Māori, to the involvement of Māori as partners at all levels of decision-making. Current developments are building on growing reconciliation and acceptance of our past in this country.

This section has described how engagement between the Treaty partners began as a polarisation of opposing forces, later gradually maturing into the Crown-Māori partnerships, whole-of-government frameworks and relationship instruments. The Treaty of Waitangi partnership between Māori and the Crown operates at structural, institutional and interpersonal levels. It is represented at the governance-to-governance level. From there, other levels of management and operations are engaged.

Crown-Māori relationship mechanisms have changed over time. There are encouraging signs that Māori are no longer perceived as passive recipients of mainstream programmes. This was never where Māori chose to position themselves. From the earliest, Māori sought representation in Parliament and opportunities to develop kaupapa Māori solutions for Māori issues.

In the 1980s, Court of Appeal cases left no doubt that Māori saw themselves both in partnership with the Crown in terms of their structures and institutions, and as individual citizens of the Crown. This was confirmed in the analysis and adoption of the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi – partnership, protection of all taonga, and participation.

The relationship between Māori and the Crown can be seen in two phases. The first phase can be seen as a polariation in the relationship between Māori and the Crown:

> Declaration versus negotiation: Initially the Government viewed any accommodation with Māori as a weakness, whereas the Māori preference was for negotiation to find a balance between opposing views.

> Devolution versus rangatiratanga: Devolution of service delivery was often spoken of as 'rangatiratanga', implying that high-level decision-making opportunities were being devolved to the level of self-governance. In reality the Māori provider or fund-holder ran the risk of becoming responsible for correcting the impact of the unintended consequences of historical structural, resourcing and policy inequities with limited resourcing and funding. They also had very limited opportunity to participate in decision-making to influence the effectiveness of such a model. In relation to Māori, devolution was sometimes interpreted as government retaining control of planning, programmes and decision-making but devolving service delivery funding to Māori; or minimal regulation or involvement by the Crown (as in the case of Minginui).

> Māori as individuals versus Māori as members of whānau, hapū and iwi/Māori organisations: The approach in government programmes was often to respond to Māori purely as individuals, not as members of whānau, hapū, iwi and Māori organisations. This perspective viewed Māori individuals very much in deficit mode relative to non-Māori, but prevented Māori from capitalising on the strengths of their world to accelerate the development and delivery of solutions.

> Rights versus needs: The perception was of Māori as brown individuals in need rather than as Treaty partners with certain inalienable rights and collective strengths.

> Māori involvement in programme design versus Māori as passive recipients of mainstream programmes: This view perceived Māori as individuals who are being 'delivered to' by European-designed programmes, where differences from the European cultural norm are viewed negatively. Now the move is to programmes that are designed, developed and delivered by Māori.

The second phase is characterised by a greater awareness of the gains to be made by creating space for Māori solutions to emerge at the interpersonal, institutional and structural levels. This recognition has now extended to partnerships at the governance-to-governance level.

As a consequence, a maturity has evolved in the Treaty partnership to focus on how Māori and the Crown can work together to achieve common outcomes. The earlier polarisation has made way for both ends of the continuum to be reflected in solutions. The acceptance of a key role for hapū, iwi and Māori organisations in the design and delivery of education, health and social services is a good example of a growing depth of understanding and maturity.

This second phase is also reflected in the Port Nicholson settlement whereby Māori and the Crown have embedded in legislation processes and mechanisms for a whole-of-government approach, to be supported by relevant government departments.

This phase is characterised by the following developments:

> Building the relationship at governance-to-governance level: Working together over the past 35 years has given the Government a far greater awareness of Māori leadership models, social organisation, mandate and buy-in.

> Programmes to respond to Māori as both members of hapū and iwi and as individuals: Hapū and iwi are seen as a welcome strength through which to support the Crown's delivery to Māori as individuals.

> Opportunities for the Crown in partnering with iwi and Māori organisations: This requires a real understanding of what both parties wish to achieve, and an end to talking past each other. Both government departments and iwi increasingly want to work together to address shared goals. Crown-Māori Partnership Relationship Instruments have therefore been developed to provide advice on how to go about this. There are now a large number of Crown-iwi/Māori partnerships in the state sector.

> Working with iwi and Māori organisations to support the building of their capacity and capability to achieve their goals: This involves a recognition that, once a partnership has been established or a commitment has been given, the Māori partner may require support to achieve their goals, especially if it is a new undertaking. There is increasing acceptance that there is no 'quick fix' to intergenerational structural and institutional disparities. This perspective recognises that devolving resources to iwi/Māori organisations is not the end of the Treaty relationship but the beginning of a better understanding of the journey ahead of both parties.

> The Crown's need for more capability and capacity to work with Māori: Many government departments are developing their capability and capacity and involving Māori in finding ways forward.

> The Crown partnering with iwi, Māori organisations and the private sector: This needs a broad view across all sectors. It recognises that there are key areas outside the Crown's control, which necessitates Māori, the state sector and the private sector coming together, setting joint goals and deciding how to best achieve them.

The growing maturity of the Crown-Māori partnership relationship now provides the framework not only for the ongoing settlement of Treaty claims, but also for accelerating tribal and inter-tribal development and global opportunities. This landscape provides room for Māori entrepreneurship and self-governance/determination to further grow and develop in a way that can only benefit New Zealand as a whole. To achieve this is to achieve nationhood.

# 7. CONCLUSION

Economic and social impacts on whānau as a consequence of the past and current recessions are severe and intergenerational. The impact on whānau is not only seen in the job loss, food security, mental health and housing statistics, but also heard in the voices of the whānau affected by job closure, articulating the personal impact, the feelings of hopelessness and despair. These effects impact on Māori at the personal and interpersonal level, the institutional level and the structural level both as Māori and as individual citizens.

Of all the data on the Māori labour market, the fact of greatest concern is that, despite trending downwards for 10 years, that in the 12 months from December 2008 to December 2009 the Māori unemployment rate rose rapidly from 9.8 percent to 15.4 percent. This is three times the European unemployment rate. This means that despite some encouraging trends, the Māori labour market is still very vulnerable.

Resilience occurs at all levels and institutions in Māori society. The ahi kaa have a central role in the intergenerational transmission of whakapapa, history, culture and in maintaining tūrangawaewae. They also reintegrate those urban whānau who return home and play a similar role for itinerant whānau who are not of that tribal area. Tikanga Māori is a key factor in the resilience of whānau and in Māori business. All the examples in this report – the ahi kaa, taura here, Kōhanga Reo, the Pātea Māori Club, Whale Watch and Aotearoa Fisheries Ltd – draw on tikanga Māori for their cultural, social, economic and environmental sustanence and success. Tikanga is what gives Māori business unique leverage in the global marketplace.

In order to further build on these achievements, there is a growing need for wider collaboration between the Treaty partners and also with the private sector to leverage greater strength and support for whānau to access and maximise their assets and resources. Whānau have the role of protecting their members from personal and collective risk factors resulting from both colonisation and the current and past recessions. This is an enormous task and requires much support by both Treaty partners and other key stakeholders. Resilience is about making the most of opportunity. It is about what works in the face of difficulties and what can be built upon by both Māori and the Crown in achieving shared outcomes for whānau and for Māoridom as a whole.

The initial response from the Crown to Māori was one of polarisation. Since early contact, time, experience and relationships built have led to a greater maturity and a desire to seek integrated solutions. From this platform, both Treaty partners are increasingly exploring governance-to-governance partnerships to address issues for Māori. This collaboration is now widening to include local government and in some cases the private sector.

This report contributes to the Families Commission's understanding of the social, economic, structural and cultural issues that impact on whānau. It identifies key issues and concepts relating to whānau resilience, and how access to and maximisation of these resources is critical for whānau wellbeing. The report provides a base document for the Commission to identify its advocacy, engagement and policy support role to empower whānau to access and maximise their resources as whānau and as citizens.

There is an ancient Whakatauki (proverb) that is used to describe voyaging into an unknown future. There are many versions and translations. The one used here was said to have been coined by our ancestors when they crossed the seas of the mighty Moana-nui-ā-Kiwa, the Pacific Ocean, when the skies were obscured by cloud making navigation difficult:

*Ko te pae tāwhiti, whaia ki a tata. Ko te pae tata whakamaua ki a tina.*

*Seek ye the distant horizon, the horizon which ever recedes, the horizon which causes dread, for on that path will lie our destiny.*

Such has been the journey of both Māori and Pākehā in the building of nationhood in Aotearoa.

# GLOSSARY

| MĀORI | ENGLISH |
|---|---|
| **Ahi kaa** | Iwi with long, unbroken occupation and authority in an area. It also refers to those who live within the tribal area as opposed to those who live outside of this |
| **Ao Māori** | The world of the Māori |
| **Hāngi** | Traditional underground steam cooking oven now available in stainless steel steamers |
| **Hapū** | Sub-tribe of an iwi and also means in child |
| **He ara ki mua** | The pathway ahead |
| **Hoa riri/Hoa whawhai** | Opponent |
| **Kahawai** | Fish commonly referred to as the sea water trout |
| **Kai** | Food |
| **Kaitiaki** | Trustee |
| **Kaitiakitanga** | Trusteeship or caregiving |
| **Kanohi ki te kanohi** | Face to face |
| **Kaumātua** | Older people of either gender |
| **Kaupapa** | Subject of, thought trend, platform |
| **Kaupapa whānau** | Family related thought trend, platform |
| **Kauri** | *Agathis australis*, a forest tree |
| **Kōhanga reo** | Total Māori immersion language pre-school nest or centre |
| **Ko tou rourou** | To increase the contribution each of us can make to the advancement of the Māori and to New Zealand as a whole. It is also an abbreviated version of a well-known Māori proverb |
| **Kōwhaiwhai** | Painted rafter design pattern |
| **Kura kaupapa Māori** | Follows on from the kōhanga reo and is a total immersion school that could go to Year 8 |
| **Iwi** | Tribe or clan but also a bone |
| **Mahinga kai** | Place where food is grown, food garden, also māra kai |
| **Mai** | Hither |
| **Mana** | Right and responsibility derived from spiritual sources, prestige |
| **Manaakitanga** | Act of looking after or entertaining someone |
| **Mana moana** | Right and responsibility, derived from spiritual sources, to maintain the hapū or tribal sea and manage it sustainably |
| **Mana whenua** | Right and responsibility, derived from spiritual sources, to maintain the hapū or tribal land and manage it sustainably |
| **Marae** | Traditional tribal and hapū meeting place or complex. There are now urban and some pan-Māori marae complexes |
| **Mātauranga Māori** | Traditional Māori knowledge |
| **Moana-nui-ā-Kiwa** | The Pacific Ocean |
| **Moki** | *Latridopsis ciliaris*, a fish |
| **Mokopuna** | Grand or great grandchildren |
| **Ngā** | Article which is the plural of te |
| **Ngā rā o mua** | The past, in days gone by |
| **Ngā Tamatoa** | Young warriors or the protest group who fought for the retention of te reo as well as for the Treaty of Waitangi etc |
| **Ngāi, Ngāti, Kāti** | Tribal prefixes |

| MĀORI | ENGLISH |
|---|---|
| **O** | Vowel or of |
| **Paepae** | Threshold, platform |
| **Pākehā** | Non-Māori or white-skinned people |
| **Papakāinga** | Earth floor or site of an old house but also adopted as a housing policy which allowed the building of houses on multiple-owned land with the house and not the land being able to be alienated |
| **Pēpeha** | Set words of charm, criticism or witticism |
| **Pō** | Night |
| **Poi** | Soft ball on end of string |
| **Pūaō-Te-Ata-Tū** | Daybreak or the first rays of dawn, the name given to the report of the Ministerial Advisory Committee on a Māori Perspective for the Department of Social Welfare |
| **Rangatahi** | Young people or youth |
| **Rangatiratanga** | Self-actualisation or self-governing |
| **Tangaroa** | God of the sea |
| **Tangata whenua** | People of the land or the host people |
| **Tangi** | Cry or the grieving process; also short for tangihana/funeral |
| **Taonga** | Highly prized object |
| **Taura here** | People who live outside their tribal territories who are urban-based and have organisations that network back to their tribally-based iwi. They are normally tribal-based |
| **Te** | The |
| **Te Puni Kōkiri** | The Ministry of Māori Development and a government agency for the development of policy and the processing of some funding |
| **Te reo** or **reo** | The Māori language |
| **Te reo me ōna tikanga** | The Māori language as the means of transferring the traditions |
| **Te Roopu Wāhine Māori Toko i te Ora** | Māori Women's Welfare League |
| **Tikanga** | Norms of behaviour, traditions |
| **Tinana** | Body |
| **Tīpuna** | Ancestor(s) |
| **Tukutuku** | Kiekie and pīngao decorative panel |
| **Tūrangawaewae** | Foothold in the earth, whānau or hapū or iwi base |
| **Tū Tangata** | To recognise the stance of the people, stand tall. Also a department of Māori Affairs developmental programme |
| **Waiata** | Song |
| **Whakapapa** | Genealogy or family tree |
| **Whakatauki** | Proverb, adage |
| **Whaka whāiti** | To harness the resources and strengths of all the people or to bring things together |
| **Whānau** | Family or to give birth |
| **Whanaunga** | Kin-based relative |
| **Whanaungatanga** | Kinship-based relationships |
| **Whānau ora** | Family wellbeing and in 2010, a government policy |
| **Whare kura** | Total immersion Māori language school that follows the kura kaupapa |
| **Whare mate** | House erected to house the dead during the tangihana ritual |
| **Whare nui** | Meeting house on a marae |
| **Whare puni** | Sleeping house on a marae |
| **Whare wānanga** | Place of advanced or tertiary learning |

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# IMAGE REFERENCES

**Cover:**

Sheet 1 from Te Tiriti o Waitangi/The Treaty of Waitangi
Department of Internal Affairs, Head Office [record group], Series 9
Archives New Zealand/Te Rua Mahara o te Kāwanatanga Wellington Office

**Page 26:**

A group of old Thornton Boys. Back: Maui Wiremu Piti Naera Pomare (1875/76?-1930), Archdeacon H Hawkins and Peter Henry Buck (1877?-1951). Front: Hamiora Hei, Apirana Turupa Ngata (1874-1950) and Reweti Tuhorouta Kohere (1871-1954).

ATL: F- 70852-1/2
Part of the T K Fitzgerald Collection, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand
Photographer unidentified

**Page 27:**

Celebrations at Putiki Pa to mark the return home of members of the World War I Māori (Pioneer) Battalion.

ATL: G- 20991-1/1
Part of the Tesla Studios Collection, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand
Photographer: Frank James Denton, 1869-1963

**Page 28:**

Return of the Māori Battalion showing soldiers marching led by Sir Eruera Tihema Te Aika Tirikatene (1895-1967).

ATL: F- 1645-1/4
Part of the John Pascoe Collection, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand
Photographer: John Dobree Pascoe, 1908-1972

**Page 29:**

View of women at the workbench of the dressmaking factory California Products Ltd, in Rotorua. The manageress is Mrs V Ellis, who is standing at the back and superintending.

Print from ATL: F- 33749-1/2
Archives: AAQT 6401, A11936
Part of National Publicity Studios Collection, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand
Photographer: Edward Percival Christensen, d 1982

**Page 34:**

Dame Whina Cooper and her grand-daughter Irenee Cooper set off on a dusty Far North road for Parliament. Irenee, only three years old at the time, remembers little of the march which swelled to 5000 people and covered more than 1100km. She does not recall the aching legs, the blisters and the wairua (spirit) of the Māori people who took the issue of Māori land alienation to Parliament. But as she and her venerable "nanny," Dame Whina, can attest, it is interesting how things move in circles.

Herald Archives, 14 September 1975, New Zealand.

**Page 35:**

Protesters and police during the occupation of Bastion Point in 1978.

Auckland Museum: RMN10-2
Photographer: R Morrison

**Page 36:**

Matiu Rata, 1934–1997. Labour Member of Parliament for Northern Māori, 1963–1980; Minister of Māori Affairs and Lands, 1972–1975. Resigned to form the Mana Motuhake Party in 1980; leader of Mana Motuhake from 1980–1993.

ATL: F- 21374-1/4
Part of the Evening Post Collection, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand
Photographer unidentified

**Page 42:**

Staff of the New Zealand Forest Service protest against government restructuring plans in the late 1980s. Despite opposition to what was termed the 'Beehive Horror Chainsaw Massacre', the department was disestablished in 1987, and many people lost their jobs.

Manawatu Standard, Nov 1986, p. 1, image # BG371.

**Page 67:**

Food being prepared for a hangi in Te Kaha. Original caption reads: "Fish ready to be gutted and cooked in the Māori hangi (oven of earth, stones and steam)."

ATL: F- 1074-1/4
Part of the John Pascoe Collection, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand
Photographer: John Dobree Pascoe, 1908-1972

**Page 71:**

Two members of the Waitangi Tribunal, Chief Judge Edward Taihakurei Durie (b 1940) (left) and Mr Paul Temm QC, seen during a visit to a kohanga reo (language nursery) at Waiwhetu, Lower Hutt. Seen with them are (from left) Harehana Pupuke (5), Awhina Woods (4), Tautoko Ratu (6), Matariki Puketapu (2), Benjamin Cowan (1), and Tame Ngaheke (5).

ATL: EP/1985/2942/15
Part of the Dominion Post Collection, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand
Photographer: John Nicholson, fl 1990s

**Page 88:**

Queen Elizabeth II, Queen of the United Kingdom (1926–) the Māori Queen, Dame Te Arikinui Te Atairangikaahu (1931–), the Prime Minister Jim (James Brendan) Bolger (1935–) (left), and Douglas Arthur Montrose Graham (1942–) (later Sir).

ATL: EP/1995/4375B/33A
Part of the Dominion Post Collection, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand
Photographer: John Nicholson, fl 1990s

**Page 88:**

Mr Charles Crofts (front row, 2nd from left) and Sir Tipene O'Regan (front row, 3rd from left), with other members of Ngāi Tahu at Parliament to witness the passage of the Ngāi Tahu settlement legislation.

ATL: EP/1998/3025/33
Part of the Dominion Post Collection, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand
Photographer: Craig Simcox, fl 1983



**Note:**
**ATL = Alexander Turnbull Library, National Library of New Zealand/Te Puna Mātauranga o Aotearoa**
**Archives = Archives New Zealand, Te Rua Mahara o te Kāwanatanga**

## Families Commission Kaupapa Māori Research Reports

*Whānau Strategic Framework/Anga Rautaki Ā-Whānau 2009–2012*. April 2010.

1/10 *Definitions of Whānau: A review of selected literature*. April 2010.

Reports are available on the Commission's website or contact the Commission to request copies:

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