

# TOWARDS A MĀORI WELLBEING ECONOMY: A REVIEW OF THE WHAI RAWA LITERATURE



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## INTRODUCTION

This report synthesises existing research from the Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga Whai Rawa work stream using an institutional analytical framework and capitals analysis designed to help inform the development of the WORK Research Programme. The WORK Programme has two key objectives: 1. building sustainable whānau livelihoods by developing the necessary knowledge that can be implemented by Māori institutions, iwi, hapū, and whānau, and can inform national policy for improving sustainable livelihoods for whānau; 2. and, transitioning to a Māori wellbeing economy, built on an understanding of the essential foundations of what constitutes a Māori wellbeing economy and how it can be implemented.

The first objective has several key elements, both of which hinge on Māori socio-political organisations (iwi, hapū, rūnanga, marae, and other Māori authorities) and the institutional framework – the human constraints across the spiritual, cultural, social, political, legal, and economic domains – in which they operate. In one direction is the impact these Māori organisations can have directly on whānau (acknowledging that whānau are both the focus of the outcomes and are also the agents of change). In the other direction is the influence Māori organisations can have on national policy. Both directions are mediated through a number of factors internal to the Māori organisations, including mana, rangatiratanga, kotahitanga and various other forms of what could be termed social, human, and cultural capital, along with financial, built, and natural capital, as well as their internal institutions. There are also wider external factors, such as the national institutional framework, the current situation of whānau, including their five capitals, as well as the central government context, such as ideology, policy, capacity etc.

Objective two is focused on what constitutes a Māori wellbeing economy, how it can be implemented (including the most achievable and impactful elements) and what outcomes this provides. This objective hinges on understanding the institutional framework within which a wellbeing economy can be established, from the guiding principles and values through to the more formal, technical, and specific institutions that provide the day-to-day operational framework and on what existing capitals can be harnessed for this purpose, what capitals need to be increased and how this can be done to aid the creation of a wellbeing economy, as well as the ways in which these capitals will be grown and distributed by the wellbeing economy.

While there are a number of ways in which these objectives could be broken up or categorised, as is clear from the above, the approach taken here is essentially dual in nature. The first analytical device used is institutions and the second is capitals. Both of these can be found in the Whai Rawa literature, though they by no means dominate. Rather, they have been selected because together they are seen as providing a holistic framework with many potential composite components, ensuring both a broad scope and a high degree of granularity. While they do not cover the entire potentiality of the topic they are seen to deliver as comprehensive framework as possible without excessive convolvement or complexity. Each will be outlined using references from the Whai Rawa literature in the next section, but the basic structure of the analytical framework is as follows.

The report is divided up into five main sections: traditional Māori institutions; colonisation; contemporary settler institutions; contemporary Māori institutions; and the wellbeing economy. Where relevant or possible these sections are then divided into different categories of institutions: socio-cultural, economic, legal, political, organisational. In some cases these are further divided up, e.g. political into governance, leadership, and decision-making. Institutions, then, form the main structuring device of the report. The five capitals are used where relevant throughout the report to provide another analytical lens, with the aim of providing another consistent method of examination that has relevance to the objectives of the WORK Programme.

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### *Institutions*

Institutions form a useful framework for examining the Whai Rawa literature in terms of exploring avenues of research that can aid in creating a wellbeing economy for whānau. This form of economic analysis is maligned by most mainstream economists, but there is a growing interest as it provides ways of examining and understanding ‘economics’ that are relatively culturally-contextualised rather than the falsely ‘acultural’ approach of neoclassical economics.

As a concept institutions are extremely broad. Quoting North, Rout et al. (2017, 860) explain “institutions are ‘the rules of the game in a society or, more formally, are the humanly devised constraints that shape human interactions’ and can be either formal (constitutions, laws, etc.) or informal (norms, customs, mores, traditions, etc.)” Formal institutions are openly codified, in the sense that they are established and communicated through channels that are widely accepted as official and, in the contemporary era, usually written down. Informal institutions are socially shared rules, usually unwritten, that are created, communicated, and enforced outside of officially sanctioned channels. However, as Rout and Reid (2019, 20) explain, “[w]hile the terms ‘formal’ and ‘informal’ are often used as if they are mutually exclusive categories, it is more helpful to see them on a continuum. At one end are the most highly prescriptive, detailed, and specific written rules that a society may codify, while at the other – beyond even the informal institutions themselves – is the underlying general cognitive orientation of a society, the base framework through which they understand reality, and which informs their culture and all of the institutions.” Institutions run from the fundamental presuppositions of worldview through to the highly specific and particular rules and norms that inform most aspects of life.

Institutional economics understands that institutions structure incentives in human exchange, whether political, social, or economic; in other words, ‘institutions define and limit the set of choices of individuals. In institutional economics, there are four common levels of analysis in the literature: “the highest is social embeddedness, taking in the norms, customs, mores and traditions, the next level down is the ‘formal rules of the game’, such as laws, the third level is the ‘play of the game’, including contracts, and finally the bottom level is the market, where the exchange of goods and services is regulated by supply and demand” (Rout et al. 2017, 861). These levels can be broadly generalised as encapsulating, from highest to lowest, social-cultural, political, legal and economic institutions. For the purposes of this analysis, organisational institutions have also been added.

Use of institutional economics to examine a Māori wellbeing economy may seem to risk reducing or reframing the work within a Western paradigm but Rout and Reid (2019, 6) argue that this “economic theory is transcultural and provides a framework for investigating and revealing the different economic structures of diverse cultures.” As they (Rout and Reid 2019, 6) note, “[a]t its most basic, institutional economics makes two simple assumptions, both which show why it is transcultural. The first is that economies operate through culturally-specific institutions. These institutions include social norms, rules of conduct, modes of exchanges, and methods of governance. The second assumption is that different cultures have different institutions, and as such the way they work will be different.” Rout and Reid (2019, 6) believe that “to reveal the way in which the economy of a particular culture operates it is necessary to explore the rules of acting and doing that the culture follows when engaging in economic activity. This is essentially what a kaupapa Māori approach to research demands – the explication of Māori ways of understanding, seeing, and doing to reveal Māori kaupapa.”

Decades of research by Cornell and Kalt has shown the importance of what they refer to as culturally-matched institutions for Indigenous economic development (Rout and Reid et al. 2019; Wolfgramm et al. 2020). As Cornell and Kalt (quoted in Rout and Reid 2019, 26) explain, “to be effective and productive of economic progress, formal institutions of government require [a] widely shared extra-constitutional agreement” that is culturally grounded. Cornell and Kalt (quoted in Rout and Reid 2019, 25) provide four key directives for achieving indigenous economic development:

- “Sovereignty Matters. When Native nations make their own decisions about what development approaches to take, they consistently out-perform external decision makers on matters as diverse as governmental form, natural resource management, economic development, health care, and social service provision.
- Institutions Matter. For development to take hold, assertions of sovereignty must be backed by capable institutions of governance. Nations do this as they adopt stable decision rules, establish fair and independent mechanisms for dispute resolution, and separate politics from day-to-day business and program management.
- Culture Matters. Successful economies stand on the shoulders of legitimate, culturally grounded institutions of self-government. Indigenous societies are diverse; each nation must

equip itself with a governing structure, economic system, policies, and procedures that fit its own contemporary culture.

- Leadership Matters. Nation building requires leaders who introduce new knowledge and experiences, challenge assumptions, and propose change. Such leaders, whether elected, community, or spiritual, convince people that things can be different and inspire them to take action.”

As Rout and Reid (2019, 26) summarise, “to deliver economic and social development institutions must not only be pragmatically efficient and effective (possible) but they must also be perceived as culturally congruent (proper).” Wolfgramm et al. (2020, 18) note that interest in “institutions, political contexts, social structures and values systems influencing Māori economies” has been growing, and recently “an Indigenous economic renaissance is driving renewed interest in native nations’ economies.” Exploring the Whai Rawa literature through an institutional lens provides a broad, near-comprehensive, scope, particularly when capitals framing is also included.

### Capitals

The concept of capitals, plural, refers to different forms of wealth, and is a key component in the New Zealand Treasury’s Living Standards Framework where they are understood as the assets that generate wellbeing. The notion of ‘five capitals’ has been gaining currency as it expands the traditionally narrow focus of Western economics from financial and built capital to consider natural, social, and human capitals. ‘Financial capital’ generally refers to money, while built – or manufactured – capital, which is often considered as subset of financial capital, is material goods or fixed assets. Human capital refers to “people’s knowledge, skills and motivation” and natural capital is “all the world’s natural resources” (Rout et al. 2017, 860). Social capital is “the networks which help maintain human capital such as families, communities” (Rout et al. 2017, 860). Henry et al. (2018a, 122) provide a more in depth outline: “social capital has three dimensions: “Its structural dimension refers to the network and patterns of connections. The relational dimension accounts for personal acquaintances and social ties. Finally, the cognitive dimension of social capital describes shared systems of meanings, language, and common thinking processes”. To these five capitals a sixth is now being added, cultural capital. Henry et al. (2018a, 121) explain that cultural capital has three forms: “embodied state, which includes individual dispositions of one’s mind and body. Its second form, the objectified state, refers to cultural artifacts and products of society and includes a culture’s native languages. Finally, its third form, the institutionalized state, relates to higher-order symbolic factors or matters of policy, such as institutions, educational



qualifications, and particular titles related to nobility.” Cultural capital aligns with institutions. Culturally-matched institutions can be viewed as building and facilitating cultural capital, which can aid further growth in other capitals.

There is a risk, as Rout et al. (2019, 13) identify, that use of the capitals concept could “couch this discussion in econometric language.” However, as they (Rout et al. 2019, 13) note they are “widely understood and accepted... [and] they provide significant conceptual reach, so long as their limitations are understood.” Rout et al. (2019, 13) explain that from an Indigenous perspective, “these capitals are seen more as nested, interacting spheres with natural capital encompassing all”, while social, human and cultural capitals are “the next layer down as a subset of natural capital, and financial [and built are] in the middle” as an abstraction of natural, social, human, and cultural capital. In contrast, the Western view is of these capitals as separate and discrete entities. While there are risks, there are also useful convergences. After referencing Hēnare’s four wellbeings – spiritual, environmental, kinship, and economic – Rout et al. (2019) highlight how the capitals align with these wellbeings, with economic wellbeing matching financial and built capital, environmental wellbeing fitting with natural capital, and spiritual and kinship wellbeing encompassing social, human, and cultural capital. There is a useful synergy between the capitals concept and wellbeing.

### *Socio-cultural*

#### **Worldview**

A worldview is the primary frame through which a group of people understand reality, it is “the way people characteristically look out on the universe” (Rout et al. 2018, 14). Mikaere (quoted in Rout et al. 2018, 14) explains how the Māori worldview “provides the lens through which we view our world. It determines the way in which we relate to one another and to all other facets of creation. It enables us to explain how we came to be here and where we are going. It forms the very core of our identity.” It can also be understood as the primary or foundational set of institutions, the base presuppositions, beliefs, and axioms that shape and constrain the way a group of people think and act.

Te ao Māori, or the Māori worldview, is referenced in much of the literature. Hēnare (2015, 81) explains that “Indigenous worldviews transmit certain crucial features. First, myth and legends are neither fables nor fireside stories; rather, they are deliberate constructs employed by the ancient seers and sages to encapsulate and condense into easily assimilated forms their views of the world, of ultimate reality, and of the relationships between the Creator, the universe, and humanity. Worldviews, then, are at the heart of Māori culture, touching, interacting with, and strongly influencing every aspect of it.” Wolfgramm (2016, 16) describes how the “Māori worldview is a belief in life forces and their significance in society and nature. Māori see themselves as descendants of spiritual powers in a physical and spiritual universe.”

For, Hēnare (2015, 77) humanism and reciprocity lie at the heart of Māori philosophy. It is also a philosophy of vitalism, as embodied by the interactive life forces of tapu, mana, mauri, hau, and wairua (Hēnare 2015). Artelle et al. (2018) characterise the Māori worldview as ‘place-based’, explaining “Place-based peoples, those with deep and lengthy connections to their local environments, have ways of life that have shaped, and have in turn been shaped by, the places they inhabit. Place-based peoples typically have an extensive knowledge of their environment’s ecological limits developed through generations of learning by observation and trial and error, and hold values, i.e., guiding principles and protocols that dictate proper conduct, and knowledge that safeguard against exceeding such limits.” Artelle et al. (2018) identify several key components of the Māori worldview emphasised in these other definitions – relatedness, respect, and reciprocity.

On relatedness, they (Artelle et al. 2018) explain that “inter-relatedness is not only with other species but also with the land itself.... The connection, embeddedness, identity, and other corollaries of a deep inter-relationship with species and places inherently leads to supportive, nurturing, and protective relationships.” Spiller et al. (2011a, 155) explain how “Indigenous perspectives offer important insights into a multi-dimensional ‘woven universe’ ... which has not broken tradition with the ‘living web of the world’ and kinship with all of creation.” As they (Spiller et al. 2011, 155) continue, showing how this relational view connects with reciprocity: “Māori values advance a relational view of the world that rests upon a profound commitment to developing reciprocal relationships of respect.” Quoting Royal, Spiller and Stockdale (2012, 9) explain that Māori “traditional knowledge and traditional institutions were constructed upon the idea that humankind is born from the earth, that we live within a set of kinship relationships with all life, particularly with the earth and her bounty.” Rout et al. (2018, 15) identify relatedness as a fundamental aspect of the Māori worldview, noting that “at its very core it is premised on the primacy of whakapapa.” As Reid and Rout (2018, 289) explain, “indigenous people describe their emotional, embodied experience of place as the sense of belonging in a ‘family’ that extends beyond humans to include nonhuman entities such as whales, oceans, birds, and forests.” Philosophically, Hēnare (2015, 81-82) explains, “Māori do not see themselves as separate from nature, humanity, and the natural world, being direct descendants of Earth Mother. Thus, the resources of the earth do not belong to humankind; rather, humans belong to the earth.” Ruwhiu and Elkin (2016, 311) also highlight the holistic Māori view of reality, explaining te ao Māori is “interconnected, both physically, spiritually and philosophically.” The “association of land to whakapapa, or networks of familial relationships, both human and non-human, underscores Māori relational epistemology connecting the natural to the cultural world, and acting as an ordering principle that links past, present, and future generations (Amoamo et al. 2018a 481).

Respect is built on this understanding of whakapapa. Artelle et al. (2018) explain how for Māori, “respectful relationships among other people, species, and the broader environment are of central importance, with laws and stories of retribution for disrespectful actions known and understood from an early age.” Artelle et al. (2018) explain, respect “relates not only to human relatives but also to the broader environment. The right to use a resource is often contingent on the responsibility to maintain it, protect it, and honor it.” As Amoamo et al. (2018a 481) explain, “[t]he bonds of kinship amongst Māori are thus inherently linked to land and resources and as such raise important cultural implications when these are used for non-traditional commercial ends.”

Humans do not own the resources of the world, but rather they have ‘user rights’, which are recorded in the narratives that make up whakapapa, which functions as a taxonomic framework (Hēnare 2015). As Hēnare (2015, 85) explains, “With the idea of land and environment as gifts, glossed in Māori as taonga, go duties and the responsibility of guardianship.” A set of rules that guide humanity’s interaction with nature emerge from the Māori worldview. These are: “a reverence for the total creation as one whole, a sense of kinship with other beings, a sacred regard for the whole of nature and its resources as being gifts from the spiritual powers, a sense of responsibility for these gifts (taonga) as the appointed stewards and guardians....and a sense of commitment to safeguard natural resources for future generations” (Hēnare 2015, 91). As Nicholson et al. (2019, 34) outline: “Indigenous philosophies stress kinship with all of creation and a sense of sacred ecology. Well-being, in an Indigenous sense, is related to all aspects of creation. Indigenous cultures recognize and revere their physical and spiritual ties to the Earth and the environment that sustains them. The universe and life are a unified system where the well-being of humans is intimately connected to the wellbeing of ecosystems that sustain human and nonhuman life. Therefore, humankind belong to each other and to the rest of creation; serving others is to serve one’s extended self”.

Reciprocity is based on relatedness and respect, it requires all relationships to be mutually beneficial and balanced, from economic exchange to inhabitation of land and use of natural resources. As The Māori worldview “values balanced relationships between kin” (Rout et al. 2018, 16). “Restoring balance is an essential focus of the Māori world view”, Rout et al. (2018, 16) explain, “if an action creates imbalance then this must be counteracted to return equilibrium.” Ruwhiu et al. (2019,10) explain “people reciprocate not only with one another but with the land and the spirit world.” Reciprocity in relationships is a fundamental principle of the Māori worldview, it is the means by which equilibrium is maintained, and relatedness is respected across all interactions. As Hēnare (2015), Reid and Rout (2018), Rout and Reid (2019) and Wolfgramm et al. (2020) amongst many note, a number of the core Māori concepts, including utu, mana, hau, and mauri, encourage reciprocal interactions amongst humans and between humans and the natural world. Hēnare (2015, 91) identifies “a distinctive economic ethic of reciprocity” that drives all exchanges, which will be discussed in a later section.

The Māori worldview provides the fundamental set of institutions through which all Māori life can be understood. Across the literature there is agreement on both the centrality of the Māori worldview and the core aspects or presuppositions that form it. There are a number of other

interrelated concepts that need to be explored to provide further depth and breadth, including values, mātauranga, life forces, tikanga and kaupapa.

### Values

The term 'values' is difficult in regard to Māori 'values' as they might be better termed 'ethics' in that they are not passive principles but rather demand people actively embody them. However, it is a term with currency and will be used here. Hēnare (2015, 91) lists a number of Māori values that he sees as lying at the core of regulating human behaviour, with each other and the natural world: "kinship (whanaungatanga), which stresses the primacy of kinship bonds in determining action and the importance of genealogy in establishing rights and status compassion (arohatanga), which is a basis for peaceful co existence hospitality (manaakitanga), which is a desirable character trait of generosity, care-giving, or compassion, and is generally about establishing one's mana reciprocity (utu), which concerns the maintenance of harmony and balance, and of mana." Similarly, Houkamau (2019, 210) describes the core cultural values as "respect for whakapapa (genealogical ties), whānaungatanga (family, relationships and interdependence) and kōtahitanga (collective wellbeing and unity). To uphold these, a complex system of tikanga Māori (Māori traditional rules, lore and customs) existed for each tribe and when it came to land, the concept of kaitiakitanga (guardianship, responsibility and commitment to land and natural resources) was a particularly important concept." Referencing Gallagher, Houkamau and Sibley (2019, 121-122) describe "the core values that underpin the totality of tikanga Māori. These include whanaungatanga (relationships, mainly based on whakapapa, i.e. genealogy); mana (prestige, authority, control, power, influence, status); tapu and noa (rules about what is sacred, prohibited or restricted), manaakitanga (generosity, caring for others and compassion) and utu (reciprocity)." Ruwhiu and Elkin (2016, 313) list four key values that underpin the Māori worldview:

- Manaakitanga: the quality of caring, kindness, hospitality and showing respect for others. It reflects an expected standard of behaviour, an ideal that one should aspire to.
- Whanaungatanga: the collective interdependence between and among humankind, reflecting social relationality between all people.
- Wairuatanga: respecting the spiritual relationship to the 'gods' and the cosmos. Action must not damage the wairua/spirit of anything in the cosmos.
- Kaitiakitanga: acknowledgement that humans are guardians of the environment. Caring for and protecting the natural environment, because we are intertwined.

**Māori values work in unison, as with the holistic worldview of te ao Māori, these values cannot be considered separately and almost like ingredients in a recipe they can be mixed and matched in a number of ways depending on the situation to which they are being applied.** For example, Kawharu et al. (2017, 21) believe that two core values guide “adaptation, transformation, ‘self-repair and self-organisation’ in the Māori world... : mana or appeals to power, rights and authority and which derive from genealogical descent, and manaaki or the duty of care and service that derive from kinship connections between people.” This does not dismiss other values, but rather emphasises those of most utility to the particular context to which they are referring. This is common across the literature, where the same core values are referenced in different lists that reflect the purpose they are being deployed for.

### Life forces

Hēnare (2015) refers to the ‘life forces’ of mauri, mana, tapu, hau, and wairua. Ruwhiu and Elkin (2016, 313) provide a useful summary of these, referencing Hēnare: “‘tapu’, which recognises the essential potency of those things held to be sacred; ‘mana’, a religious power, authority and ancestral efficacy emerging in the social world; ‘mauri’, the energy that animates all living organisms; ‘wairua’, depicted as a spirit akin to a soul and all things in creation have one; and ‘hau’ described as a complex totalising system of exchange beginning with the gods, creation and social relationships.” Also referencing Hēnare, Henry and Wolfgramm (2018, 208) outline that “[t]apu that is considered the sacred and sacrosanct often denoted as an intrinsic power imbued at the moment of creation, mauri described as the life force, the intrinsic essence of a person, process or object, and hau, denoted here as reciprocity transmitted through gift giving. These concepts are made explicit in this integrative Maori leadership ontology and elucidate ways of being in relation.” Similarly, Spiller and Stockdale (2012, 7) discuss the five ‘energies’ connected to te ao Māori: “whakapapa (genealogies), wairua (spirituality), mana (inherited and endowed authority), mauri (life force) and hau (reciprocity).” Referencing Gallagher, Rout and Reid (2019, 11) describe mana as “having three sources: “mana atua – God given power; mana tupuna – power handed down from by one’s ancestors; and mana tangata – authority derived from personal attributes.” **These life forces can be seen as the vitality of the Māori cosmos, animating everything and shaping, informing, and measuring relationships amongst humans and between humans and nature.**

### Mātauranga

“Emerging from the Māori world view and built through the ongoing application of these operating principles to new situations,” Rout et al. (2018, 19) explain, “mātauranga Māori can be most simply described as Māori knowledge.” More precisely, “it is both knowledge and process: mātauranga Māori is a method for generating knowledge, and it is also all the knowledge generated according to that method” (Rout et al. 2018, 19). Traditionally, mātauranga was communicated orally, for Māori “history (of people, events and places) and values were customarily recorded and carefully transmitted orally within a kin-community. Oral recitation meant that specific ideas, messages or values were transmitted, and importantly, imbedded in people’s thinking and behaviour” (Kawharu et al. 2017, 23). Pio et al. (2012, 211) connect values with knowledge and wisdom, explaining that “[v]alues contain relational wisdom that has been forged in a participatory relationship with the world through the ages—and transmitted from one generation to another as taonga tuku iho, precious knowledge handed down by ancestors. Each generation reflexively engages with practicing these values to support the creation of multidimensional relational well-being.” Kawharu et al. (2017, 23) link mātauranga with whakapapa, noting that the latter was “a way of framing information and knowledge that descends from the ancestors.” As they (Kawharu et al. 2017, 23) continue, whakapapa is “the accumulation of layers of associated knowledge and events, providing a multi-levelled worldview, a way of thinking maintained by the tohunga. It is an organizing principle, connecting the vertical continuum of time past with time present, and time future; connecting past ancestors and spiritual beings with the living: in essence connecting kin-communities to their non-material and material worlds.” **Mātauranga includes both kaupapa and tikanga as these emerge from and also shape mātauranga Māori.** “While it is shaped by the Māori world view and the operating principles, as these determine how Māori perceive reality to be including what is regarded as actual, probable, possible or impossible, mātauranga is also rigorous in ensuring it has a verisimilitude to observable reality” (Rout et al. 2018, 19).

### Tikanga and kaupapa

The Māori worldview generates a set of ‘operational institutions’, “from which stem rules and methods for decision making and action-taking that realise those principles, specifically kaupapa and tikanga (Rout et al. 2018). Rout et al. (2018, 17) quotes Marsden, who explains that kaupapa and tikanga “are juxtaposed and interconnected in Māori thinking.” “Kaupapa is the foundational source of guidance with tikanga as the way in which these rules and principles are put into action, though unless the decision or action is contentious, “there is no need to appeal to original kaupapa” (Rout et al. 2018, 17). As Ruwhiu and Elkin (2016, 313) explain, kaupapa Māori is “a term used to describe traditional Maori ways of doing, being and thinking that is informed by

collective and intergenerational wisdom embodied by Te Ao Māori.” Kaupapa are foundational, while tikanga “have been handed down through many generations and accepted as a reliable and appropriate way of achieving and fulfilling certain objectives and goals” (Marsden in Rout et al. 2018, 17). These “proven methods together with their accompanying protocols are integrated into the general cultural institutions of the society and incorporated into the cultural system of standards, values, attitudes and beliefs” (Marsden in Rout et al. 2018, 17).

### **Economic**

The traditional Māori economy “embodied Te Ao Māori” (Ruwhiu et al. 2019, 10). “At the heart of a Māori economic approach is a sense of belonging that emerges from a deeply relational view of the world, a view which holds that all people are called into being through relationships” (Pio et al. 2012, 211). It was built on the understanding that relationships were central because “as these relationships progress each entity shapes the other in meaningful ways” (Reid and Rout 2016, 429). Ruwhiu et al. (2019, 9) expand on this, noting how economic activity was “deeply embedded in the worldview (which therefore informs the central cultural values, sustains customary social relationships, defines identities, and shapes personal and cultural well-being); and, an approach that values ‘accumulation of sharing’ (equitable distribution of wealth amongst the community).” Rout and Reid (2019) describe it as a spiritually-infused economy. It was an economy “characterised by interdependence and reciprocity” where people reciprocate not only with one another but “with the land and the spirit world” (Ruwhiu et al. 2019, 9). Economic exchange was not just a means of gaining goods or services, but it also helped hold society together politically and spiritually (Rout and Reid 2019). **It was primarily an economy that used cultural and human capital to grow social capital. Social capital was the main asset and currency of the traditional economy, financial capital was non-existent. Built capital can be considered any and all ‘products’ extracted or constructed from natural capital. Built capital was subservient and restrained by social and natural capital considerations.**

The Māori economy was not a separate ‘market’ but rather was enmeshed in wider social, cultural, environmental, and spiritual considerations – it was entrenched in the wider institutions. As Rout et al. (2018, 13) explain, “Even the use of the term ‘economy’ is problematic from an Indigenous perspective. In the contemporary Western world, the concept of economy has seen exchange increasingly separated from the society and wider context within which it occurs.” Hēnare (quoted in Rout et al. 2019, 13) explains that “the economy is embedded in society and the values of that society inform the economy.” “Traditional activities of production, accumulation and



distribution,” Ruwhiu et al. (2019, 9) note, “occurred bound by a culturally constituted frame of reference that provided for connection between and within the generations and extended families, in a complex network of associations, rights and obligations”. “For Māori, like other Indigenous peoples, an economy is not only completely inseparable from their wider society, it should also be subservient to their society’s values, beliefs, and goals” (Rout et al. 2018, 13). Furthermore, as the human and natural worlds are intrinsically entwined, the economy is understood as being ecologically embedded. **All forms of capital are seen as embedded in and emerging out of natural capital.** As Hēnare (quoted in Rout et al. 2019, 13) details, “economics exists in the ecology, and not the other way around.” Referencing Hēnare and Spiller, Rout and Reid (2019) refer to the traditional economy as both a ‘moral economy’ and an ‘economy of affection’, outlining how as well as being a socially-embedded economy it was an economy infused with the spiritual. **The primary purpose of the traditional Māori economy was not profit or growth but rather social cohesion, resource distribution, value alignment and spiritual fulfilment. As a set of institutions its primary purpose was to increase social capital through the application of human and cultural capital to natural capital.** Ruwhiu et al. (2019, 9) describe it as a “traditional and localised system of exchange, where the primary activity was not exchange for profit or competition but the sustenance of individuals, families and community.” Because of the social organisational structure, “family interdependence and economic wellbeing were not experienced as separate entities” (Houkamau 2019, 210). Because the ‘economy’ was socially and spiritually embedded, the concept of ‘work’ as distinct from other activities was not really made in the traditional economy (Rout and Reid 2019). While there were tasks that were largely work-oriented these always entwined with other aspects of life, from creativity to leisure to sociability or spirituality. In particular, the spiritual infused virtually everything traditional Māori did (Rout and Reid 2019).

In terms of the mechanics of exchange of goods and services, Rout and Reid (2019, 8-9) explain, “the traditional economy was largely based on reciprocal exchange... [and that] reciprocal economic exchange can be seen as naturally emerging from a “worldview that sees relationships as fundamental.” The primary institution through which this occurred was utu. “Utu regulated the relations between individuals and groupings”, Rout and Reid (2019, 11) note, through “mutual obligation and an implicit keeping of social accounts: A favour bestowed, which increased the mana of the donor, required an eventual favour in return from the recipient.” Often referred to as a ‘gift economy’ this phrase does not provide the nuance or depth needed to cover how these exchanges worked. Rout and Reid (2019, 9) divide it along two spectrums: “One spectrum

delineates the main driver of the exchange, with utilitarian ‘barter’ at one end and ‘gifting’ as a form of social obligation at the other.” The second spectrum is focused on the group dynamics, with exchange between individuals and whānau at one end, the hierarchical and centralised ‘redistribution’ exchange within a hapū in the middle, and the flat inter-hapū ‘dispersal’ exchange at the other. While the traditional Māori economy had examples of exchanges along both spectrums, gifting rather than barter was certainly the most common form of exchange while the intergroup hapū exchange was likely the most common. Rout and Reid (2019, 8-9) note that “barter exchange was most likely used for small trades between individuals and long distance trades of highly prized commodities.”

Rout and Reid (2019, 9) detail how “mutual benefit was the key motivator in most exchanges between individuals and groups in Māori society. The majority of traditional Māori life was regulated by a set of obligations; that is, the understanding that a transaction obliged the receiver at a future date to provide an item or service of equal or greater ‘value’ back to the giver.” Two of the most important components of exchange were “the delay in making the return and the obligation to give more than an equivalent [as they] produce a continuing state of imbalance in relations between the individuals or groups concerned... [creating] a see-sawing of obligation and hence of mana from one to the other which lasts for many years and many generations.” In this way, the traditional Māori economy created and maintained social bonds; however, this form of exchange can also be seen in a more utilitarian manner as well, as Rout and Reid (2019, 11) explain: “This encouraged production increases and the accumulation and circulation of wealth... ‘gifting’ might be better thought of as an investment with future returns.” **Critically, the seesawing of obligations driven by mana not only bound society together but encouraged mutually-beneficial growth rather than zero-sum exchanges. Because social capital is not finite – or at least mutually-exclusive – and exchanges can be conducted where both parties exit with more social capital, it can maintain a mutually-beneficial economy.**

Rout and Reid (2019) refer to mana as the ‘currency’ of the traditional Māori economy, or the “the medium of exchange.” As a form of currency mana “encouraged more to be gifted than received as this increased mana. There was an ongoing demand to return gifts ‘with interest’ and, in turn, maintain and grow mana (Rout and Reid 2019, 11). It was the “type of economy where the relations of production are based on kinship and in which the mechanisms of redistribution tend to play a levelling role amongst the members of a given community” (Rout and Reid 2019, 9). **This is an important component, in the traditional economy, ‘profit’ came from the amount you gave**

**rather than the amount you had, social capital grew through distribution rather than accumulation.** Consequently, the wealth held by chiefs was not much in excess of that of other tribal members (Rout and Reid 2019). The key difference lay in the “reservoir of goods, skills, and labour that was obligated to them and which could be called upon as and when necessary” (Rout and Reid 2019, 12). **A chief’s position was premised on their reservoirs or social and human capital, as well as their mana over natural capital.** The chiefly sign of status was linked to the amount of wealth that ‘passed through their hands,’ which could be directed (e.g. in the case of obligated labour) as needed into productive activities (Rout and Reid 2019).

Rout and Reid (2019, 13) note that “while much is made of the collective nature of traditional Māori society, there is evidence that there was a relative degree of individual liberty regarding exchanges.” Likewise, as Pio et al. (2012, 210) explain, Māori had “well-established protocols for the conduct of trade to meet the needs of the individual and the collective.” Quoting Petrie, they (Rout and Reid 2019, 13) explain how “individuals generally enjoyed a high level of personal autonomy and participated in the kin-based economy on a voluntary basis. Mutual benefit was the key motivator... Ties of kinship bound communities together, but the strength of cohesion and degree of control exercised by the leaders depended upon their personality, powers of persuasion, and economic wealth... Personal autonomy gave individuals the freedom to pursue their own economic initiatives, but if incentives of security were present, that individual’s gains in terms of skill or wealth were typically shared with the wider group.” **While the collective was of central importance, this was not so strict and doctrinaire as to restrict individual freedom and liberty to pursue their own interests in certain contexts.**

### *Legal*

The key legal institution considered in the literature is take whenua, or traditional Māori property rights. As Rout et al. (2018, 21) warn, “[p]roviding a succinct summary of Māori take whenua, or property rights before contact is not easy because they were complex in their delineation and varied in their application both geographically and temporally”. “Traditional Māori land rights are best defined as resource user rights and while individuals, whānau and hapū used the resources, it was the chief who was the arbiter of who got to use the resources” (Rout and Reid 2019, 14). As an institution, “The land and water over which the chiefs expressed authority was an extension of their personal mana” (Rout et al. 2018, 23). ‘User rights’ is a technical term that does not capture the relationship Māori had, and have, with nature, but it is the most accurate English phrase. As Metge (quoted in Rout et al. 2019, 23) explains “Māori view belonging as a two-way affair. They

belong to the territory as much as it belongs to them.” **Natural capital was not an asset, it was not financial capital but rather aspects of natural capital could be converted into built capital, though this was always a means rather than an end.** “Rather than having rights to a single territory from which they could gather resources, an individual, whānau, hapū, and iwi had overlapping areas from which they could hunt, harvest, fish, etc.” (Rout et al. 2018). Furthermore, the resources were often held at the level best suited to their harvesting, hunting or fishing methods and equipment, with easy to gather resources held by whānau and individuals, like picking berries from a tree, and more complex resources, like certain fish that required seine nets, at hapū (Rout et al. 2018). Generally speaking, resources were functional rather than territorial, a person did not own a zone of space but instead owned the right to use a particular resource in a particular way (Rout et al. 2018). The user rights regime was incredibly nuanced and layered, the same tree might be used by one whānau for fowling while another family might hold the right to gather berries from it. Land boundaries also existed, indicating where the user rights of one hapū ended and another began, with these boundaries serving as a form of defence from resource expropriation (Rout et al. 2018). As Tau and Rout (2018, 98) outline, “Rather than use the term “customary title,” it may be better to view Māori land before the land was converted to Crown title as “extra legal tribal title”—tribal land beyond the law, with the qualification that within the tribe, custom was the law, *consuetudo pro lege servatur*. These terms take into account the fact that Māori were capable of developing their own laws and customs upon their land, laws and customs that were both rooted in tradition but also dynamic enough to evolve with the commercial and economic changes that were being imposed on the lands surrounding them.”

## *Political*

### **Leadership**

**Māori leadership was persuasive rather than coercive, based on consensus rather than orders** (Rout and Reid 2019). Much of the delineation of traditional leadership came from the fundamental role that mana played. The dynamic tripartite nature of mana is critical to its role in leadership as it “explains the dynamics of Māori status and leadership and the lines of accountability between leaders and their people” (Gallagher quoted in Rout and Reid 2019, 11). “Mana, in all three forms, was the source of political authority, yet it was also an expression of [a chief’s] authority. A chief’s mana grew because of their ability to allocate resources but they also had mana, or the ultimate control, over the resources – with the land and water of a hapū (most commonly) as an extension of their own personal mana” (Rout and Reid 2019, 14). Mana was the ‘currency of power’, a significant enough loss of chiefly mana would mean a loss of power.

Ongoing authority was based on competence, with a degree of this premised on the chief's ability to allocate resources (Rout and Reid 2019, 14). **Traditional leadership was partly based on the interaction between human and social capital, in that personal competence led to strong relationships and networks that provided legitimacy in leadership. It was also based on their mana over natural capital and their personal competence at converting natural capital into built capital, whilst respecting cultural capital.**

Etymology provides insight into the traditional way leadership was understood. As Henry and Wolfgramm (2018, 208) explain: “Consideration of the Maori word most associated with leader, rangatira provides insight. Ranga is the root word of raranga, which is to weave or plait, and tira can be a group, a company of travellers, or it can refer to rays or beams of light. As a noun, a rangatira is a chief, male or female who demonstrates the ability to weave diverse groups of people together... Ra is associated with light and is also the word for sun, ‘nga’ refers to pluralities, ‘i’ to divine energy, which underpins the word ‘tira’, and ‘a’ to the impact of light on growth. Rangatira is therefore associated with light, growth, chameleon like ways of both being and doing as a leader and with divine energy consistent with the association of mana atua with leadership.”

Quoting Bennet, Ruwhiu and Elkin (2016, 311) outline what it means to be a rangatira: “te kai a te rangatira he korero, the food of the rangatira is talk; te tohu o te rangatira, he manaaki, the sign of a rangatira is being able to look after others, generosity; te mahi a te rangatira he whakatira i te iwi, the work of the rangatira is binding the iwi.” Māori leadership “embodies Te Ao Māori, the Māori world” (Ruwhiu and Elkin 2016, 311).

While rangatira are the most commonly identified leaders, Winiata's classical model of leaders in Maori society outlines “ariki (highborn chiefs), rangatira (often acknowledged tribal and pan tribal leaders,) tohunga (experts) and kaumātua (elders)” (Henry and Wolfgramm 2018, 208). “Traditional Māori leaders such as ariki, rangatira, tōhunga, kaumātua were charged with developing the cultural competency of members of their iwi, hapū and whānau” (Mika et al. 2019, 302). **In some ways this division can be seen as arbitrary, but rangatira can be seen as expressing social capital, while as experts tohunga embodied the human capital, and kaumātua maintained the cultural capital.**

## Organisational

Houkamau (2019, 210) provides a good overview of traditional Māori organisational institutions: “according to kinship groupings (formed on the basis of whakapapa/genealogical descent). Whānau (family and extended family) were a vital social unit and usually included three generations of family members who lived together in defined home areas (kainga). Extended whānau amalgamated to form larger kinship groups: hapū (sub-tribes) and iwi (tribes).... Traditional Māori lore required whānau and hapū to cooperate harmoniously on such matters as tribal survival relied upon symbiotic relationships between group members. There were two main reasons for this. First, maintaining an adequate food supply was not easy and all tribal members had to work together to successfully hunt, plant, harvest and gather food. Second, inter-tribal warfare was common and each individual’s commitment to their iwi provided more protection in times of conflict.” **As with the economic, the organisational institutions were focused on the maintenance of social capital and were built around connection with defined areas of natural capital.**

As Mika et al. (2019, 298) explain, “Iwi have endured for millennia as a kin-based system of tribal organisation used by tangata whenua (indigenous people) before (pre-circa 950 AD) and during the first human settlement of Aotearoa New Zealand by the Polynesian ancestors of Māori people aboard ocean-going waka (canoes, vessels) and the present ‘global drift’ of Māori, especially to Australia on waka of a different sort.” That said, “Iwi were largely a conceptual grouping of whānau and hapū with shared whakapapa, only becoming the most salient social grouping when there were external threats or when there was a situation that would best be dealt with at a pan-hapū level” (Rout et al. 2018, 22). Quoting Ballara, Mika et al. (2019, 298) note that “hapū (sub-tribe) were ‘the effective unit... whose functions were the control and defence of a specific territory.’” Whānau “retained day-to-day administration of sections of hapū lands” (Mika et al. 2019, 298) As Durie (referenced in Rout et al. 2018, 22) explains, “pre-contact Māori society had a reverse power hierarchy, where it moved from the smaller whānau group down through to hapū and then to iwi.” What this means is that while hapū were the dominant socio-political grouping, they were really made up of related whānau whose ongoing consent and agreement was critical for continuing cohesion. Māori social groupings were incredibly fluid in the traditional period, they “mixed and divided and migrated and formed fresh relationships” (Rout et al. 2018, 22).

## Marae

**Marae also held an important role in the traditional Māori economy.** The marae has been described as an “open courtyard, plaza and public space”, evolving from its wider Polynesian origins to become a “a complex comprising a spiritual alter (ahu), and a plaza that served as a social, perhaps semi-ritualised, communal space of gathering” (Kawharu 2018, 28). In traditional times, they were “places where community leaders or rangatira exercised influence and where community discussions on political economy or social concerns were held” (Kawharu 2018, 28). Maraе were “also a socio-economic system as well. That is, marae also refers to people, and not just the physical place”, Kawharu (2018, 29) continues, quoting Firth, “...the scene of economic affairs, such as the mustering of the villagers before a communal food expedition or at the display and subsequent distribution of game.” Maraе functioned as “economic distribution centres of resources to kin community members. In terms of marae also being the people, they were “the labour force which sought out and collected food and resources of the ancestral landscape, and which brought the resources back to the distribution centre for delivery and allocation within the community” (Kawharu 2018, 29). There was also the inference of generosity connected to marae and its role as the heart of the hapū economy (Kawharu 2018, 28).

Colonisation is relevant to a wellbeing economy for a number of obvious reasons. The most pertinent are the economic system and wider institutional framework it forced upon Māori and in which Māori still live, the subordinate position of Māori within this institutional framework, and the psycho-social impacts this has had on Māori. As Rout and Reid (2019, 15) explain, the “primary objective of settler colonialism is the permanent settlement of an area by a group whose aim is dominating the area and its resources, creating an enduring regime of control despite any previous inhabitation.” Quoting Wolfe, Rout and Reid (2019, 15) explain that “settler colonialism is focused on gaining permanent control of the territory by replacing the previous inhabitants... ‘Settler colonies were (are) premised on the elimination of the native societies. The split tensing reflects a determinate feature of settler colonization. The colonisers come to stay – invasion is a structure not an event’.” **In terms of institutions and capital, colonisation can be seen as the replacement of indigenous institutions with settler ones for the purpose of converting a territory’s natural capital into financial and built capital, in the process drastically reducing the social, human, and cultural capital of indigenous inhabitants.**

The key aim of settler colonialism is gaining permanent control, “the means by which this aim is achieved is the creation and maintenance of a cultural, political, legal and economic edifice that facilitates this lasting control. This edifice can best be understood as an institutional framework of domination” (Rout and Reid 2019, 15). Rout et al. (2017, 857) note that “colonisation involves the replacement of indigenous political, legal, economic and social institutions with settler ones, enabling territorial and cultural dominance.” Settler colonisation “marginalised indigenous structures and excluded local people from the management or regulation of the new ones” (Rout and Reid 2019, 15). It is through these institutions that settlers maintain control, Tau and Rout (2018, 94) explain, outlining that the settler institutions “are designed to function as a means of domination, meaning they are not only structurally biased towards the settler but they endure.” Māori subordination was inevitable as the “the institutions were calibrated to benefit the settler and the British Empire” (Tau and Rout 2018, 97). As they (Tau and Rout 2018, 98) continue, the “institutions within which Māori found themselves operating were not only alien but were structured so as to alienate them from their resources. Thus, the settler government constantly manipulated the market, property titles and other institutions to ensure ongoing acquisition and retention of land and the general transfer of resources from Māori to the settlers.”



Capitalism, a term that is noticeably absent from wider public discourse, features prominently in the literature. **Colonisation saw the introduction of financial capital to New Zealand, whereas social capital is infinite, financial capital is intrinsically scarce meaning that exchanges of the latter are mutually-exclusive.** Amoamo et al. (2018a, 481) explain that “[c]olonization, which brought with it modern capitalism, involved the appropriation of resources, including labour and led to the destruction of pre-existing traditional economies, through the suppression of alternate, Indigenous forms of consumption and production.” Referencing Beaglehole, Houkamau et al. (2019, 144) refer to New Zealand’s colonisation as an expansion of Britain’s “‘capitalist democracy’ and... the colonisation of the 1840s and 1850s [w]as ‘corporate colonization’.” Tau and Rout (2018) state that “[c]olonisation was an unavoidable outcome of imperialist capitalism.” What followed was “deliberate and systematic dispossession of whenua, kāinga and taonga through armed conflict, illicit land sales, confiscations and forced alienations” (Kawharu and Tapsell 2019, 13). “With little or no control over ancestral lands, waterways and fisheries,” Kawharu and Tapsell (2019, 13) continue, “rangatira (kin leaders) and their hapū (kins-people) were rendered economically impotent.”

This loss was not just economic or material. Referring to the impacts of land loss Amoamo et al. “the social upheavals and devastation of the Māori population represent a suture not only from land as a means of livelihood, but also from Māori identity.” Māori experienced an interruption “to [their] place-based, values-led approaches to environmental interactions as a result of European colonization. In addition to the devastating impacts on ways of life, including health, welfare, and cultural knowledge and practices” (Artelle et al. 2018). This suture from identity was multicausal, driven by assimilation pressures, poverty, demographics, and the deep psycho-social impacts of settler colonisation. It was also driven by the colonial narrative. This narrative is reinforced by the land loss and dispossession and works in tandem with the psychological impacts of colonisation. The narrative is used by the settlers “[t]o justify taking Indigenous resources... The colonial narrative is a diverse array of discourses found in everything from policies and newspapers to stories and songs and often uses western world views, conceptions, ideologies, and ideas to categorise the Indigenous culture and institutions” (Rout et al. 2018, 20). The narrative “establishes a hierarchy, portraying western society as superior to Indigenous peoples” (Rout et al. 2018, 20). “Typically, indigenous cultures are contrasted with western culture, and presented as esoteric, social, and emotional, with little interest in materiality or facility in commerce. This is in comparison to western culture which is viewed as proficient, technical, scientific and commercial

in nature. The reason for this is that it helps justify the land alienation that lies at the heart of settler colonialism” (Rout and Reid, 2019, 7-8). The “narrative denigrates the Indigenous way of life to such a degree that, depending on its intensity and duration and the wider impact of the colonial experience, it can denigrate Indigenous understanding of their own culture” (Rout et al. 2018, 21).

Critically, a key part of the narrative is “the misrepresentation of indigenous people as ‘uneconomic’” (Rout and Reid, 2019, 7-8). “The upshot of this internalising colonial narrative of ‘production’ is that anything ‘commercial’ is often viewed as non-Māori – often even by many Māori themselves” (Rout and Reid, 2019, 7-8). The colonial narrative saw “portrayals of Indigenous people as lacking the ‘enterprising spirit’” (Barr et al. 2018, 455). Referencing the Beagleholes, Houkamau (2019, 211) notes “a range of negative stereotypes [were] attached to Māori by Pākehā, which included the view that Māori were ‘slackers’, dirty, lazy and dishonest.” Houkamau and Sibley (2019, 121) explain that “Māori are frequently portrayed as embodying communal values, esoteric wisdom and environmental spiritualism – diametrically opposed to supposed exclusively Western cultural values such as individualism, technology, commerce and trade.”

The cascading consequences of colonisation still remain present today, “particularly the intergenerational poverty and cultural identity loss caused by its ongoing physical and psychological impacts” (Barr et al. 2018, 455). “There is no doubt that, over the years, the Maori has had to struggle in order to survive within “a foreign cultural environment” at the expense of his own culture. From this context, there has resulted much psychological distress and anger directed at the “institutions” of material wealth” (Houkamau et al. 2019, 144). Houkamau et al. (2019, 143) also identify that “the intergenerational impact of colonisation has been recognised as the root cause of Māori social and economic problems... any assessment of the contemporary Māori economic situation must recognise the ongoing economic and psychosocial implications of New Zealand’s colonial history—in particular, how Māori have responded to the imposition of an alternative economic ideology: capitalism.”

### *Socio-cultural*

The Western worldview is based on a number of key presuppositions, specifically the values of individualism (the primacy of the individual), rationalism (the centrality of rational thought), progressivism (the importance of growth), and dualism (the separation of humanity from nature) (Reid and Rout 2016; Rout and Reid 2018; Rout et al. 2019). As Spiller and Stockdale (2012, 7) write, “a Westernized mechanistic understanding of the universe tends to promote conceptions such as reductionism, absolutes, linearity, cause and effect, and immutable laws.” Referencing Willerslev, Reid and Rout (2016, 428) explain how this worldview is “premised on a dichotomy between humans and nonhuman entities as ‘subject and object, person and thing, mind and body, intentionality and instinct and, above all, culture and nature’.” Mika et al. (2019, 297) talk of “a world of relentless rationality, where myth, craft, ritual, oral tradition and ancient wisdom give way to secularism, reason, empirics and calculability as premises for ordering human activity within socially constructed and increasingly isomorphic institutions.” This worldview “was the engine that drove colonisation, with the need for progress and the resources that fuelled it pushing the European empires into a race of expansion” (Rout et al. 2019, 15). It is also essential for understanding the contemporary institutional framework of New Zealand. However, while the Western worldview and its related values still remain highly influential, there has been a shift in recent decades. As Wolfgramm (2016, 15) explains, “As society shifts into a post-industrial era, new values are beginning to appear, values that honour the needs of future generations and respect the planet we rely upon for survival. Global citizenship of such a scale has required a new consciousness and force of will unprecedented in history. To support this shift, it is uplifting to see transformations of consciousness have led to rethinking, reframing and renewing out-dated institutions in innovative ways.”

### *Economic*

As several works note, the ‘Western economic system’ has only recently disembedded itself from society (Nicholson et al. 2019; Rout and Reid 2019). Quoting Grannovetter, Reid and Rout (2019, 18) explain that like indigenous economies, Western economies were “heavily embedded in social relations in premarket societies but became much more autonomous with modernization. This view sees the economy as an increasingly separate, differentiated sphere in modern society, with economic transactions defined no longer by the social or kinship obligations of those transacting

but by rational calculations of individual gain.” “Economic activity has operated as a social function throughout history”, Nicholson et al. (2019, 32) explain, “and has only relatively recently taken its current self-interested, profit-maximizing form.” **Taken with wider shifts in Western values and priorities in recent decades, this provides some hope as many of the aspects of a wellbeing economy are already found in Western history as well as virtually every other culture around the world.**

Western economic thought is dominated by the neoclassical metatheory. Quoting Grannovetter, Tau and Rout (2018, 93) note that “neoclassical economics operates... with an atomized, undersocialized conception of human action.” This school of economics (Tau and Rout (2018, 93) views humans as “a lightning calculator of pleasures and pains,” thus creating “a world of self-interested but law abiding and socially responsible individuals who choose freely between competing alternatives on the basis of perfect information.” Neoclassical economics has three key assumptions: 1. Individuals have rational preferences between outcomes that can be identified and associated with values; 2. Individuals maximize utility and firms maximize profits; 3. Individuals act independently based on full and relevant information (Rout and Reid 2018 ). The interplay between the three principles of the Western worldview in these assumptions are clear, with **individuals** framed as having **rational** preferences to **maximise** profits. Capitalism is founded on the belief in the “economic rationality of individual self-interest and competition” (Amoamo et al. 2018a, 490). British philosopher John Stuart Mill famously wrote of ‘economic man’ who is “a being who desires to possess wealth, and who is capable of judging of the comparative efficiency of means for obtaining that end” (Rout and Reid 2018, 18). This system is “built upon an ethic of self-interest” (Dell et al. 2021, 19). The capitalist economy, like other economies, can be understood as an “historical, discursive production rather than an objective ontological category” (Amoamo et al. 2018a, 481). **The capitalist system only values financial and built capital, viewing natural capital as a resource to fuel growth while disregarding social and cultural capital. It has a limited and narrow conception of human capital, only valuing the rational aspect, and only viewing it as a utility rather than an innate good.**

A core understanding of the capitalist economic system is that “markets function best with minimal government interference” (Rout and Reid 2018, 18). The belief is that a ‘free market’ is inherently rational and will provide for all of a society’s needs. Over time, as the ‘market’ has become increasingly disembedded from the society in which it operates and ostensibly serves (Rout and Reid 2018). A consequence of a disembedded economy is that “all social considerations,

motivations, and values take a back seat to the empirically acquired primacy of the economy, which becomes autonomous from all (conscious) social control” (Tau and Rout 2018, 97). The economy has increasingly “overwhelmed society, alienated cultural institutions, damaged environmental relationships, placed the pursuit of individual well-being over that of collective well-being, and has led to spiritual and creative debasement.” The prevailing economic approach has created a “system grounded in a no-holds-barred accrual of wealth, in which the market system has created values (such as consumerism) whereby land, resources, and people are treated as commodities in service of the economy” (Nicholson et al. 2019, 33).

The current neoliberal system in New Zealand is one “where market exchange and its associated value and norms prescribe an ‘absolutisation of the market’” (Ruwhiu et al. 2019, 6). The “dominant thinking, ... advocates that the purpose of business is to only produce material wealth” (Spiller et al. 2011a, 155). In New Zealand “capitalism is the ‘norm’ and non-capitalist economic relations are understood with respect to capitalism as the same as, complements to, opposites of or contained within capitalism” (Amoamo et al. 2018b, 69). The dominant “understandings of economy accept the prevailing idea that capitalist enterprises, market transactions and wage labour delimit a ‘real’ economy. These forms of organisation, exchange and labour are assumed to be universal and easy to measure” (Amoamo et al. 2018b, 69). “Three decades of economic policies both in Aotearoa New Zealand and around the world have focused on economic growth driven by “free” market laissez-faire capitalism”, Mika et al. (2019, 303) explain. This has resulted in drastic increases in inequality, “the burden in New Zealand is carried by 90 per cent of the population that share in just 40 per cent of wealth that is left... A fair and just redistribution of wealth to all citizens was promised to be the next logical stage in the process, but it never came. Those individuals and groups who were already wealthy reaped the benefits of advanced and fast-growing, emerging economies” (Mika et al. 2019, 303).

Value, in this system, is hedonic. Where “consumers, on the one hand, are compelled to maximise their utility (the use and usefulness) from any given object (good or service) and producers, on the other hand, are driven to offer such value on the most competitive terms possible.” (Dell et al. 2021, 19). As Dell et al. (2021, 19) detail, value “is derived in two main ways: value-in-use (what one can do with or because of an object) and value-in-exchange (what one can get for an object) typically quantified in monetary terms.” This narrow view of value means that “social, cultural, and environmental obligations [are understood] as “friction” and as costs to be controlled, mitigated or eliminated” (Amoamo et al. 2018a, 480).

In the capitalist market, “indigenous peoples who either retain significant reservations or receive land settlements but are unable to profit are seen as either not maximizing the utility of their asset because of lack of business acumen or because there is no ‘market’ for their land” (Rout and Reid 2018, 20). Colonisation did not just deprive Māori of an economic base,” as Houkamau et al. (2019, 6) explain, “it imposed an individualist and Western value system at odds with the collectivist and holistic values of Māori.” **Thus, while Māori view ‘unproductive’ land as having value, within the capitalist system emplaced by the colonisers its value is only realised when it becomes ‘productive’.** However, while the institutional system remains largely hostile to Māori ways of being and doing, there are some changes. As Mika et al. (2019, 372) explain, “the value and contribution indigenous economies make to the social and economic prosperity of nations is increasingly recognised.”

The Western economy, and the underpinning values, are identified as the cause of significant environmental and social problems. Artelle et al. (2018) state that “Global human activities have led to a series of ecological and socio-cultural crises.” The capitalist system and its hedonic value have led to “ecological degradation and extreme poverty” (Dell et al. 2021, 19). As Rout et al. (201b, 15), quoting Sullivan, explain, the “global machine [of Western expansion] has required the iterative ‘disembedding’ of people from land, and of land from ‘nature’ in service to the exchange of ‘fictitious commodities’, namely land, money and labour.” **By viewing land as a resource to be turned from natural capital into built and financial capital, the Western worldview has caused significant environmental degradation.**

However, around the world and in New Zealand, views on the economic system have changed. As Wolfgramm et al. (2020, 20) note, there is “a wider renaissance in economies of wellbeing, In fact, well-being has been on the political and economic agendas of nations such as France and Bhutan and in organisations such as the IUCN who have been pursuing meaningful measures beyond gross domestic product... [while] a recent New Zealand Treasury report provides a measurement framework for the current state of national well-being which includes anticipating future well-being.” The wellbeing framework developed by leading economists Stiglitz, Sen and Fitoussis aligns well with te ao Māori, describing “well-being as a complex and multidimensional concept that encompasses environmental, economic, social and psychological dynamics” (Wolfgramm et al. 2020, 20). As Wolfgramm et al. (2020, 20) note, “[i]n New Zealand, the current Labour government pledged to adopt well-being measures with the Prime Minister stating, ‘We

want New Zealand to be the first place in the world where our budget is not presented simply under the umbrella of pure economic measures, and often inadequate ones at that, but one that demonstrates the overall well-being of our country and its people.” **The New Zealand government is focused on transitioning to a wellbeing economy, bringing it closer in line to Māori economic approaches.**

This shift is not just occurring at the political level but also in business sectors. Wolfgramm (2016, 15) explains that in “the business world, the shift is significant and requires dynamic, innovative, dedicated and adaptive leadership... Increasing pressure in the form of compliance costs associated with climate change regulation, carbon trading, management of environmental pollution, increased sophistication and awareness in consumer markets, corporate social responsibility, and the proliferation of organized non-government interest groups are factors putting renewed pressure on strategic leaders in industries around the globe.” **There are numerous pressures pushing and pulling various business sectors towards a more equitable and sustainable way of operating, one that has a strong resonance with Māori praxis.**

### **Legal**

Understanding New Zealand’s legal framework is essential for examining the potential for a Māori wellbeing economy as without substantive changes in Māori tino rangatiratanga this is the framework within which it has to exist. Unsurprisingly, the Treaty looms large in the scholarship. As Ruwhiu et al. (2019, 6) note, the “Treaty of Waitangi Act 1975 heralded the beginnings of a legislative infrastructure that recognised a political relationship between the majority coloniser/Pākehā population and the colonised/Māori. On the surface, this legislative infrastructure offers a bi-cultural utopia that provides a model for living together.” They counter this by stating that “[t]he reality, however, is very different.”(Ruwhiu et al. 2019, 6). Amoamo et al. (2018a, 481) explain that “there have been a number of Treaty settlements between the government and various Māori iwi or tribes. These settlements have included, amongst other things, monetary compensation for past injustices, the return of lands unjustly confiscated, and ‘cultural redress’ giving Māori decision making input into geographical locations with which they are connected.” Similarly, Hēnare (2015, 85) notes that “[n]oticeable changes occurred in the 1970s, when the courts and Parliament acknowledged that Māori rights and duties were of a constitutional order. With the establishment of the Waitangi Tribunal, Māori rights under Te Tiriti, the Treaty of 1840 could be given a modicum of effect. The tribunal, a court of enquiry, continues

to hear Māori claims against the Crown government and whether its actions or non-actions are in accordance with the principles of the 1840 Te Tiriti o Waitangi: Treaty of Waitangi. Successful claims have led to attempts at social and economic relief.” Likewise, Houkamau (2019, 211-212) outlines that “the Treaty of Waitangi was given greater recognition after 1975 with the establishment of the Waitangi Tribunal (a forum where Māori could make claims for compensation for breaches of the Treaty). In the mid-1980s the government extended the jurisdiction of the Tribunal to examine Māori grievances retrospective to 1840. Treaty claims, negotiations and settlements have been a significant feature of New Zealand politics since that time. Māori, overall, have achieved a great deal since the 1960s... Approximately 30 Acts of Parliament now require government officials to take into account the Treaty or its principles when exercising state powers.”

There are a number of references to this increased legislative incorporation of the Treaty, particularly in areas of resource management. Makey and Awatere (2018, 1403) note that “Māori rights, roles, and responsibilities are protected in the Treaty of Waitangi, signed with the British Crown in 1840, which acknowledges that iwi and hapū have a legitimate, sanctioned role to play in natural resource management in Aotearoa New Zealand.” As they (Makey and Awatere 2018, 1403) explain, “principles of the Treaty have been incorporated into modern legislation such as the Resource Management Act (RMA) 1991 that require the Crown (central and local government) to actively protect rights including retention of taonga (treasure, anything prized such as language, flora, and fauna species, customs), and the right of tino rangatiratanga (sovereignty and chieftainship) over those resources and their lands as a matter of national importance.” “Cogovernance has represented a new era in Treaty of Waitangi settlements where arrangements, responsibilities for duties, powers, and functions under Aotearoa New Zealand’s environmental legislation, the RMA, are vested (to varying degrees) in tribal entities” (Makey and Awatere 2018, 1413).

While there are pieces of legislation that have entrenched Māori values and enabled their expression, more legislation can be seen as an impediment to Māori. Reid et al. (2019) provide an example of this in the Māori marine economy, where there is an overabundance of laws determining what Māori can and cannot do. The “legal framework applying to the management of New Zealand’s marine area is complex and fragmented” generally speaking, for Māori it is even more so. Māori have “five different forms of Māori marine property rights” (Reid et al. 2019, 28). Adding to the complexity, their settlement quota is constrained in terms of how it can be traded,



and wider fishing rights have been split in commercial and customary harvest, with rules that prevent the sale of the latter (Reid et al. 2019). Furthermore, these fishing rights sit with iwi, in conflict with the traditional rights, which sat at the hapū and sub-hapū level, which creates and exacerbates tensions between the tribe and the tribal entity (Reid et al. 2019).

### *Socio-cultural*

#### Worldview

The Māori worldview has survived colonisation. **This essential cultural capital has not been depleted even as colonisation reduced social and human capital.** As Hēnare (2015, 85) explains the “maintenance of a historical sense and a willingness to learn from experience has ensured the resilience of the traditional worldview and religion— and this despite major changes in elements of Māori culture, in social organization, in the systematic undermining of kinship groups by the state, in transformations in material culture, and in political and economic activity. Yet all of these features have abiding elements that remain embedded in traditional Māori metaphysics and religious outlook.” Likewise, Haar et al. (2019, 622) outline that “traditional Māori world views are often maintained, while working and living in contemporary society.” There have been changes to Māori values, however, as Houkamau and Sibley (2019, 122) note: “Kaitiakitanga (environmental guardianship, acknowledging the close affinity of Māori to nature;) and rangatiratanga (Māori acting with authority and independence over their own affairs) are modern coinages invoked regarding, among other things, Māori economic development... [though] the values underpinning new constructs such as kaitiakitanga have been key facets of Maori life for generations in the management of resources and the promotion of identity.” Kawharu et al. (2017, 21) identify two core values that drive adaptation and transformation in the Māori world, “mana or appeals to power, rights and authority and which derive from genealogical descent, and manaaki or the duty of care and service that derive from kinship connections between people.”

Artelle et al. (2018) explain that the “mindset or worldview guiding a given system [acts] as a deep leverage point, suggesting that changes to worldviews could have substantial effects on social-ecological systems.” **This suggest the importance of the underlying Māori worldview as a mechanism for change.** However, as there will be some degree of overlap or interaction with the wider settler economy, the way these worldviews, values, and ideologies engage needs to be considered as well. Makey and Awatere (2018, 1401) explain that “[e]fforts to integrate unique ideologies such as indigenous environmental knowledge and western notions of sustainability, frequently encounter difficulties when reconciling these diverse approaches due to differing processes of knowledge production and underlying epistemologies/worldviews.” Reid and Rout (2018, 289) note that “Maori have shown historically that they can enfold explicit, codified

knowledge into their understanding of the socio-ecological family while retaining ontological integrity.” While efforts to align and incorporate different worldviews and emergent tools and practices may be difficult, they need to be made. Referencing Durie, Nicholson et al. (2019, 35) explain that “Māori can be strengthened by the past and can learn from it. But the challenges of tomorrow will require a canopy of skills and wisdoms many of which will come from other cultures and nations.” This aligns with Mika et al. (2019, 302), who note that for Māori in the modern world, having “a capacity to move between binary world views” is increasingly critical in both personal and economic development.” Likewise, Reid and Rout (2018, 289, 293) conclude that the “Maori have shown historically that they can enfold explicit, codified knowledge into their understanding of the socio-ecological family while retaining ontological integrity... the indigenous perspective can, with some reframing and additions, accommodate quantitative... metrics because it provides a flexible cognitive framework that is able to accommodate the object/objective with the subject/subjective in nuanced hybrid forms.” **Māori need to embrace tools and practices from cultures around the world that will best help bring the wellbeing economy into fruition, guided by te ao Māori as the founding institutional framework and repository of cultural capital.**

### Mātauranga

**Mātauranga has also survived colonisation relatively intact.** Pio et al. (2012, 210) state that Māori “have retained strong, thriving, and dynamic tribal wisdom traditions despite the enormous impacts of colonization from the 1800s.” Mātauranga has not only survived, Māori knowledge “is increasingly being recognized both locally and globally, with a growing focus in academic research, consideration in relationships between indigenous and colonial governments, and increased awareness among nonindigenous members of the public. Indigenous knowledge is widely recognized as a holistic and interconnected way of knowing, in which practices, knowledge transmission, institutions, beliefs, values, and other aspects of worldviews are all inseparable” (Artelle et al. 2018). **In the contemporary era it is important to remember that there is a wide diversity of Māori experience and knowledge, both at group and individual levels.** As Houkamau et al. (2019, 144) explain, “[e]ach iwi and hapū has its own distinctive history, and a further, regional layer of diversity results in variations in access to resources and opportunities. On the individual level, cultural knowledge, such as the ability to speak te reo Māori and understand tikanga Māori, is unevenly valued... and Māori live in diverse familial and economic contexts.”

### Values

**As well as being increasingly incorporated into settler legislation, Māori values are almost ubiquitous across Māori organisations' strategic documentation.** As Awatere et al. (2017, 82) explain, “Kaupapa Māori values influence policy and planning documents, including Statement of Investment Policy and Objectives (SIPOs), strategic plans, decision support and evaluation tools. Culturally consistent policy ought to lead to tangible and intangible benefits for iwi and hapū that help support aspirations for Māori development and shift enterprises towards a more Māori-centred form of entrepreneurship.” **Māori management is values-led**, which means it is “management with practices, policies, and objectives underpinned and guided by coherent and consistent values, particularly those that connect people to place (at any scale) and that can form the foundation for sustained relationships.” Māori values are critical, as they “help define Māori enterprises, maintain cultural and ethical standards, give direction, provide a point of difference in the market place, and help address inequalities” (Awatere et al. 2017, 86). They (Artelle et al. 2018) note that while values shape all management across cultures, Māori make their values explicit. They also (Artelle et al. 2018) note that values guide objectives, which in turn generate policies, and these determine practices. Awatere et al. (2017, 82) provide a similar flow chart, starting with mātauranga Māori, which leads to cultural values, which guides investment decisions, that deliver tangible and intangible outcomes, which fulfil Māori aspirations. Values-led governance and management “has much to offer for addressing global ecological and sociocultural crises by helping reconnect people to place, and by instilling practices of stewardship” (Artelle et al. 2018).

There are many ways of the values can be sorted or ordered. Rout et al. (2019, b 10) refer to the “key domains of environment (kaitiakitanga), economic (whai rawa), social (whanaungatanga and manaakitanga) and political (rangatiratanga, mana whakahaere and kotahitanga).” The Ahikaka Kai project focuses on “key principles – Hauora (maintaining the health and life generating capacities of human and non-human communities), Kaitiakitanga (protection and stewardship of human and non-human communities), Whanaungatanga (fairness), Kaikokiritanga (precautionary care) and Tikanga (cultural ecological wisdom)” (Barr et al. 2018, 462). Henry (2017, 32) notes that the Māori entrepreneurs she surveyed identified “manaakitanga (respectfulness), kaitiakitanga (stewardship) and wairuatanga (spirituality)” as the key values they integrate into the organisations they create.

### **Economic**

**The ‘Māori economy’ is a term used frequently in the wider public sphere, but rarely with a clarity or consensus of definition** (Amoamo et al. 2018b; Mika et al. 2019). Amoamo et al. (2018b, 67) believe the phrase ‘Māori economy’ “masks the true diversity and complexity of what

constitutes the way Māori participate in and make sense of economic activity.” Greater “attention to the Māori economy is needed to ‘more accurately represent the rich diversity of Māori enterprise that has evolved’” (Haar et al. 2020). Tau and Rout (2018, 103) take an even more radical stance, claiming that “despite the numerous claims that there exists a Māori economy.... Māori have yet to create an economy that they could say is truly theirs... despite the economic growth of tribal corporations, we do not have a tribal economy because such corporations are essentially an adjunct of the national economy... [and their ] prime asset... —land—is vested in the Crown.” There are, as Tau and Rout (2018, 103) explain, “a number of ways the term Māori economy could be defined, from a far-reaching institutional economics-oriented delineation that includes law-making, taxation capacity, contract enforcement and the like, through to a more tightly neoclassical synthesis-focused demarcation using leakage.” Leakage is, they (Tau and Rout 2018, 103) explain “the loss of funds from that economy’s circular flow through an exchange, say from a national economy via international trade.” Thus, they (Tau and Rout 2018, 103) conclude, “[e]ven defined neoclassically, [the term] “Māori economy” is highly problematic, as tribal businesses usually experience leakage in the first exchange, with virtually all money returning to the wider settler economy.” “Māori land does not sit within a governance structure that is uniquely Māori for the simple reason that until recently all Māori land fell under Crown title and therefore Crown governance. Māori have no institutional capacity to raise land tax (rates) off the land, and tribal corporations all function under Crown legislation. There simply is no Māori economy other than what functions within the existing settler economy” (Tau and Rout 2018, 104). **The lack of definitional and conceptual clarity around the term ‘Māori economy’ is emblematic of a wider problem in the emerging field.**

To date, Amoamo et al. (2018b, 67) explain, the “Māori economy is articulated in a way that conforms to the dominant Western/capitalist rational economic model, which is not reflective of the socio-economic realities that Māori live and experience, and is in fact a multiplicity of economies.” Adding to this, Amoamo et al. (2018b, 69) note that in “terms of government reporting in New Zealand, the Māori economy is represented as an abstract notion founded on statistics that aggregate out context and meaning, and draw from a narrow, Western conception of what constitutes an economy and therefore a business, thus inadequately characterising the multifarious ways in which Māori are engaged in economic activity, particularly the richness and diversity of those small enterprises operating at a regional level.” Representing the “economy as a singular, hegemonic and all-encompassing yet abstract entity reduces the economy to mere monetary values, stifling possible alternative, diverging or parallel economies” (Amoamo et al.

2018b, 69). Amoamo et al. (2018b, 69) propose “approaching the Māori economy as a system that serves the people, rather than people serving the economy.” They (Amoamo et al. 2018b, 71) also conceive of the Māori economy as an “ecology (or an ecosystem of collective action) in which human behaviour and activities are integrated “coordinates” of a complex flow of ethical and energetic interdependencies.”

**The accuracy of the term ‘Māori economy’ is, however, secondary to the nature of the economy. This is the important facet that needs to be examined: There is a deficit in the practical understanding of the Māori economic ecosystem – its constituent institutions, functions, and economic outcomes across the capitals. These are issues that need to be worked on, with the end goal of a wellbeing economy as the guiding star that ensures the parameters of the Māori economy align with the desired endpoint. Of course, the parameters of the ‘Māori economy’ need to be determined to do this but rather than aiming for a singular definition it might be best to take the approach outlined above, looking at a range of intersecting ‘Māori economies’ and determining not just the status of each one but how they interact with each other.**

There is a key underlying tension between the ‘Māori economy’ and the wider economy and a paradox within the Māori economy. The tension is addressed by Ruwhiu et al. (2019,13), who explain that “the central philosophical assumptions of the [modern capitalist] system remain solely in the tradition of individualism and economic growth disconnected from societal contexts” As Ruwhiu et al. (2019, 13) continue, “many Māori cultural values are incompatible with the basic assumptions of mainstream theories.” “Indigenous economic development”, as Amoamo et al. (2018a, 479) outline, “is tied too closely to conformity to paternalistic notions of the ‘real’ economy while undervaluing other forms of economy operating within Indigenous communities.” There exist in settler society “master narratives that suppress, deny, and devalue their reality” (Amoamo et al. 2018a, 480). Amoamo et al. (2018a, 479) then explain the tension succinctly: “Indigenous peoples may be torn between holding onto traditional cultural values and attempts to maximize economic development that require a jettisoning of those values.” Conversely, as Houkamau et al. (2019, 17) explain, “the value system around materialism remains unattractive and unengaging for Māori.” However, as Houkamau (2019, 211) notes, following urbanisation “Māori adapted to a new mode of ‘individualistic’ economic behaviour, along with a new set of economic priorities” even though “adjustment was not easy for Māori whose traditional values stood in stark contrast with Pākehā economic imperatives.” **Underpinning this tension is the core chasm between**

**the collective institutions of te ao Māori and the Western emphasis on the centrality of the individual along with the prioritisation of financial capital over social capital.**

The paradox is the growing wealth of the Māori economy and the continuing poverty of Māori. The size and scope of the Māori economy is often publicised: “Glittering valuations position a strong Māori economy as a significant and growing contributor to New Zealand’s economic worth” (Ellis 2021, 3). However, “behind the celebrated statistics and headlines, the disparities remain. The breadth and scale of this economy is yet to be reflected in measures of wellbeing” (Ellis 2021, 3). Underlying the glitter is a “new phenomenon of asset-rich tribes and growing numbers of poor Māori people” (Hēnare in Ellis 2021, 3). Houkamau (2019, 212) repeats this, noting that “[t]he benefits of Treaty settlements have not filtered down equally to all Māori who, compared to non-Māori, are still more likely to live in poverty.” Mika et al. (2019, 304) make the connection between this inequality and the wider systemic issues, “even as the Māori economy grows, it is replicating what is happening in other parts of the world... it too is contributing to a divide in Māori society whereby the wealthier iwi and a few individuals are better able to take advantage of economic development initiatives than others.” **This is another tension, or paradox, the success of the Māori economy and the poverty of the Māori population. This can be understood through both institutional and capital frames. Institutionally, the organisational structures of the post-settlement governance entities are not culturally matched and struggle with conflicting internal and external institutional demands, causing them to struggle to convert financial capital into social, human, and cultural capital.** Racial discrimination, Houkamau (2019, 213) suggests, “could also partly explain the paradox whereby the Māori ‘economy’ and businesses report success, while individual Māori households remain in relative poverty. Māori businesses and organizations may provide a haven as they are more likely to recognize Māori language and culture and accept Māori culture among their employees.”

Amongst others, Ruwhiu et al. (2019, 12) Haar et al. (2020) and Spiller et al. (2017) all outline the current worth of the Māori economy, with the former noting that it has diversified from its primary sector origins into “tourism, construction, technology, geothermal energy, manufacturing, mining, property development, and business services and retail trade” (Ruwhiu et al. 2019, 12). Of interest, Spiller et al. (2017, 2) note that the valuations given “represents just the Māori-owned asset base. It does not account for any future actualisation of return on such assets. Māori own, and are the kaitiaki (stewards) of, significant marine and land resources. These resources are capable of

delivering more sizeable economic benefits to the Māori economy.” **This reinforces the need for a more comprehensive mapping of the Māori economy, or rather economies.**

Highlighting a recent report by MBIE and TPK, Houkamau et al. (2019, 3) note that there is need to determine what ‘wealth’ means for different groups within the New Zealand economy. **In terms of capitals, while the Western economy views financial capital as an end, for Māori it is a means that enables growth of social, human, and cultural capital.** They (Houkamau et al. 2019, 3) then explain that “a range of data sources indicate that Māori have a strong, underlying cultural orientation towards wealth sharing rather than personal wealth accumulation.” In a similar vein, Dell et al. (2021, 19) argue that one of the key contrasts between a capitalist economy and the Māori economy is that Māori “concepts of value centre on collective interest as opposed to self-interest.” This is a core feature of the Māori economy, as Houkamau et al. (2019, 3) state: “customary Māori cultural values (particularly whānaungatanga/collectivism and interdependence) continue to influence Māori perceptions when it comes to financial decision making.” This is also covered by Kawharu (2018, 8), who notes that the modern Māori economy places “value on non-economic and processual, social and cultural variables within the context of their own growth and innovation.” Ruwhiu et al. (2019, 11, 12) explain that the Māori economy “includes aspects of equity, equality and empowerment beyond the economic” and that it “is a dynamic, deep-rooted, complex and ever evolving space, incorporating intergenerational wealth, maintenance of cultural identity, and the wellbeing of our Māori communities.” The same dynamics are identified by Amoamo et al. (2018b, 67), who identify that the Māori economy incorporates “the well-being of iwi, hapū and whānau.” **There is a potential disconnect here, and this possibly emerges from the lack of shared definition of the Māori economy. It is noted how the both the wider economy and the Māori economy are failing to uplift Māori yet the Māori economy is also described as incorporating Māori wellbeing. Is this just in reference to the espoused values rather than how the outcomes they generate? This again reinforces the need for a comprehensive mapping of the Māori economy and whānau realities.** Durie (quoted in Rout and Reid 2019, 24) makes a typically powerful statement that “[w]hile it appeared Māori now had a much greater degree of control and autonomy than at any other time this century, the broad developmental directions were also linked to the introduction of free-market economic policies.” This raises the point that much of the growing independence Māori may be experiencing economically is not premised on tino rangatiratanga but rather is just a consequence of the neoliberal economy. **This suggests that while there are positive ways of viewing the ‘Māori economy’ it also needs to be balanced by considerations of the wider institutional**



**framework – what looks like growing independence might just be a side-effect of the free market, and while this side effect could be positive it may not be the same thing.**

Several works use the diverse economies theory to examine the Māori economy (Amoamo et al. 2018a; Amoamo et al. 2018b; Ruwhiu et al. 2019). Emerging “from the domain of economic geography the diverse economies framework extends the world of economy and economics by shifting the boundary between economic and non-economic activity” (Ruwhiu et al. 2019, 8). The diverse economies theories acknowledges “there are various forms of capitalism and associated modes of economy” and understands that “most people engage in economies in various ways, a notion that invokes a consciousness of the varied local economies occurring in our world today and that we need to think about these economies as part of the spectrum of economic models (Amoamo et al. 2018a, 480). The diverse economies framework is particularly interested in modes of economy that have moved from exchange-based transactions to those based on social contribution (Amoamo et al. 2018a, 480). Critically, it is not ‘anti-capitalist’ but “recognizes there are social and material gains from engaging with capitalism” (Amoamo et al. 2018a, 480). The diverse economies framework “provide[s] a counterpoint to dominant conceptions of the economy, highlighting possibilities and alternative pathways, and more importantly providing hope to enact new economic and social realities” (Amoamo et al. 2018a, 480). Diverse economies are not just passive or subservient ‘bolt ons’ to the capitalist economy but rather “are politics of collective action that involve conscious and combined efforts to build a new economic reality—one that captures the intricate exchange of socio-economic logics, such as market and nonmarket, paid and non-paid work, capitalist and alternative or non-capitalist” (Amoamo et al. 2018b, 68). This framework provides a way of viewing economic activity from a wider perspective, providing a “different view of capitalist transformation... that captures the role people and communities have in shaping their futures by pursuing their own notions of development” (Amoamo et al. 2018a, 481).

The Māori economy is “conceptualised as contextually specific networks of regional economies, both rural and urban, with national and international connections. They include independent Māori enterprise, small whānau businesses, units within hapū or iwi structures, tribal incorporations and larger pan-tribal entities, in multiple, often interconnected resource sectors” (Ellis 2021, 14). Amoamo et al. (2018a, 482) offer a similar outline, “the Māori economy is comprised of a number of actors who contribute to the economy including trusts and incorporations, SMEs, iwi and collectives, and self-employed Māori.” These provide a good initial

map of the economy, one which needs territory filled in across some landmarks. The Māori economy has changed over time, with Durie's (referenced in Rout and Reid 2019, 24) "four distinct phases of Māori development: 1900-1925 – recovery; 1925-1950 – rural development; 1950-1975 – urbanisation; and, 1975-2000 – claims, settlement, autonomy" serving as a good historical framework that can help guide the mapping process.

Across these economies, there are different forms of exchange occurring. Within the pounamu and tīti economies, Rout and Reid (2019) identify a range of different forms of exchange, with both market and non-market exchange occurring along the supply chains in both economies. In their study, Ruwhiu et al. (2019, 20) found that for their participants "there was often times when there was a barter exchange of other goods and services as opposed to direct financial compensation." The diverse economies framework is focused on "forms of exchange such as traditional, gift, barter, and participatory economies included within the alternative, hybrid, and hidden economic spaces" (Amoamo et al. 2018a, 480). While "many people's lives engage with capitalist firms and formal markets, their lives are also shaped by non-capitalist organisational forms such as gifts, reciprocal exchanges, barter and 'hidden' forms of economic practice" (Amoamo et al. 2018b, 69). In the fisheries sector, barter exchanges are more problematic as the legally entrenched division between commercial and cultural fishing rights saw the use of koha in the latter outlawed. As Rout et al. (2018, 33) explain, "the Crown determined that any seafood given to others as koha was a 'pecuniary gain'. With a gift defined as a financial transaction, one of the core aspects of what might be considered the customary right of fishing was denied by the settler legislation." As McCormack (quoted in Rout et al. 2018, 33) explains, this was entrenched in the 1998 legislation, where koha was defined "neither commercial in any way nor for pecuniary gain or trade..., a definition that excludes 'barter'."

One point of interest raised by several works was that despite the obvious differences in worldview, values, and economies, Māori not only proved adept at taking advantage of the new trade opportunities after contact with Europeans but in the first decades of the 19<sup>th</sup> century were the dominant players in the burgeoning New Zealand economy. Tau and Rout (2018, 98) note how "the early decades of settlement were characterised by Māori economic dominance, with their quick and widespread adoption of western agricultural and production practices seeing Māori growing enough crops and manufacturing enough flour, often milled in one of dozens if not hundreds of their own mills, to trade nationally and export internationally, often in one of their many coastal and international trading vessels." Likewise, Henry (2017, 25) notes, "from the 1790s,

Māori produced pork and potatoes for...trade, particularly the increasing number of whaling and sealing vessels reaching into the South Pacific in search of their prey. By the 1830s, Māori owned ships began delivering manufactured goods such as treespars, tree-nails, treated flax (used for rope), potatoes and pigs throughout the Pacific, particularly to the New South Wales Penal Colony.” Critically, quoting Petrie, Henry (2017, 26) explains that “the rapid expansion of Māori commerce was not simply chance, but had been advanced by deliberate strategies in line with customary practice.” This shows that while there are fundamental divergences between Māori and Western conceptions of economics and commerce, Māori are not only able to survive but also thrive in certain Westernised contexts. Still as Mika et al. (2019, 304) note, research shows that as “the Māori economy grows, overall Māori socio-cultural well-being is declining... . It has become clear that a rebalancing or a redistribution of resources, both social and cultural, needs to occur, with equal importance alongside other economic development initiatives.”

### Entrepreneurship

**The key distinguishing markers of Māori entrepreneurship are that it is guided by Māori culture, conducted by Māori, focused on community benefit, and aims to enhance tino rangatiratanga,** though there are a range of specific definitions provided. Awatere et al. (2017, 81) state that “Māori entrepreneurship represents a differentiated form of entrepreneurship shaped by kaupapa Māori. While the degree to which kaupapa Māori is applied may vary, they are associated with the phenomenon of Māori entrepreneurship. This entrepreneurship is initially defined as the process by which a Māori person (or people) operating within a Māori world view generates value by identifying and exploiting new products, processes or markets for economic, social and cultural purposes of benefit to themselves, their whānau (family), hapū, iwi and wider community.” Barr et al. (2018, 456) provide a similar outline of Māori entrepreneurs as “those who are able to combine modern business practices with the collective, communal values to benefit and promote Maori rangatiratanga (self determination).” Likewise, Henry (2017, 27) defines Māori entrepreneurship as “entrepreneurial flair, underpinned by a sense of commitment to Māori community, whether it be whānau (kin-group), hapū (sub-tribe), or iwi (tribe) ... Kaupapa Māori entrepreneurship is entrepreneurship and innovation for, with and by Māori.” Kawharu (2019, 247) frames this slightly differently, referring to “the importance of integrating cultural values with economic values, and recognising cultural values as powerful enablers for growth, innovation and socio-economic development.” **As with similar tensions, the interaction between economic and non-economic drivers and outcomes needs to be further mapped in the field of**

**entrepreneurship. Another area of interest is if there are any clashes between innovation and Māori values, particularly when it is grounded in community development. While Māori worldview etc. is flexible, agile and nimble, Māori communities are not always so – as Māori trusts have shown – it would be good to see widespread analysis of how these work in practice.**

Regarding the ways in which Māori entrepreneurship is guided by Māori culture, Kawharu et al. (2017, 24) explain that “whakapapa reminds entrepreneurs about origins of things. More importantly, however, it provides ancestral reference points, lessons or precedents for addressing challenges, and the values to guide a vision of community economic, social and political sustainability and resilience.” A number of works (Barr et al. 2018; Henry 2017) note the guiding force of key Māori values in the entrepreneurial businesses they examine. **The use of Māori culture sees cultural capital deployed as a way of building financial, social, and human capital.** However, Awatere et al. (2017, 86) do identify that there “are gaps on the part of some entrepreneurs regarding understanding and applying kaupapa Māori values.” As they (Awatere et al. 2017, 86) note, this supports the assertion of “the disconnection between governance groups and MAHI [Māori asset holding institutions]” As Awatere et al. (2017, 86) then explain, “some MAHI outsource expertise to derive short-term profit that adversely impacts the capability of whānau to participate in managing collective assets.” **The issues identified can be partly explained by the clash of Western and Māori institutions, as well as the conflict between financial and social capital that many Māori organisations face.**

Most of these definitions highlight the importance of working in/for the community, be it hapū, marae, or local Māori community, **showing how the creation of financial capital can help build social capital.** Kaupapa Māori-guided entrepreneurs, Awatere et al. (2017, 81) explain, “pursue social aims to improve the wealth and wellbeing of Māori communities and the restoration of their lands, language and culture.” Likewise, Henry (2017, 27) also notes that Māori entrepreneurs place a “relative importance of communities rather than individuals, which emphasizes culture and social norms over resources and profits.” Kawharu and Tapsell (2019, 19) explain that “kind of entrepreneurship differs from broader ethnic Māori expressions of innovation, which are not tied to ancestral lands and people in whakapapa (kin accountable/genealogically delineated) terms.” As they (Kawharu and Tapsell (2019, 19) continue, “[o]ther Māori enterprises such as whānau-centred innovation in urban areas may also be concerned with just tangata/people-centred wellbeing with no whenua dimension (direct

connection to the land on which a venture may be operating). In some instances, ventures may leverage a generalised Māori heritage as its brand, validated by individuals' own Māori ethnicity. These commercialised spaces generally operate beyond a reciprocal kin relationship or whakapapa framework and perhaps beyond the purview of ancestral marae communities.” **This raises an important point, the definitional parameters of Māori entrepreneurship are very narrow, it would be useful to see how many actually qualify for this tight category vs. how many wider ethnic Māori entrepreneurs there are.**

One key factor that many definitions emphasise is that Māori entrepreneurship promotes *tino rangatiratanga*. Awatere et al. (2017, 81) believe it does so in four ways: “(a) relative autonomy and self-sufficiency, (b) the revitalisation of the Māori language and culture, (c) secure access for Māori to Māori society and (d) addressing social inequalities.” A Māori “approach to entrepreneurship includes considerations of conduct, long time horizons, and broader objectives and aspirations” (Awatere et al. 2017, 81). In her study of Māori working in the film and TV industries, Henry (2017, 32) refers to “the notion of emancipatory Māori entrepreneurship.... storytelling is the visible sign of emancipatory Māori entrepreneurship, reflected in the creation of production companies that are underpinned by their desire to take control of the storytelling process, to participate in the revitalization of Māori language and culture, and the achievement of *tino rangatiratanga* (self-determination) through creative enterprise.” Closely related to this connection to *tino rangatiratanga*, Henry et al. (2017, 789-790) refer to the “emancipatory nature of Indigenous entrepreneurship”, then expand on this to explain this “approach is different because it focusses on how entrepreneurs and communities can surmount unique social and environmental constraints that apply to them.”

Several works focus on the same factors constricting or enabling entrepreneurship: social/cultural capital. Barr et al. (2018, 457) state that “the presence or absence of social capital can have a profound influence on the success or otherwise of Indigenous entrepreneurship”. Henry et al. (2017, 790) also argue “that an organisation’s innovation capabilities are also linked to its cultural capital”, linking “cultural capital to environmental context, personal identity and self-efficacy, which have been found to enhance entrepreneurial intent amongst Indigenous peoples.” They (Henry et al. 2017, 790) also note the importance of social capital, as it provides “social, networking and others resources it brings and the strategic relationships it generates.” They (Henry et al. 2017, 790) then provide a good outline of the two capitals, explaining that: “Building enterprise that reflects Māori culture and philosophy, underpinned by the cultural capital of an entrepreneurial

history, and the social capital of a united and tribal society with strong networks and cohesive connections, has become the challenge for this new generation of Māori entrepreneurs.” In a similar vein, though focused on learning from the past, Kawharu (2016, 362) notes that “culture in its historical context [is] an important guide for current innovation.” Henry et al. (2018a, 139) conclude that the “kinds of social and economic changes that can benefit an Indigenous community are most often the result of entrepreneurship that is informed by cultural and social capital.” **Connecting with other questions raised, one area of interest is how entrepreneurial Māori who lack cultural capital, in particular, operate and how this relates to those that do.** On this, Henry et al. (2018a, 139) found that “Indigenous ventures with more cultural capital achieve better community (but not mainstream) performance and impact, whereas those with relatively greater social capital achieve better mainstream (but not community) performance.” **There needs to be more work on this, with the inclusion of financial capital.**

Entrepreneurship, generally speaking, is focused on innovation and novel new business. Quoting Hindle and Moroz, Rout et al. (2017, 859) explain, “if ‘Indigenous entrepreneurship is to be a field, it must retain the parent discipline’s emphasis on novelty’.” From the outset of contact with Europeans, “Māori embraced innovation and enterprise” (Henry et al. 2017, 791). The traditional Māori economy, and the wider institutions, were able to quickly adopt and adapt their practices to fit within European frames. Henry et al. (2017, 787) fuse the idea of innovation with the social focus of Māori entrepreneurs, defining social innovation as “the development and delivery of new ideas and solutions (products, services, models, markets, processes) at different socio-structural levels that intentionally seek to change power relations and improve human capabilities, as well as the processes via which these solutions are carried out.” Social innovation here connects with tino rangatiratanga as well. Rout et al. (2017, 860) provide an outline of how they view innovation from an indigenous perspective: “indigenous entrepreneurship here is seen as the application of ability to an opportunity with the aim of increasing capital through innovation.” Ability refers to the innate Indigenous qualities (e.g., capabilities). Opportunity refers to the situational potentiality to increase capital. Capital is viewed broadly, capturing financial, social/cultural, and natural. They (Rout et al. 2017) temper innovation with social growth and risk amelioration. This formulation is similar to that provided by Henry et al. (2017, 796), who refer to a “social innovator’s ability to combine cultural capital... with intellectual and financial capital in innovative ways.” Kawharu and Tapsell (2019, 18) make an important point, that “innovations within kin communities are responses to historical circumstances, in particular those concerning loss: loss of land, loss of cultural ways, loss of community cohesion. Innovations originating out of such contexts generally

share an aspiration of seeking ways to overcome colonial-imposed losses in a search to regain social and economic balance, or wellbeing. Yet while kin community entrepreneurship has a historical trajectory that sits in behind or guides the innovation, it would be wrong to characterise or to simplify entrepreneurship as being purely a response to being disadvantaged or having suffered loss of one sort or another.”

Kawharu and Tapsell (2019, 21-22) stress that there is a wide range of skills, knowledge, attributes and qualities Māori entrepreneurs need, and this is situation specific: “Some situations... may require strong negotiating or diplomacy skills while others might require other attributes such as strong decision-making in the face of complex challenges. Other situations again may call on specific technical skills such as deriving from community customary knowledge (mātauranga) and history, or law, accountancy, strategy, planning or bio- or social sciences.”

Awatere et al. (2017, 81) identify five principles that can guide Māori entrepreneurship:

1. “Māori entrepreneurship is located within the context of Māori development by virtue of the entrepreneur being Māori, degrees of socialisation as Māori and conducting business within a Māori enterprise according to Māori values, customs and norms.”
2. “Māori entrepreneurs interact within wider society as a source of inputs, transformative capabilities and an outlet for what is produced by Māori entrepreneurial activity.”
3. “Māori entrepreneurship is adaptive, integrative and intercultural, whose natural tendency is to balance responsibilities within Māori society and wider society.”
4. “Māori entrepreneurship is imbued with a spiritual ethos or mauri.”
5. “mana (power, authority and honour) seems to be a determinant of Māori entrepreneurship.”

There are a number of interesting characteristics of Māori entrepreneurs listed in the literature. Henry (2017, 27) describe them as “bicultural pioneers who walk between distinct yet intricately woven worlds of strategic business decisions, tribal politics, family politics and assessing opportunities on a regular basis.” “Māori entrepreneurs are significantly more educated than others in the Māori community who do not pursue an entrepreneurial career... the experience of higher education provides Indigenous entrepreneurs with exposure to mainstream socialization experiences, beyond formal learning outcomes, that were instrumental to their entrepreneurial careers” (Henry et al. 2018a, 138). As Henry et al. (2018a, 138) note, “[f]uture research on the underpinnings of Indigenous entrepreneurship will do well to examine the complete relation

between the full experience of formal education and future entrepreneurial activity.” **There needs to be more quantitative work on not just education but a range of different entrepreneurial factors including how many Māori entrepreneurs there are, how they apply their values, if they find any conflicts with this and western values etc.**

There is a significant tension in the literature. While most works focus on Māori entrepreneurship as if it is not just in existence but also a powerful force, Awatere et al. (2018) offer a dissenting voice, noting that Durie does not believe a distinctly Māori approach to businesses has emerged despite increasing involvement of Māori. In support of this, Awatere et al. (2017, 81) identify “the near dominance of neo-liberal economic dogma among iwi and hapū entrepreneurs.” This runs counter to most of the other literature. **This reinforces the need for quantitative research about the scope of variance across Māori entrepreneurs specifically and the wider population in general. It would be useful to know how many ‘Māori entrepreneurs’ there are, defined both narrowly and broadly, and how many can be considered to be operating according to Māori values/with social and cultural capital.**

Another identified tension in the indigenous entrepreneurship literature is between those who argue “that improving socio-economic performance was critical to rebuilding Indigenous “nations” oppressed through colonisation” and those who believe that “self-determination and self-government are essential bases for improving the socio-economic conditions of Indigenous peoples” (Barr et al. 2018, 456). **This question can be framed in both institutions and capitals. Institutionally, it asks whether strong political institutions are need to guide economic development.** Going off the work done by Cornell and Kalt (referenced in Rout and Reid 2019), self-determination and self-government, or at least some degree of cultural match and good leadership, is need before economic development can occur. **In terms of capitals, it is an argument between whether social capital is need to build financial capital, or vice versa.** However, this seems unlikely to be an issue across indigenous entrepreneurship in general, but rather that are led by or involving Māori authorities. This divide, between individual and collective entrepreneurship, is referenced in the literature but there do not appear to be concrete analysis of the differences between these two types of entrepreneurship.

Henry et al. (2017, 791) offer a comprehensive challenge to Māori entrepreneurs: “Ameliorating the entrenched poverty and disadvantage of Māori, exacerbated by the longterm impacts of colonisation through the expropriation of land, language, culture and economic foundations, is a



driving aspiration for a new generation of Māori leaders and innovators. Building enterprise that reflects Māori culture and philosophy, underpinned by the cultural capital of an entrepreneurial history, and the social capital of a united and tribal society with strong networks and cohesive connections, has become the challenge for this new generation of Māori entrepreneurs.”

## Legal

There are a number of legal issues Māori face in the contemporary institutional framework, particularly around property rights and traditional mana whenua. Amoamo et al. (2018a, 488) explain that “different subtribes will have local tribal authority over land in their area. Thus, when different groupings (e.g. tribe, subtribe, and family members) have to work together on such projects, negotiating issues of authority over land, particularly when colonial structures have ruptured that authority, can be complicated and time-consuming.” “Māori operating in the fishing sector face a particular set of legislative constraints that emerge from the various Acts that cover Māori fisheries” (Rout et al.; 2019, 11). Tau and Rout (2018, 104-105) note that “[l]egal institutions, including a tribal title that replaces Crown title for Māori /iwi land. Such institutions would need to respect communal and individual property rights, to provide balance between traditional property rights and contemporary economic needs, and to have the capacity to enforce and regulate business and financial contracts upon Māori /tribal land.” From a wider perspective, the work of Cornell and Kalt (referenced in Rout and Reid 2019) would suggest that the laws and rules that constitute a wellbeing economy would need to be culturally matched to traditional Māori lore.

## Political

### Governance

Māori have been forced to adopt several different governance structures, including the corporate-beneficiary, trust, and incorporation models (Rout and Reid 2019). The “continued regulation of Maori governance has lead [sic] to an array of organisations, with differing power, and administration cultures. The quantity of organisations and the differing lines of hierarchy has lead [sic] to miscommunication, uncertainty of leadership, squabbles in decision making and planning, and general break down of traditional social norms and social and cultural capital” (Scrimgeour and Iremonger quoted in Rout and Reid 2019, 138). The neoliberal regime of New Zealand has seen “Māori organisations... caught between the continued regulation of their governance structures and the privatisation of key rights, such as fishing, that underpin their mana and economics” (Rout and Reid 2019, 138). Referencing Harmsworth, Rout and Reid (2019, 138) note that “mainstream governance models are commonly modified by Māori businesses and

intertwined with cultural elements and responsibilities” but this “adds to the complexity of many Māori businesses and specific cultural drivers can contribute to their organisational success or failure’.” Critically, Joseph et al. (2016, 12) believe that, along with effective collaboration and active management, good governance can lead to greater profitability and enhanced economic performance of Māori enterprises. “Collaboration is... set within a complex mosaic of multiple entities that represent a variety of different interests... [and] to effect good governance across multiple entities, complex methods of governance and management should be considered to more significantly benefit the Māori communities that these organisations represent” (Joseph et al. 2016, 13). **Thus, while good governance is an important mechanism in economic development, Māori authorities struggle in many cases, often due to the imposed structures. There is an institutional clash, with a mismatch of culture.**

Governance “occurs through interactions between structures, processes and traditions, which in turn determine how power is exercised, how decisions are taken, and how citizens and other stakeholders have their say” (Joseph et al. 2016, 13). Nicholson et al. (2019, 41) explain that Māori organisational structures can be “understood truly only through the lived experiences of people in organizations... it is important to acknowledge that the basis of Māori management and governance is a deep embeddedness and rootedness in specific places.” Māori governance entities are held to externally legislated standards (Joseph et al. 2016). Good governance is “necessary to maintain the mandate entrusted to the entity by the affected Māori community and to ensure the credibility of the entity in political and commercial communities” (Joseph et al. 2016, 14). For Māori, good governance is a “model of governance that leads to the social, political, cultural and economic outcomes sought by Māori citizens and it involves four main attributes: legitimacy, power, resources and accountability” (Joseph et al. 2016, 14).

One critical area of governance is cultural match. Referencing Cornell and Kalt, Nicholson et al. (2019, 33) explain that the “degree of cultural match between governance institutions and the societal norms apropos authority and organization was crucially linked to whether tribal businesses performed poorly or successfully. When cultural match is high, Indigenous governing bodies tend to engender strong levels of support from the community, and, conversely, when cultural match is low, community support is low.” **Culturally matched institutions build cultural and social capital and enable it to be effectively utilised.** Echoing Cornell and Kalt, Joseph et al. (2016, 22) state that self-governance requires five key elements: “Stable institutions and policies; ii) Fair and effective dispute resolution; iii) Separation of politics from business management; iv) A

competent bureaucracy; and v) Alignment with cultural values ('cultural match')." Rout and Reid (2019) identify both executive and operational authority in the contemporary Māori institutional framework. They note that as well as being culturally-matched to traditional forms and structures of authority, executive and operational authority need to be contextually calibrated to the situation. They note that traditional Māori authority was flexible, and that in the modern context often there is greater rigidity – often due to operating in Western structures and the complexities they create. As they (Rout and Reid 2019, 137, 140) explain "Executive challenges will require the development of an appropriate form of governance" while "Operational challenges demand appropriate methods of leadership".

### Leadership

Leadership, and the underpinning value of rangatiratanga and the core cosmic power of mana, is critical if Māori organisations are to impact whānau outcomes, and it is also vital for influencing the government. Critically, with Māori demographics growing, Spiller et al. (2017, 3) believe it is "vital that we train and grow Māori managers and leaders who can take up key roles in organisations and deliver outcomes that are meaningful for Māori."

Henry and Wolfgramm (2018, 208) note that Winiata's classical model of leaders in Maori society – ariki, rangatira, tohunga, and kaumātua – "still has currency." In the entrepreneur literature, Kawharu (2016, 363) and Kawharu et al. (2017) refer to a relatively common way of categorising different Māori leadership forms that they call the 'takarangī model of leadership': "rangatira 'chiefly leaders' who are risk-alert, pōtiki 'opportunity-seeking' usually younger, leaders who may be risk-takers, kaumātua 'elders' who are often risk-adverse and tohunga 'specialists'." As Kawharu (2016, 363) continues, the "significant factor... is not only how four leadership values were important as reflective of cultural principles, but also how each worked together, hence kotahitanga of difference." These differences can be seen as strengths, though it is likely there needs to be a balance and these different roles/functions would need to be explicitly discussed and allowed for as there is also the potential for clashes to occur.

- Rangatira: For rangatira, Kawharu et al. (2017, 24) identify the "key obligation... [as] to keep balance of the mana/manaaki equilibrium – internally and externally – thus maintaining kin community well-being, especially in the face of adversity or challenge." Rangatira are complex leaders, they (Kawharu et al. 2017, 24) continue, "[i]n some regards, they are not unlike a chief executive officer in terms of operational oversight of a team, but they also have other

multifaceted skills similar to diplomats or social accountants, directors or innovators.” Their ‘contract’ is with the community who holds them accountable. Because mana is collectively constituted, “Maori leaders are accountable to their collective in less hierarchical authoritarian and more open, honest and caring ways” (Ruwhiu and Elkin 2016, 313). Rangatira “combine the advice of kaumātua, pōtiki and tohunga to innovatively utilise human, material and non-material resources” (Kawharu et al. 2017, 24). “Ensuring there is a balance between pōtiki and the more custom-minded kaumātua, rangatira are a mediating factor or an intermediary” (Kawharu et al. 2017, 24). Rangatira are the ones who must take decisive action and need to provide visionary leadership.

- Kaumātua On kaumātua, Kawharu et al. (2017, 25) note that they “are the tikanga or customary magistrates, the cultural ‘councillors’.” Kaumātua can be understood as repositories of wisdom, their “knowledge of connections between individuals and groups (business entities)... helps to situate any collective enterprise within a genealogically framed community context” (Kawharu 2019, 253). They also “provide the intermediary ‘sounding board’ or tikanga-based perspective and fulfil their roles in a marae-centred space between pōtiki and rangatira whenever crisis or innovation requires some form of tikanga-based check and balance” (Kawharu et al. 2017, 25).
- Potiki: pōtiki are “[h]ighly entrepreneurially or innovation-driven, these younger-minded pōtiki differentiate themselves from rangatira and others by their risk-taking propensity to explore new opportunities” (Kawharu et al. 2017, 25). Generally younger, pōtiki provide the adventurous dynamo to the leadership quartet, described as “ambitious, uninhibited, cutting-edge, boundary pushing, explorative and not constrained by risks or even custom” (Kawharu et al. 2017, 26). In the modern era pōtiki embody the disruptive, entrepreneurial spirit.
- Tohunga: tohunga are the expert/technical advisors of rangatira, who in the modern era are most likely to be “accountants, resource managers, psychologists, geologists, farmers, teachers or lawyers” (Kawharu et al. 2017, 27). While tohunga used to encompass cultural-spiritual expertise, the “tohunga class of leadership has expanded its skills to keep pace, not least in servicing Māori entrepreneurship in global contexts. Thus, beyond the marae, contemporarily rangatira also seek expertise from perhaps Western-trained and/or non- Māori tohunga-like specialists” (Kawharu et al. 2017, 27).

“Māori leadership is exercised in many different types of spaces—such as tribal, corporate entities, social ventures, and community organizations” (Spiller et al. 2020b, 519). In concert with the tensions outlined in the governance section, Roche et al. (2018, 26) outline how “leaders in all types of organisations are under increasing pressure due to the competitiveness, complexity of organisational systems and change faced by leaders today... This situation is even more complex and ominous for Maori leaders.” Māori communities have far more challenges, adding extra burden on leaders. Furthermore, “evidence suggests that by the very nature of the leadership role in influencing others, this negative reaction filters through to others, including creating a negative impact on followers’ wellbeing” (Roche et al. 2018, 26). There is, then, reinforcing feedback as the leaders are strained, which strains an already strained community. **Māori leaders face a tension between the institutional structures they operate within and the values they must embody.** Maori leaders – politicians, business owners, iwi organisations and even marae leadership - work mostly within Westernised structures, yet they are also expected to lead via the engagement in, and utilisation of, unique elements of Maori tikanga and values (Roche et al. 2018). This is something Haar et al. (2019, 622) reinforce, noting that Māori leaders “face additional complexities in leading within western organisations.” However, Māori values do provide Māori leaders with ‘armour’ against the tensions of operating in Western structures (Haar et al. 2019, 622). **That is, cultural capital can help protect from institutional clashes.** Also, as a means of dealing with these complexities, Māori leadership “aims to weave together traditional and contemporary cultural influences on leadership styles and practices” (Haar et al. 2019, 622). Henry and Wolfgramm (2018, 209) identify a framework intended to help Māori leaders overcome these challenges and tensions: “travelling, navigating and negotiating. Travelling highlights the challenges for Maori living outside of tribal boundaries with limited access to the learning leadership by osmosis approach inherent in traditional Maori society. However, this is overcome by weaving new relationships and creating new cultural spaces using contemporary technologies and social media... Navigating highlights the challenges encountered as a result of having to navigate through rigid institutional boundaries and complex political webs in both Maori in main stream institutions. In order to navigate and weave new pathways, Maori leaders require highly developed negotiating skills.” Another critical issue Roche et al. (2018) identify is that there are not enough Māori leaders – this seems like an important area, the wellbeing economy requires leadership.

**While the majority of the works on leadership focus on the positive ways in which Māori leadership is constituted and enacted,** referencing Rata, Henry and Wolfgramm (2018, 208) do

raise an important issue that needs focus as well: “the emergence of a Maori ruling elite of neotribal capitalism in New Zealand and links this to an ideology of revived traditional Maori leadership .”

Leaders of Māori organisations, as Spiller et al. (2020a) outline, need to be guided by tikanga and values, culturally grounded and well versed in te ao Māori, have strong relational skills and help keep communities together, be keenly aware and committed to an intergenerational vision that has been laid down in the past, and possess multifaceted intelligence and acumen (not just financial and economic skills). “To be a leader, a rangatira, then, is to excel at weaving people together, to encourage or inspire others to go on a journey together, to exercise agency, and to light the way toward a world in which all flourish” (Spiller et al. 2020b, 520). Similarly, Henry and Wolfgramm (2018, 208-209) also identify “six factors... significant to successful contemporary Maori leadership including aroha (compassion and love), pakanga (debates) tino rangatiratanga (sovereignty), manawahine (female leadership), tikanga kore (adapting protocols to suit the situation), pono (truth) and tika (what is deemed correct).” As Haar et al. (2019, 622) note, for Māori leaders, “within contemporary business contexts, traditional values remain treasures that can aid the development of people and organisations.” “Indeed”, Haar et al. (2019, 623) continue, “the centrality of Māori values and cultural protocols (tikanga Māori) provides guidelines for Māori leaders’ behaviour.” They (Haar et al. (2019, 623-624) then outline five key values from their interviews with Māori leaders: “(1) Whakaiti (Humility), (2) Ko tau rourou and manaakitanga (Altruism), (3) tāria te wā and kaitiakitanga (Time Orientation), (4) whanaungatanga (collectivistic/relational orientation), and (5) tikanga Māori (Cultural Authenticity).” For those guided by Māori values, their “aim [is] to create relational wealth and wellbeing” (Haar et al. 2019, 622).

A key quality a Māori leader needs is the ability to build and grow relationships and focus on collective outcomes. Roche et al. (2018, 27) emphasise the importance of relational skills: “the role of leadership is to build, nurture and sustain relationships. Maori leadership has been described as based on the notion of reciprocity (utu), mutual understandings and leading through serving people.” Māori leaders “place strong emphasis on collectivism and egalitarian values” (Roche et al. 2018, 27). This is something Haar et al. (2019, 623) refer to as well, noting that “Māori leaders are follower orientated, weaving people together, based on tikanga Māori... leadership is not viewed as hierarchical, but as a stewardship of others, including future and past generations, and importantly is relational in orientation.” Good Māori leadership “develops not only the well-being of the individual, but also that of the collective” (Haar et al. 2019, 622). Māori leaders “engage

with cultural values to aid their leadership for the benefit of followers” (Haar et al. 2019, 622). Another salient connection to relational skills and leadership comes from the entrepreneur literature, where Kawharu (2016, 364) discusses how “[t]eam-based leadership is an approach that could be described as a kind of collective entrepreneurship that is essentially based on strong networks within and beyond a community.” In their study Henry and Wolfgramm (2018, 215) found that “relational leadership is a process of social construction, which emerges from the dynamic interaction between ontology (ways of being) and praxis (ways of doing).” Henry and Wolfgramm (2018, 207) also provide nuance to this understanding of relational leadership, noting “relational self-identities and collective social identities are inherent in Maori leadership as both the unique individual self and the broader social collective are central to Maori *ways of doing* leadership.” **This nuance is important, as noted in the value chain and business sections, there is a need for individuality and autonomy across the Māori economy as well as relational and collective foci – there is much more attention on the latter in the research, and the individual actor (be it a person or business) and their interaction with the wider collective needs more attention. In some ways, this sees human and social capital interacting.** Even when they operate in Western structures, “Maori leadership is not based on power and control over others, but rather focusses on being servants to the whānau, hapū, iwi and wider social, organisational and political communities to which they belong” (Roche et al. 2018, 27). To illustrate this, Henry and Wolfgramm (2018, 204) note that “it is not uncommon for a leader of a corporate tribal entity to be found in the kitchen working with whanau (family) at any given time.”

Regarding the relational nature of leadership, Spiller et al. (2020b, 519) outline that an “ecosystemic view of leadership comprises a network of dynamic relationships between individuals and collectives.” This view is built on three core strands of knowledge: social-ecological systems (SESs) theory; Indigenous ecological knowledge (IEK); and the Māori worldview. This “dynamic set of relationships is an ecosystem held together in three key ways. The first is ‘activating a knowledge code’ that is transmitted from one network to the next through acts such as ritual, ceremony, proverbs, art, and performance. The second is ‘cultivating ties of affection’ which bind people to each other, place, and ecologies. The third is ‘working the tensions’, whereby tension, although it can be uncomfortable, is a necessary part of ensuring that leadership is honoring the knowledge code” (Spiller et al. 2020b, 519). “An ecosystemic view of collective leadership encompasses the view that the role of humans is to ensure that all things can unfold their potential and flourish” (Spiller et al. 2020b, 522). This “approach to collective leadership is not about any one leader.

Rather, it is a complex of roles and responsibilities, including as aunties and uncles, elders, wisdom keepers, orators, and genealogists. Even those who hold a leadership position at the helm of large, profit-oriented Māori corporations understand that they are a leader among others—one who stands with others, not over them” (Spiller et al. 2020b, 522). **This approach connects with the concepts of rangatira, tohunga, kaumātua, and pōtiki.**

Spiller develops several critical concepts regarding contemporary Māori leadership: wayfinding and wisdom. Spiller (2016, 29-34; in Kriger et al. 2015, 13-14) uses the wayfarer analogy of traditional Māori navigators to outline four counterintuitive principles that can aid leadership:

- Seeing the invisible: Wayfinders employ what we call Sphere Intelligence which is a highly disciplined craft based on using all senses and different types of intelligence to 'see' what is going on – and processing these signs to understand the relationships between them
- Taking the fastest route is not necessarily the most direct: People can become so fixated on a plan, or their KPIS and other indicators, and to believing that they must be heading in the right direction by virtue of them, that important signs can be overlooked. Thus, what may appear to be the most rational, efficient and direct route to a goal may not be the most effective
- Calling the island to you: In contrast to the striving be-going approach most of us are acculturated to the wayfinders world is one of be-coming. The vessel, in a sense remains stationary for the purposes of navigation, and by calibrating to the signs in the present moment the island eventually comes to the wayfinder, not the wayfinder going to the destination
- Moving from stillness: To acquire the mental resilience and all-round grit of the wayfinder is to operate from a relaxed state in all circumstances, whether in a raging storm, or caught up in the wayward and dangerous winds of the doldrums.
- Fostering a purpose of becoming: ‘Purpose’ is not a static slogan for the boardroom wall or annual report; it is something people are willing to share in and become. A key role of leaders is to foster this shared sense of becoming.
- Releasing potential: Wayfinding leaders are kaitiaki – experts in the practice of taking care of people and of place. They create mauri ora – ‘wellbeing’ – and they not only liberate themselves and others, they create a space where all people liberate each other in communion to fulfil their potential.

A wayfinding leader is attuned to the relational, emergent nature of reality, they are pattern spotters, finding patterns in people and nature, and they have a purpose. As Spiller (2016, 28) explains, “Wayfinding leaders are able to more effectively release the potential in others and in



situations. The practice of wayfinding deepens discernment about what is really going on, while at the same time enabling leaders to be more responsive to subtle shifts and nuances. It develops integrative thinking and perceptiveness – the ability to see connections between things that others do not see and to make sense of complexity.” She (Spiller 2016, 28) continues, “Wayfinding leaders adapt more naturally to change and harness the potential of uncertainty, ambiguity, and the unknown. And they experience greater relaxation, presence and calm – especially in the face of adversity.” Spiller’s (2011a, 18) other important notion is that Māori leaders need to be wise leaders, “leaders who demonstrate transformation in themselves and evoke transformation in others.” Wise leaders “attract and retain the best staff, engender customer loyalty, win more support from other stakeholders and deliver increased economic returns” (Spiller 2011a, 18). This is underpinned by “the recognition of interconnectedness” (Spiller 2011a, 18). Māori leaders need to not only act with mana but understand that their mana comes from those they work with.

Henry and Wolfgramm (2018, 204) link Māori leadership to the emerging field of ‘relational leadership’, which is viewed as “a process of social construction through which certain understandings of leadership come about and are given privileged ontology.” These “social realities are viewed as interdependent constructions existing and known only in relation” (Henry and Wolfgramm 2018, 204). They (Henry and Wolfgramm 2018, 204). note that “concept of genealogical recital (whakapapa) is central in Maori leadership ontology... [because] as a ritual practice, is a transformative process that shifts leadership from ‘ways of being’ (embodiment) to ‘ways of doing’ (enactment) in Maori leadership.” “Also fundamental to genealogical recital (whakapapa) in a Maori leadership ontology is mana”, Henry and Wolfgramm (2018, 204) continue.

Mana is also identified as a key quality for Māori leaders. After outlining the four sources of mana, Henry and Wolfgramm (2018, 205) connect mana to leadership, referring to the importance of “Mana Atua [as] spiritual power acquired by individuals to gain skills and knowledge.” They (Henry and Wolfgramm 2018, 205) note that an “important dimension and expression of this is reflected in one’s actions, commitments and ability to fulfil social obligations.” Regarding mana whenua, they explain that “[s]pecial relationships developed over generations of occupation and control over unique geographical and terrestrial environments, hence the mana of the land is interrelated with those who have lived and occupied it over many generations” (Henry and Wolfgramm 2018, 206). The relationships with people and land that emerge out of mana whenua are also important for leadership, as “relational view recognises the ontological and epistemological unification with

the natural world is what unites Maori and indigenous peoples” (Henry and Wolfgramm 2018, 206). On mana tupuna, they (Henry and Wolfgramm 2018, 206) explain how it “often references the ancestor lines through which an individual may inherit a chiefly title that may be patrilineal, matrilineal or ambilineal. In terms of ways-of-being-in-relation-to others, consideration of primary referenced social systems is consistent with a focus on relational social processes by which leadership emerges and operates.” “Mana Tangata”, as Henry and Wolfgramm (2018, 207) explain, “is power acquired by individuals to enhance promotion of common good.” Finally, mana wahine is “associated with generative and nurturing forces, sources of life” (Henry and Wolfgramm 2018, 207).

On competence, Roche et al. (2018, 31-32) explain: “analysis... showed that the leadership position did evoke competence and development, coupled with this was the importance for Maori leaders of building respect and mutual understanding (mana) in others as well. Thus, competence for Maori leaders is enhanced when leadership competence is coupled with collective phenomena. Leaders who engage in challenging situations do so in a way that builds relationships that aid reciprocity (utu) and respect of others (mana)... leaders may view their work as not only as meaningful and competence-building for themselves, but also building others’ competence and mana. Overall... building the competence of others is particularly important and beneficial for Maori leaders.”

Roche et al. (2018, 27) note the high demand the TPK Māori leadership guidelines place on Māori leaders: “a leader should serve the people, care for the people, listen to the people and speak on behalf of the people; the primary obligation of a leader is to ensure the continuity and development of Maori society and culture from traditional, contemporary and futuristic perspectives; and a leader strives to enhance and strengthen the integrity of Maori society and culture.” Māori leaders are facing increasing pressures and demands across the board. As Kawharu (2019) notes, this is a critical juncture for Māori leadership: “Māori communities are increasingly receiving lands and other resources as a result of concluding often lengthy cases concerning historical breaches of the (1840) Treaty by the government and which has seen significant resource loss. Those who are responsible for developing post-Treaty settlement growth programmes with newly received assets are faced with significant opportunities for transformative change. Integrating cultural with other social and economic values within community development strategies is important now more than ever in these contexts.”

Leaders need to be able to walk in ‘both worlds’ and they need to have a good understanding of the complexities of the Māori world in the contemporary reality. Explaining how their interviewee managed to pull together several groups needed to get a tourism business underway, Amoamo et al. (2018a, 489) explain “having whakapapa and understanding the politics of the situation were key to getting the business started. In other words, the relational mana of our interviewee and his ability to pull together (ranga) the group (tira)—that is, rangatiratanga or leadership skills—are keys to such cultural retooling.” In a similar vein, Henry and Wolfgramm (2018, 208) note “the importance of augmenting Maori traditional concepts of leadership (Pumanawa) with contemporary perspectives of Maori leaders and leadership in order to keep in step with needs in changing times.”

Spiller et al. (2020a) provide a number of general attributes Māori leaders need. These have been organised into different categories than originally presented, with the aim of understanding which are more innate, which can be taught, which are individual, and which emerge of surrounding institutions and structures:

Qualities – these are more innate than skills and knowledge, they are personal qualities that can be developed through skill and knowledge building but are more likely to come from a mix of personality and personal experience:

- dedicated to the kaupapa
- live their values
- culturally grounded
- able to walk in many worlds
- connected to a source of ahi kaa
- manage stress and burn-out
- calm and steadfast under pressure
- wellspring of resilience
- humble, respectful, trustworthy, unifying, and courageous
- analytical, strategic, consistent, and methodical
- possess a willingness to develop their skill sets
- coachable spirits who can receive support, advice, and feedback

There are many identified qualities of Māori leadership, with the obvious questions being: how many current and future leaders have these qualities and how they rank and rate them; are there any ways in which they can be nurtured or encourage; are all of these qualities necessary in all leaders; are there any qualities that clash; and, are there any supreme qualities that are more important than the others?

Skills and knowledge – these are able to be taught or can be gained by a wider array of individuals than ‘qualities’ can be:

- have relevant experience
- financially literate
- governance skills
- sound knowledge of tikanga, values, and te ao Māori

**The number of listed skills is far smaller than those of qualities, with a few questions here being: are there any skills missing; why are skills possibly less important than qualities; can skills build qualities and what ways can skill and knowledge development be best used to do this?**

Governance – while these can be personal qualities, they are also able to be fostered and channeled by the organisational structure and its institutions:

- a clear long-term vision
- long term planning
- have influence and be politically astute without being ‘politicised’

### Decision-making

Decision-making within Māori organisations needs to be consensus based, as Spiller et al. (2020a) explain, which is a core and oft referenced Māori governance value. Critically, however, Spiller et al. (2020a) note that “consensus is hardly neutral, and it is vital to scope this out more carefully. Broadbrush expressions such as ‘consensus’ and ‘participation’ belie the nuances, complexities and tensions that exist.” Spiller et al. (2020a) identify three levels of decision-making, analogising this to the roots, trunk, and branches of a tree. At the root is the collective, where decision making emerges out of whaikorero during wananga, generating collective intelligence. The trunk is the strategic decision-making of the leadership team, who use hui and debate, with a more rational-

management praxis. Finally, the branches are the communities where the decisions are implemented, the tasks must be oriented to the contexts and conditions of the community, and there should be feedback loops through the wananga at the collective level for both the community and those doing the mahi in the community that ensure outcomes are well calibrated. **Areas of interest that emerge out of this tripartite structure and its various mechanisms are: how closely does this match the way Māori decision-making works historically and now; the trunk appears to be the most ‘modern’ of the three, both in terms of its structure and its focus on rational debate, seems like an area of potential conflict; are there cases that can be examined which reinforce or disprove this model; how does this model line up with international examples and is there any additional practices or structures that could help make this more functional?**

Spiller et al. (2020a) list these characteristics of Māori decision-making. These have been reorganised into three categories:

People – these refer to the qualities people need to bring to decision-making and most directly connect with the subsection on leadership qualities, skills, and knowledge:

- people who are knowledgeable
- brave, instinctive, resilient

Process – these are more interested in the types of rules and procedures that Māori decision-making needs to employ and embody to ensure consensus:

- me whakamana te kauae runga me te kauae raro
- participatory and inclusive
- transparent
- non-hierarchical
- places whakaaro on the floor so it can be considered by the collective
- time to do things properly
- does not push an agenda
- requires intergenerational input

**Some questions here are: are there any key processes missing; is there an order or logic to these processes which might help set them out; how do these processes connect with the strengths and weaknesses of Māori decision-making and can these be overcome?**

Scope – these are focused on the breadth and depth of the decision-making outcomes:

- future focused, visionary and aspirational
- considers who will be most affected, and how

This provides a wide ranging scope and while useful it may also need some direction. Being future focused, visionary and aspirational is admirable but what about the steps in between? Potentially need to examine the importance of short and mid-term planning, both as a means of achieving long term goals and also for their own importance. Also as well as considering who will be most affected and how it might also pay to examine the various cascading impacts of decisions as well as how they relate to short and long term goals.

Spiller et al. (2020a) then outline the strengths and weaknesses of Māori decision-making. The strengths were:

#### Outcome

- focus on future generations

#### Cultural proficiencies

- bound by whakapapa
- upholds te ao Māori tikanga, practices, values and processes
- uses kaitiakitanga approaches
- is wairua based
- gives effect to self-determination (partial outcome)

#### Process-focused

- grows capacity (partial outcome)
- provides strength for the hapū and whānau (partial outcome)
- has a collective to do the mahi
- willingness to bring people on board

The most obvious gaps here are that almost none of these strengths are interested in outcomes but rather are more interested in maintaining and building cultural proficiencies, political status, or

even just reflective of the process itself. There is only one that is solely outcome focused, and it is vague, with the 'partial outcome' strengths really focusing on improving processes. For any substantive impact on whānau wellbeing, there needs to be greater interest on successful decision-making in terms of developing a vision, creating strategies to deliver this, and then determining the policies and programmes required.

The weaknesses were:

People (and the politics of groups)

- who gets mandated to make decisions? Who are the 'right' people?
- ignorance by the people, not just leaders
- overly nepotistic
- need more women in leadership and decision-making roles
- power imbalances
- lack of competency
- self-interest is rampant
- lack of kindness

Process

- poor information
- overly time consuming
- blurred roles and responsibilities
- lack of evidence-based arguments
- hierarchies around knowledge
- lack of transparency and openness
- not resilient to other perspectives
- lack of vision
- lack of governance

Cultural proficiencies

- lack of understanding of cultural capital
- unclear understanding of what are colonised processes and what is Māori

Outcomes

- decisions usually benefit a few, not the many

There is a lot of focus on issues surrounding the personality and politics of decision-making, and issues with the process. Again limited focus on the outcomes, whether they were good or bad. Of course the identified issues would limit the effectiveness and utility of the outcomes in some cases.

### Organisational

This section will examine the various Māori organisational structures, including Māori authorities as well as businesses. The Māori organisational landscape is highly complex, with not only post-settlement governance entities (PSGE), but also Māori land incorporations and trusts, as well as structures relating to specific areas of resource management, or pan-iwi governance and a range of different Māori businesses. As Ruwhiu et al. (2019, 6) explain, the “forms of Māori organization that contribute to the Māori economy include communally owned entities, such as tribal corporations and Māori land trusts, and individually owned private enterprises”.

The current organisational landscape is a product of settler colonisation as well as the continuation of traditional forms, with an interplay of the destructive forces of colonisation and active resistance by Māori seeing new hybrid structures which have been designed both as a way of remaining tūturu whilst also being able to navigate the wider settler framework. Ruwhiu et al. (2019, 5) note the “destructive impacts of colonial processes” and the “imposition of ‘alien’ logics and regulation” on Māori organisational structures. However, as well as noting the decimation they also emphasise the resistance, referencing “Māori response to colonisation has seen socio-political manoeuvring alongside periods of resistance, mostly around territorial lands and water, but increasingly including areas of economic, cultural and intellectual development” (Ruwhiu et al. 2019, 6). “From a Māori perspective,” Spiller and Stockdale (2012, 3) explain, “all entities, including organizations, are comprised of a complex of spiritually endowed life-energies that signify its “thrivability”, that is, a healthy vital life-force.” Furthermore, they (Spiller and Stockdale (2012, 3) note that “Māori organizations have been shown to have a “Māori edge... research has suggested that the edge is embodied in the relationships within and between these dimensions of people, products and processes” and they posit it also comes from the life energies. They connect this with wellbeing, explaining that these life energies “managers and leaders this means creating the conditions whereby others can tap into their sources of well-being.”

### Māori authorities



Māori authorities, here understood as PSGEs, constituent rūnanga, marae organisations, trusts, incorporations, pan-iwi organisations (e.g. Federation of Maori Authorities, Rōpū Kōkiri-ā-Iwi) and other bodies such as those focused on resource management (e.g. Waikato River Authority, Te Ohu Kaimoana). Houkamau (2019, 212) identifies the complexity of these different groups, explaining that “[t]here are a number of ‘post Treaty-settlement’ government entities, Tribal Trust Boards and other mandated tribal organizations which exist to manage Māori assets and deliver social, health and other services to their tribal constituents.” While most have business interests, they are primarily governance structures.

There is often a tension at the heart of Māori governance structures. Treaty settlements require “tribal entities to take on government-mandated forms such as trusts, incorporated societies or companies” (Amoamo et al. 2018a, 482). As a result, these tribal entities “have been forced to find a balance between managing and operating entities that have external legal obligations against the internal social and cultural obligations to tribal members” (Amoamo et al. 2018a, 482). **These structures limit the capacity to implement values-based businesses, institutional structures limit social and cultural capital growth and utilisation.**

#### Post-Settlement Governance Entities

In the rationalistic, empirical modern reality, Mika et al. (2019, 297) note, “tribes should simply not exist... Yet, tribes are not simply subsisting, they are growing in individual and collective institutional capacity, structure, agency and membership.” They represent “a countervailing management discourse to rational institutionalism where authenticity, reflexivity, mimesis and incantation” (Mika et al. 2019, 297). Of course, one reason for a resurgence of tribes in New Zealand is that the settlements have driven increasing ‘retribalisation’ both institutionally and demographically. **In some ways, the resurgence of iwi in New Zealand can be seen as driven by financial and built capital.** As Mika et al. (2019, 301) note, “Treaty settlements have facilitated an increase in identifying members of a tribe through tribal registers”. Likewise, the “decision to allocate quota to iwi based on population prompted a wave of tribal enrolment initiatives, as iwi sought to grow their population numbers so they could get more quota” (Rout et al. 2018, 35). Of course, this is only part of the answer.

Mika et al. (2019, 297) state that “tribalism as a concept is increasingly reflected in the reconceptualisation of indigenous entrepreneurship, indigenous innovation, indigenous enterprise, indigenous economies, and regional and national development.” The tribe is “an organisation

which cares for its members, having common ancestry, a common history and body of tradition, a common set of customs, a common territory and a common sense of destiny” and “an association of people with current face-to-face contact, on a more or less regular basis, that provides the range of satisfactions humankind needs” (Mika et al. 2019, 299).

Iwi have long been the government’s preferred grouping to deal with and as such there have been several state generated definitions (Mika et al. 2019). The short lived Rūnanga Iwi Bill of 1990 defined an iwi as being: “a descent from a common tūpuna (ancestor); a collective possession of demonstrable cultural and historical identity; a developed political organisation; a structure of hapū; a network of functioning marae (communal meeting houses); historical belonging to a defined rohe (region); and continuous existence widely acknowledged by other iwi” (Mika et al. 2019, 299). During the fisheries settlement the Privy Council decided “iwi meant traditional Māori tribe, a determination eventually finding its way into the Māori Fisheries Act (2004)” (Mika et al. 2019, 299). During the fisheries settlement it was decided tribes could “choose whatever legal structure they wish provided it meets the minimum standard set by Te Ohu Kai Moana” (Rout et al. 2018, 34). While this seems to give a degree of latitude, the crucial words are ‘legal structure’ and ‘minimum standards.’” In reality, this definition requires that iwi “invest the assets, monitor their performance, extract a dividend and make reinvestment decisions, meaning they must meet certain ‘structural’ criteria of capitalist modernity” (Rout et al. 2018, 34). The Law Commission determined that there were two particular components, the tribe itself and the tribal entity – the latter referring to the legally mandated organisation that represents the tribe. “Treaty settlements over the last 30 years have reinforced the ascendancy of iwi as the representative body of the tribe, but this is being challenged by hapū, whānau and non-iwi organisations, given the changing nature of Māori organisations” (Mika et al. 2019, 299).

The typical post-settlement governance entity is configured into three parts: “(1) a rūnanga (tribal council) comprising elected iwi members as political representatives whose focus is governing the tribal entity for the tribe; (2) an asset holding company, a subsidiary which manages commercial assets and activities, generating wealth for redistribution; and a charity, which implements social and cultural policy within the tribe using resources largely generated from within, in addition to governmental funding” (Mika et al. 2019, 306-307). The structure that tribes had to adopt to receive settlement has caused a raft of issues for tribes and tribal entities. Mika et al. (2019, 307-308) identify a number of tensions within iwi:

- individual and private interests versus collective and iwi interests;

- local versus global developments;
- iwi versus crown interests;
- self-development strategies versus dependency strategies;
- culturally informed versus traditional economic “thinking” and “practice
- “Bottom up” (inclusion models) versus “top down” (hierarchical models) development;
- differentiating “leadership” and “management” issues;
- critically understanding treaty settlements as more about “quantifying” and settling property rights issues than about settling personal rights in the Treaty of Waitangi;
- ahikā versus taurahere status; and
- rohe versus national- and international-based roles and activities

One of the most critical is the divide between social, cultural, and environmental on one side and economic on the other, **this is a tension between different capitals**. Through the settlement process “capitalist management structures were imposed on Māori societies” (Rout et al. 2018, 35). These structures have also resulted in tribal leaders being forced into focusing on economic outcomes, as Mika et al. (2019, 304) explain “[i]n striving to participate in economic development, tribal organisations and people within them tend to behave like non-Māori in one sense, where wealth is expressed in terms of the value of the assets and the prestige, power and influence that comes with it.” As Awatere et al. (2017, 81) explain, “[i]mplementation of kaupapa Māori entrepreneurship within MAHI [Māori asset holding institutions] is always limited in outcome because the corporate-beneficiary structure is inherently distancing by design, effectively isolating the corporation from the culture.” These structures also created tensions between tribal members and the tribal entity. In reference to Ngāi Tahu, Barr et al. (2018, 457) explain how the “separation created internal political tensions as the tribal membership did want to be supported in their own entrepreneurial activities to enhance their own rangatiratanga using traditional resources, not just that of a corporate tribe.” Entrepreneurs view the division between commercial and social functions as limiting tribal enterprise, as it “can inhibit the flow of entrepreneurial opportunities to tribal members... [as it] allows tribal commercial entities to somewhat zealously hold to commercial investment criteria that may exclude cultural imperatives, when the doctrine of corporate social responsibility is emerging as a powerful countervailing narrative” (Mika et al. 2019, 307). The “separation between social and commercial functions within tribal entities has created an artificial divide” for entrepreneurs, “on the one hand, the social entity (typically a subsidiary charity) may see merit in an iwi-based business venture, but the resources to make such an investment are locked inside the commercial entity (typically a subsidiary company) whose

mandate is strictly commercial. On the other hand, commercial arms are often entrusted with hard-won treaty settlement assets that must be prudently managed for future generations. This makes startup enterprises decidedly unattractive investments because of their inherent risk” (Mika et al. 2019, 307).

Thus, these structures are ultimately another means by which any ‘Māori economy’ is restrained and contained by the wider settler economy. As Tau and Rout (2018, 105), quoting O’Regan, explain, PSGE Holding Corporations’ “purpose and consequently, governance, is little different in structure and requirements from the corporately owned assets in the wider economy.’ That is, an entity that focuses on profit at the expense of the deeper values that guided and gave purpose to the traditional Māori economy.” PSGEs are unable to prevent leakage into the wider settler economy as they have limited institutional power, while their structures pit capitals against each other rather than enabling them to work in synergy. And if they are to generate the profits required to continue operating the beneficial programmes they are mandated to deliver, their Holdings Corporations must operate in a fashion similar to their competitors within the wider settler economy, meaning that there will inevitably be leakage. The wealth generated within the economy built by PSGEs suffers immediate and enduring leakage as there is no institutional framework in place to ensure that iwi are able to continue to generate income from the initial outlay (Tau and Rout 2018).

Tribes are a key vehicle for wellbeing, yet PSGEs are not fit for purpose. “Tribal institutions ought to be designed in ways that perpetuate tribal ways of knowing, being and doing, according to where and how tribes collectively see value. This involves a delicate balance of preserving tribal identity, culture, knowledge and norms and adapting to current circumstances and future generations’ needs” (Mika et al. 2019, 305). Mika et al. (2019, 305) then quote O’Regan’s propositions to ensure they are fit for purpose:

- new thinking grounded in tribal culture and history, taking a long-term view of development, which accounts for present and future generations;
- clear purpose and vision that includes the need for a long-term perspective to tribal development (50-100 years), but taking care not to miss economic opportunities in the short and medium term;
- designing our own institutions and economic systems whilst adapting rather than imitating Western models and methods;

- finding a natural balance within iwi between functions rightly held by the centre and functions rightly held by the regions;
- ensuring regional elements of iwi have a fair measure of economic, political and cultural autonomy to ensure they can engage constructively;
- the scarcity and importance of quality tribal leadership and the difficulty in finding, growing and selecting such leaders; and
- guarding against the dangers of incumbency, a problem that restricts democratic politics to a focus on being re-elected and staying in power.

**One solution to the structural tensions is adopting hybridized or ‘blended’ organisational forms that fund social development initiatives from their commercial activities** (Amoamo et al. 2018a, 482). These organisational forms “focus on whakapapa or relationality in its broadest sense” (Amoamo et al. 2018a, 482). Hybrid organisations respond to at least two different and often opposing paradigms: one responds to the competitive market and the other has social objectives as its focus (Amoamo et al. 2018a, 482). As a result they often have to take on “novel institutional forms, new resource configurations and novel governance structures” (Amoamo et al. 2018a, 482). For Māori these “structures are ‘retrofitted’ mechanisms designed to make possible the enactment of the cultural values that provide the thread of continuity of Māori identity and which integrate and hold together the social fabric of Māori culture” (Amoamo et al. 2018a, 482).

Barr et al. (2018, 464) provide another view of how PSGE can provide “economic development opportunities to sub-tribal and family-owned enterprises, whilst still allowing a level of coordination and management support from the tribal center – a working partnership that is symbiotic in nature.” The PSGE works in a horizontal, decentralised way with sub-tribal and family-owned enterprises, ensuring their autonomy and providing the scales of economy and collective action where needed.

“Understanding what the growth agendas are and how people are pursuing them can provide insights not only into the challenges that leaders face, but also the lessons that they have learnt along the way” (Kawharu 2018, 7). As Kawharu (2018, 7) continues, this involves “understanding growth from the vantage points of both community leaders (who ‘lead’ the growth programmes) and those whom they serve (the recipients of benefits and who also support the leaders in their diverse roles). There are two challenges facing Māori authorities: find ways to reclaim, to strengthen or to centralise the importance of marae-based values within growth agendas; and ways

to frame them that makes sense and is relevant to an increasing diasporic kin community (Kawharu 2018).

With most of Treaty settlements completed, PSGEs find themselves at a particularly critical period. As Kawharu (2018, 8) explains, “a new generation of community leaders are now tasked with administering major land and other resources arising out of Treaty of Waitangi claim resolutions.” These Māori authorities are responsible for developing post-Treaty settlement growth programmes with newly-received assets. As Kawharu and Tapsell (2019, 14) note, the “question of how to transfer benefit (from settlement assets) to the community of descendants underpins the work of all settlement groups. Grants and scholarships are immediate ways, but other more complex issues relating to health, housing, employment and wellbeing may take many years to address and/or successfully implement.” However, while these take years, and decades, to implement, the pressures and demands are immediate and pressing. There are significant opportunities for transformative change and integrating cultural and social alongside economic values in community development strategies is critical (Kawharu 2018). However, they also often have a diverse and complex array of required duties and tasks, often with pressing issues of skill and capacity. As Mika et al. (2019, 305) explain, the post-settlement period has been “marked by multiple pressures to assemble capable institutions and people and grow the fiscal and nonfiscal capacity of the tribe.” It is for this reason that iwi are increasingly looking for tribal members with “expertise in the technical and professional disciplines of accounting, finance, business, environment, sustainability, policy, employment, law, marketing” (Mika et al. 2019, 302).

Addressing the failure for many PSGEs to implement kaupapa guided businesses, Awatere et al. (2017, 84) note that PSGEs have an “abundance of useful policy and strategies that have successfully incorporated Māori ethical positions” but they face a range of challenges in implementing them. One of the constraints on this is that often whānau are distanced from the management and governance structures – they lack “formalised engagement pathways” (Awatere et al. 2017, 84). **This is a deficit of social capital.** There is also a lack of “skilled and capable entrepreneurs versed in Māori values like manaakitanga, kaitiakitanga and whakapapa” (Awatere et al. 2017, 84). **This is a deficit in human and cultural capital.** There is also a deficit of kaupapa attuned leadership, resulting in a “lack of clear unifying strategy across all entities, leading to reactive governance and a lack of accountability to beneficiaries” (Awatere et al. 2017, 84). Monitoring and evaluation is often outsourced, and there are few kaupapa Māori-oriented tools, meaning that often only the financial metrics are focused on. Their (Awatere et al. 2017, 86)

recommendations for overcoming these issues are: “development of clear and unifying kaupapa Māori-based policies like statements of core intent and letters of expectation, development of processes to apply these policies in practice, utilisation and development of kaupapa Māori advocates (MAGs and entrepreneurs with kaupapa Māori capability), recruitment of visionary leaders that recognise the opportunities afforded through socially optimal outcomes and utilisation of assessment tools informed by kaupapa Māori.”

“Few post-settlement iwi are... investing in the enterprises of tribal members... Iwi appear preoccupied with building stable, capable and effective governing institutions, necessitating conservative investment programmes and the use of corporate business models” (Mika et al. 2019, 306). “the appropriate role of iwi is supporting Māori entrepreneurship, but that this should not replace the role of government” (Mika et al. 2019, 306). Specifically, iwi could provide “financial assistance, business and educational support, intra- and inter-tribal networking and facilitating relationships with government and private enterprise, locally and overseas” (Mika et al. 2019, 306).

#### Trusts and incorporations

Māori land trusts and incorporations were designed to aid the use and development of Māori land, however, they have also been criticised for lowering the value of Māori land, making access to finance difficult, creating inflexible governance structures, and not preventing shareholder fragmentation (Rout et al. 2020, 194). Accessing capital has been a particularly significant issue, trusts and incorporations have traditionally faced higher costs borrowing capital because of specific land ownership constraints and because of the oversight function of the Māori Land Court (Rout et al. 2020). Historically, “the most common method of accessing finance has been changing the status of the land from Māori to general” but more recently they have been “able to overcome some of these issues by using stock, infrastructure, or products as collateral security” (Rout et al. 2020, 194). Because of legislated requirements, trusts and incorporations have “more complex, larger governance structures than comparable non-Māori land” and their boards have been “identified as lacking the skills and knowledge needed to govern” (Rout et al. 2020, 194). As Kawharu and Tapsell (2019, 16) note, “Māori land entities have been exposed to high levels of market risk through price fluctuations, a lack of value-added strategies, poor water quality and sustainability and debt pressure. There are also unrealistic returns on capital projections.” Māori land authorities face a number of significant challenges in the future: “grappling with troubled dairy-sector issues as well as ongoing pressures to supply commercial forestry and fishing sectors. Other challenges such as the effects of climate change (resulting in, for example, high intensity

rainfall events and the consequences of these events), new biotechnology such as synthetic wool, nonmeat ‘meat’ and increasing vegetarianism all contribute to the need for Māori to adapt, respond and do things differently in relation to their remaining lands and waters” (Kawharu and Tapsell 2019, 16). Not only do they have to be successful in the wider capitalist market but they have a range of other responsibilities. As Kawharu and Tapsell (2019, 16) explain, their “worthiness is measured not only through annual financial reports, but also kin accountability among their descendant shareholders/ owners and beneficiaries. So, whether or not the troubles are cyclic or structural, the issue of commercial and environmental sustainability poses many challenges for those charged with the responsibility of being both business managers and *hunga tiaki* — stewards, trustees and custodians — over kin communities’ precious ancestral resources.”

Kawharu (2018, 8) notes that “Māori land trusts have provided varying degrees of self-sufficient economic enterprises over a number of years, but not necessarily successfully from cultural, social and economic points of view.” Kawharu (2019, 248) explains that “trusts and incorporations have also applied the same general principles of *mana* and *manaakitanga* in farming enterprises over generations, but to varying degrees of success.” Māori land trusts “have also variably dealt with other social dimensions of *manaakitanga* in relation to people, i.e. considering the needs and concerns of communities of interest – the “descendants” who are ancestrally connected to lands that are farmed (but who may not be shareholders or owners anymore), and the actual shareholders and owners” (Kawharu 2019, 248). She (Kawharu 2019, 248) continues to note that many “have financially collapsed under the burden of debt that has built up over a number of years, and have not provided anywhere enough to sustain families and communities. Some have inadequately coped with continued degraded lands and waters, have not remained central to descendants lives anymore and/or have struggled under administrative burdens to maintain current shareholder/owner databases and run farming businesses well.”

While Kawharu is correct in identifying issues, for the 20% of trusts and incorporations who are in the well-developed category, many have in some cases not only managed to overcome some of the limitations they faced in the past, but have succeeded economically, environmentally, socially, and culturally (Rout et al. 2020). In their study of agricultural trusts and incorporations Rout et al. (2020, 193) found that many had established what they called “*whakapapa* networks—that is, formal or informal Māori collectives based on shared genealogy and values.” As they (Rout et al. 2020, 193) explain, “these networks appear to provide a competitive advantage for MALITs, though many are motivated as much by a sense of *manaaki* (caring for others) and *whānaungatanga*



(sense of connection) as by financial objectives.” They (Rout et al. 2020, 193) argue that “successful Māori agribusinesses appear to demonstrate high levels of internal and external cooperation built upon strong relationships.” While vertical and horizontal sector networking and collaboration are key strategies championed by New Zealand agribusiness experts, Māori trusts and incorporations have “done it their own way, driven by their own values. Overcoming the constraints on development and colonisation’s disruption of relationships, the deeply embedded cultural ethic to prioritise and value relationships, to build and sustain networks” (Rout et al. 2020, 194). Kawharu and Tapsell (2019, 16) note that “[o]ne response [by trusts and incorporations] has been to explore new socially, economically and/or environmentally diverse resource uses.” This is reinforced by Rout et al. (2020) who highlight the range of trusts in their study who have diversified from conventional agricultural methods to a range of different opportunities including tourism and apiculture. The more successful trusts and incorporations have also managed to not only overcome governance issues but have turned the “multiple layers of decision-making within these entities” into an asset, as they “require input from expert consultants, thus providing reporting and monitoring disciplines not often found in typical family farms” and enabling these operations to take advantage of the more complex and knowledge intensive forms of agriculture emerging (Rout et al. 2020, 194). Trusts and incorporations have also been beset by problematic relationships between board members and between the board and shareholders. These arise from “emerge out of deep historical grievances as well as more contemporary issues regarding capability problems among the board, economic and environmental failings on-farm, and clashes between personalities or value sets” (Rout et al. 2020, 194).

Built on the Five Well-beings, Nicholson et al. (2019) outline a scorecard they developed to help guide governance in a large incorporation. Kaitiakitanga “has a prime position at the top and permeates the weave of the organization’s planning and management process”, with five key perspectives providing “distinct but complementary lenses for examining organizational performance and strategy” (Nicholson et al. 2019, 35). These five perspectives are:

- Mana o te whānau whānui: Owner and wealth perspective points to sustained wealth creation for the organization and its constituents.
- Mana o te kaihoko: Customer perspective encompasses the consumers of the organization’s products.
- Mana o te rohe: Social and community perspective refers to the organization’s goal to be meaningfully engaged in development of the community, with the organization as a force for economic, political, and commercial outcomes that advance the community.

- Mana o te taiao me ngā rautaki: Environmental and strategic processes perspective refers to the organization's stated goal of internal improvement and innovation of business processes to eco-efficiently create and deliver the value proposition while respecting the boundaries of the natural ecosystems.
- Mana o te tangata me te umanga: Human and organizational capacity perspective speaks to human capital and organizational capacity that provide the foundation required to mobilize the business activities and includes knowledge, skills, and information systems.

### Marae

In the contemporary Māori socio-economy, marae continue to serve “as economic systems – as production systems, as distribution centres, and as labour forces.” They retain their deeper significance as well, not least because they are “places settled, defended, managed and guarded by ancestors” (Kawharu 2018, 28). Kawharu (2018, 8) notes that “not all marae communities have responded resiliently to economic and other externally-initiated challenges.”

### Businesses

There are numerous structures that Māori businesses manifest in the contemporary economy, as well as a range of drivers for creating and running these businesses and ways in which they operate.

**Related to the wider definitional issues of the Māori economy, defining Māori business or enterprise is problematic as well.** Mika et al. (2019, 373) explain that across New Zealand there “is uncertainty about how to adequately define Māori business”, noting that unlike the routine production of data other domains like health and education, “comprehensive, comparable precision in data on Māori economic activity is less apparent.” Consequently, ‘macroeconomic analyses of the Māori economy rely on generous assumptions to overcome somewhat cavernous gaps in firm-level data’ and as a result “indigenous policy suffers from the lack of a strong rationale for effective support and intervention” (Mika et al. 2019, 373). **Definitions and data then are needed, to map the parameters of the Māori economy as it stands.**

There have been numerous attempts to define a ‘Māori business/enterprise. One survey of 153 Māori businesses found that “tiered ownership method (ownership, plus existence of other parameters to indicate Māoriness) was preferred as a comprehensive definition of a Māori

business”, while individually, degree of ownership was favoured by 43 per cent followed by degree of Māoriness and support for Māori development (Mika et al. 2019). A more recent study found that “Māori values and Māori ownership were identified as defining characteristics, with self-identification, self-determination, institutional form and distributional policies also appearing, though less prominently” (Mika et al. 2019, 380). A Statistics New Zealand survey in 2015 found that “the leading factors for businesses identifying as Māori are: ownership (85 per cent); tikanga, philosophy, principles and goals (62 per cent) and other factors” (Mika et al. 2019, 382).

Awatere et al. (2017, 80) provide common features to various definitions of Māori business/enterprise: “(a) Māori people and groups are majority owners in the business (which are, therefore, inclusive of mixed – Māori and non-Māori – ownership arrangements), (b) Māori management and staff may be employed, (c) distinctly Māori products and services may be produced, and (d) Māori consumers may be a primary customer segment.” They also offer additional components: “(a) use of a distinctly Māori legal entity such as a Māori land trust or incorporation, (b) use of kaupapa Māori (Māori ideology) in the organisational culture of the enterprise, and (c) distinctly Māori assets and resources, such as land administered under Te Ture Whenua Māori.” Similarly, referencing Durie, Mika et al. (2019, 380) state that “Māori-centred business is one that “deliberately revolves around Māori people, Māori assets and Māori priorities,” indicated by the interplay between Māori development goals (economic, social and cultural) and Māori development principles (aspirations, transparency, balance, integration and alliance).” Ultimately, Mika et al. (2019, 383) provide four key attributes of a Māori business: “self-identifies as a Māori business; has 50 per cent or more Māori ownership; applies Māori values implicitly or explicitly; and contributes to collective Māori well-being.” Amoamo et al. (2018a, 479) define Māori businesses more simply as the “assets and activity of Māori people and Māori enterprises.”

Part of the problem appears to be that there are two key conceptions: Māori business and Māori *in* business. As Mika et al. (2019, 382) explain “Māori business is conceptually defined as an enterprise contributing to collective Māori well-being.” Māori *in* business are businesses that “some way identify as Māori, but which it is unable to confirm meet its Māori business definition of contributing to collective Māori well-being” which comprise “comprise self-employed enterprises and Māori operating as partners, company directors, sole traders and working proprietors” (Mika et al. 2019, 382). **The central issue in the definitional debate, it appears, is not the degree of ownership – even though this is the aspect most identified – but rather whether the business is a values-centric operation or not.**

There have been a number of ways of gathering data on Māori businesses as well (Mika et al. 2019, 380):

- using ethnicity as an indicator in business tax returns
- incorporating ethnicity into the official New Zealand business number
- asking official survey respondents to self-identify as Māori and flagging this by use of a Māori Business Indicator in the Business Register
- identifying Māori enterprises by their association with recognised Māori institutions
- and linking census and administrative data by ethnicity and tax numbers through the Integrated Data Infrastructure (IDI), a system which links administrative data on individuals from multiple agencies

There are four broad ways of defining a firm – as institutions, organisations, legal entities and as resources – with all four having an institutional basis because firms are socially constructed with their own cultural, historical, structural and contextual peculiarities (Mika et al. 2019). However, when “ethnicity and indigeneity of the firm are introduced, officials and academics are inclined to propose a wide range of definitional criteria, which do not generally apply to conventional enterprises, in their attempts to distinguish ethnic and indigenous enterprises from the ‘norm’.” Mika et al. (2019, 378) note that “what constitutes a Māori business varies between standard forms of ethnic enterprise such as self-employed and employers (and non-standard forms such as post settlement governance entities, Māori providers and Māori authorities.”

Connecting with the issues of definition and parameters of the Māori economy concept as a whole, there is also a lack of knowledge about some of the key constituent parts. Ruwhiu et al. (2019, 6) note that “[s]mall businesses are critical to the success of the Māori Economy, but little is known about who runs them, what drives them, their forms of organization and resources, and how they think of themselves and their world.” In a similar vein, Haar et al. (2020, 7) note, after referencing research suggesting Māori firms may be distinct and have distinctive workplace cultural factors, “there is a lack of empirical evidence on these factors.” They go on to conclude that “researchers might want to focus on the Māori economy and specifically whether Māori enterprises offer greater Māori” oriented human resource practices (Haar et al. 2020, 49). As Amoamo et al. (2018b, 69) explain, “research on Māori forms of organisation becomes an important space of resistance against dominant discourse around notions of Māori economy.” **There is an identified gap in the research, more information is needed on small and medium Māori businesses –**

**possibly both quantitative and qualitative research. This should focus on mapping the current values, structures, and practices of Māori businesses, rather than normative statements.**

That said, from the research it is understood that many Māori businesses are structured along traditional lines, drawing on their “socio-historical value-system” to create structures that “reflect[] an inherent interdependency between all things physical, philosophical and cosmological” with “considerable importance placed on the incorporation of Māori whanonga pono (values) and tikanga (protocols and practices) Māori into their businesses” (Ruwhiu et al. 2019, 12, 13). These businesses often incorporate social, cultural and environmental objectives alongside economic goals, “which influences the structure, governance and practice of Māori business” (Ruwhiu et al. 2019, 13). **They are focused on social, cultural, and natural capital as well as financial capital.** Māori businesses are often “inherently values-based” (Ruwhiu et al. 2019, 23). These businesses “do not take the logic of capital and maximizing profit as their starting point” (Amoamo et al. 2018a, 481). Amoamo et al. (2018a, 479) also seek to “show how Māori businesses... embed their engagement with capitalism and markets to better serve their socio-economic and cultural needs.” They (Amoamo et al. 2018a, 479) “argue that as an organizational form hybrid enterprises are an effective mechanism for delivering collective well-being and environmental preservation.” Referencing Durie, Houkamau (2019, 214) lists six principles that help shape the Māori business ethic: “tuhono (agreement and alliance), purotu (transparency), whakaritanga (acknowledge other values and motives), paiheitia (integrated multiple goals), puwaitanga (seeking best outcomes) and kōtahitanga (unity).” Referencing Spiller, Houkamau (2019, 214) also explains how “Māori businesses often evaluate their own success according to multiple ‘bottom-lines’ (i.e. businesses objectives relate to the social, cultural, environmental, spiritual and economic aspirations of Māori).” Next, Houkamau (2019, 214) notes that Harmsworth found Māori “businesses were at least partly motivated by the desire to elevate Māori wellbeing and development.” Here the link between what might be understood as traditional Māori values and wellbeing is made, these businesses operate according to these values with the aim of improving wellbeing. After noting that economic goals are tied to social, cultural and ecological wellbeing, Spiller et al. (2017, 3) state that a common dictum for Māori businesses is “Success is Succession”. This, they (Spiller et al. 2017, 3) explain “lies at the heart of what it means to be Māori ‘in business’.” What this means in practice “includes handing to the next generation land that is in better shape than when we received it, fisheries that are thriving, enterprises and organisations that are sustainable, where people are

valued and community wellbeing is the priority over the ‘economy’ amongst a host of other concerns” (Spiller et al. 2017, 3).

Values, and the wisdom associated with them, are critical in guiding Māori business governance and decision making. As Spiller et al. (2011c, 226) note, “wisdom is the application of tacit knowledge as mediated by values toward the achievement of a common good.” That is, “[w]isdom emerges when stewards practice values with the purpose of consciously creating well-being” (Spiller et al. 2011c, 226). “Maori organizations following a stewardship approach would culturally and inherently integrate corporate social responsibility not as an add-on... but as an integral part of being in the world” (Spiller et al. 2011c, 228). Referencing a number of international studies, Spiller et al. (2011c) note that a positive association exists between corporate social responsibility and corporate financial performance. **Acting responsibly is good for the bottom line, or increasing the other capitals grows financial capital.** A manifestation of the role Māori values play in business operations is the way non-economic considerations are often prioritised, especially when there is a potential clash between economic and non-economic factors. As Amoamo et al. (2018a, 489) explain, Māori businesses often have ‘limitations’ to their development because of the ‘self-imposed capacity’ they put on their business to remain within their ecological or social limits. Viewed through a Māori values framework limiting growth can be a desirable economic objective (Amoamo et al. 2018a). Nicholson et al. (2019, 31) synthesize “Indigenous and Western practice and knowledge to create an ambicultural governance model”, that pulls Māori perspectives together with Western practices to “facilitate holistic, sustainable decision making.” As they (Nicholson et al. 2019, 32) argue “the relational wisdom approach of Indigenous peoples can inform governance decision-making processes, and... Indigenous businesses can incorporate the best of Western business practice.” “Including an Indigenous approach in governance”, Nicholson et al. (2019, 32) continue, “offers powerful insight into how stewardship of resources can be fused with commerce to transform organizations and societies.”

**The most dominant locus of values in the entrepreneurship literature appears to be the social capital** (Haar et al. 2020; Henry et al. 2018a; Henry and Wolfgramm 2018; Kawharu 2016; Ruwhiu et al. 2019) – whanaungatanga and manaakitanga as understood through whakapapa and measured through mana. **Natural capital is also an important consideration, however, in the wider business literature.** Nicholson et al. (2019, 32) explain, “Māori firms have a purpose of creating both wealth and well-being on a journey toward kaitiakitanga [stewardship] of our world.” Spiller et al. (2011c, 223) posit that kaitiakitanga should be the central guiding value, explaining

that “through practicing kaitiakitanga, organizations can build businesses where wisdom is consciously created through reciprocal relationships.” “In this worldview of business,” they (Spiller et al. 2011c, 223) continue, “humans are stewards endowed with a mandate to use the agency of their mana (spiritual power, authority, and sovereignty) to create mauri ora (conscious well-being) for humans and ecosystems - and this commitment extends to organizations.” For Māori businesses in the primary sectors, kaitiakitanga is particularly important (Rout et al. 2019; ). In their analysis of the fisheries sector, Rout et al. (2019, 10) refer to a ‘kaitiaki-centred business model’, which focuses “on ensuring the long-term vitality and health of the ecosystem on which the business depends, requires the business’ benefits to be as widely distributed as possible; and aims for the business to be profitable, as a means of ensuring it beneficial to both people and planet. Therefore, a kaitiaki-centred business model is one that focuses on the environmental, economic and social not as individual, competing components but rather as three interconnected pillars of mauri sustainment, or wellbeing.” This provides a broad conception of kaitiakitanga that incorporates guardianship of nature to include humans. As they (Rout et al. 2019, 10) explain, “kaitiakitanga is facilitated by rangatiratanga and mana whakahaere and leads not only to whanaungatanga and manaakitanga but also to whai rawa. That is, there needs to be political authority and governance capacity for any kaitiakitanga objectives to be met, and in meeting those objectives a range of benefits run the gamut from community employment and long-term food security to increased profitability.”

This values-centric approach makes Māori businesses good vehicles for delivering wellbeing outcomes. As Nicholson et al. (2019, 34) explain, “[e]merging from this strong disposition in Māori society to view business as a vehicle for contributing to social objectives, Māori theories of business, including governance, address a central cultural concept, mauri ora [well-being]”. Māori “business can be a catalyst and creator of multi-dimensional well-being and wealth”, Spiller et al. (2011a, 166) conclude, noting that the “Māori approach challenges the pervading belief that shareholder interests have the right to eclipse other stakeholder concerns, and dismisses the view that well-being is principally derived from material wealth.”

Mirroring the tensions of Māori authorities between maintaining values and operating in the wider market system, many Māori businesses also struggle with this conflict. As Barr et al. (2018, 460) explain, “one of the main challenges for Indigenous business development is the integration of the values of the community with the realities of the external business environment.” Mika et al. (2019, 380) likewise identify three tensions that emerge from the idea of a Māori-centred business,

“How can cultural and commercial values be harmonised? How can competition between Māori be managed to maximise benefits for Māori? Is a Māori business ethic identifiable?” While some identify tension in Māori values-oriented businesses operating in the wider settler economy, others argue that this can actually be an advantage. Referencing Bargh, Amoamo et al. (2018a, 480), note that the use of “Māori values within traditional business practices is not dichotomous with economic development. These values, such as stewardship of nature and contribution to the community are rooted in localized concepts of wealth, accumulation and distribution and can provide both a stable platform for sustainable operation and be a source of sustainable advantage.”

**This is an area of interest, in what ways do ‘Māori values’ empower businesses and in what ways can they cause issues, what is the interaction between cultural capital and financial capital?**

Connecting with the centrality of relationships and the underpinning values of whanaungatanga and manaakitanga, Māori businesses are also often collectively-structured, “collective forms of agency that constitute a diverse space of economic practices” (Amoamo et al. 2018a, 481). Henry et al. (2018a, 123) note that even ‘independent’ Māori businesses will be more collaborative than their non-Māori peers: “[there is a] tendency for successful Indigenous ventures to function as available resources (not as competitors) for other entrepreneurial ventures in the same Indigenous community.” There are some limits to the ‘collectiveness’, as Barr et al. (2018, 465) note: Māori “who have their own enterprises and businesses also need to be free from direct control and/or unnecessary political interference from the tribal political centre.” The businesses in their case study want to retain their autonomy, whilst gaining the benefits that can come from scales of economy and collective action. This does not conflict with Henry et al. (2018a), however, as they are referring to horizontal collaboration while Barr et al. (2018) are referring to vertical authority.

That said, there is a diversity of structures, “Māori enterprises encompass the broad spectrum of organizational types from independent small businesses operating solely in their local community, to large export-oriented corporations, to organizations that have emerged out of Treaty settlements as well as Trusts managing collective assets” (Amoamo et al. 2018a, 482). Nicholson et al. (2019, 34) provide a similar rundown, “Māori organization forms are, like any economy, multifarious and include small individually owned family-run enterprises, high-tech firms, and large collectively owned entities that have significant assets in industries such as agriculture, aquaculture and seafood, farming, forestry, geothermal energy, horticulture, mining, and tourism.” Wolfgramm et al. (2020, 19) note that Māori economic entities are “forging mergers, acquisitions, international



joint ventures”, showing the dynamism within the sector. Often the business structure is either directly or indirectly dictated by legislation. As well as the obvious Māori Authority Holdings Company, Ahuwhenua Trusts and Incorporations, which are all direct legislatively shaped businesses, there are also other less direct ways the legal framework can shape Māori business. Fishing is one sector in particular, due to the nature of Māori fishing rights. Because Māori quota is often fragmented, uneconomic to fish and difficult to sell, as Rout et al. (2019, 11) explain, the “most common business model is the ‘ACE trading company’, where an iwi sets up a holding company whose sole role is to manage the fisheries assets by leasing out the ACE to fishing companies for the best price every year.” While some iwi have set up their own individual fishing companies, the other way of overcoming the issues around quota is “for iwi to form a ‘joint venture’, either with other iwi or with private companies, which consolidates the quota into economically usable aggregates” (Rout et al. 2019, 11). Small Māori businesses can take a number of forms, with Ruwhiu et al. (2019) identifying three structures: more formally structured and commercially-oriented operations; social enterprise ‘hubs’; and single owner-operator businesses.

Māori businesses often need to balance between economic and non-economic demands. Amoamo et al. (2018a) outline the hybrid structure of a Māori tourism provider, which is run by a trust that is itself a 50-50 joint venture between two trusts. The tourism provider “operates within a diverse socio-economic frame; its mission and strategic objectives are guided by the strategic oversight of the three trusts” (Amoamo et al. 2018a, 488). The business “is reflective of the three trusts’ common interest in the ecological and environmental values and the preservation and enhancement of the area of land” (Amoamo et al. 2018a, 488). There are, they conclude “certain elements of capitalism integrated into the business model yet these elements also enable Māori to achieve their non-capitalist obligations” (Amoamo et al. 2018a, 491). For Amoamo et al. (2018a), the hybrid structure is largely represented by the focus on non-economic factors, including social and environmental outcomes, and the way the economic is put in service of the non-economic. Interestingly, Nicholson et al. (2019, 34) refer to a bank-led survey that “highlighted that not only did privately owned Māori businesses have significantly higher levels of optimism and stronger profit growth than non-Māori businesses but also that for the 336 respondents who identified themselves as Māori in business, “The desire to support wider social objectives is evidenced by ‘helping others’ being the number one reason why Māori respondents are in business’.” **While the collective focus is interesting, the fact that Māori businesses show stronger profit growth is critical and needs more work.**

Another commonly referenced aspect of Māori businesses is their collective nature. In their case study, Amoamo et al. (2018a, 491) note there is a “balance of value exchange and collective agency... in the Indigenous hybrid organization.” Barr et al. (2018, 455) conclude that one of the key components in “the successful development of Indigenous enterprises is the establishment of an entrepreneurial eco-system of firms rather than encouraging individual firms independently, thus providing the benefits of acting collectively while retaining the empowerment of self-determination.” Furthermore, they (Barr et al. 2018, 455) note how “the internet is able to help Indigenous entrepreneurs to walk in both worlds. While the field of Indigenous entrepreneurial study is fairly recent, the maturation of the internet is even newer and its capacity to provide Indigenous businesses with a means of being true to their culture whilst also delivering tangible commercial benefits in a way that is mutually-beneficial is an area that demands greater focus and more research.” **This could be an area of study.**

A number of works refer to the need for Māori businesses to ‘walk in both worlds’. Barr et al. (2018, 455) explain how Māori enterprises “must walk in two worlds. Indigenous entrepreneurs need to ensure their operations are compatible with the Western-oriented market; yet, their operations need to also be commensurate with their own history, culture and values.” Likewise, in their case study of a Māori tourism operator, Amoamo et al. (2018a, 488) stress that those involved have the capacity to operate in both te ao Māori and the Pākehā world, noting that “‘walking on both sides of the fence’ as a hybrid ideological position and a key component that enables Māori enterprises to operate.” Sharples, (referenced in Nicholson et al. 2019, 35) has stated that successful Indigenous Māori businesses will be those that embraced both commercial best practice and Māori protocols. Likewise, Nicholson et al. (2019, 35) also reference Ngata, who “urged Māori to set their net between European and Māori fishing grounds, where fish can be seen intermingling and where new bodies of knowledge can be found.” As they (Nicholson et al. 2019, 35), this “intermingled space is an important one to understand, given that Māori businesses both collaborate with and resist the dominant business logic imposed by Western business practice.”

As with the wider tensions between the settler and Māori economy, individual businesses also experience tensions between the commercial imperative and socio-cultural outcomes (Ruwhiu et al. 2019 ). Key motivators are community wellbeing, cultural revitalisation, intergenerational connection and knowledge transfer (Ruwhiu et al. 2019 ). Often these structures and the ways in which they operate do not fit within the Western economic model, which “ignores the rich diversity of Indigenous forms of organization” (Ruwhiu et al. 2019, 13). There is also “growing

empirical evidence that Māori work experiences differ from non-Māori in the Aotearoa context” (Haar et al. 2020, 7).

These socially-focused businesses (or social innovation in the parlance of Henry et al. 2017) can be viewed in another way, as a way “to alter these structured power relations [of a settler society] as the central driver of social problems and inhibitor of the development of human capabilities.”

### Management

Spiller and Stockdale (2012, 8) contrast the way the Western worldview has “certain managerial implications including specialization that imposes divisions, often independent of the wider context, and has promulgated a sense of hyper-individualization and autonomy” with those generated by the Māori worldview. As Spiller et al. (2017, 2) note, “the areas of Māori economic development, leadership, entrepreneurship and governance have attracted the attention of Māori business scholars and practitioners, the field of Māori management has been somewhat overlooked.” “There is”, the (Spiller et al. 2017, 2) continue, “enormous potential in unlocking this space especially in terms of Māori management practice, human resource management (HRM) approaches and change management approaches.” Māori management practices are “steeped in a sense of community and civic obligation” (Spiller et al. 2017, 2). **There needs to be more research on Māori management.**

While work in the field of business management may be lacking, there is more work in resource management, which could provide useful insight for business management. Makey and Awatere (2018, 1407) describe a resource management structure that brings together “regional and national government agencies, nongovernment organizations, tribal elders, industry (e.g. sand mining, dairy milk processing, and utilities), iwi and non-iwi farmers, fishers, women, men, and children; school teachers and research institutions.” As they explain the hapū members played a key role in developing a range of strategies designed to achieve long term objectives for the resource in question. While the structure lacks statutory power, determining objectives and designing strategies are governance-level tasks and these forums could help with future complex, multi-stakeholder governance processes needed in the future. These structures “encompasses meaningful and legitimate collaboration, co-planning, and the use of Māori values and knowledge”, often successfully merging them with Western values and knowledge through stakeholder participation (Makey and Awatere 2018, 1407).

Spiller et al. (2017, 2) identify the same divide that runs through literature on Māori authorities, businesses, and entrepreneurs, exploring how a group of Māori managers “navigate the relationship between upholding the sacred and promoting wisdom on one hand, and developing sound HRM [human resource management] policy and recruitment or retention strategies on the other.” Nicholson et al. (2019, 34) list the key approaches to Māori management as holism, both/and, interwoven/relational, group/relationships, group harmony/shared accomplishments, spiral, process oriented, past in front/tikanga.

In their study, Spiller et al. (2017, 3) note that “Māori managers are committed to communal, spiritual and ecological development. This means that economic concerns are tied to cultural enrichment and the nourishment of the land and its people. From whānau to hapū to iwi, the Māori manager bases their leadership style on a sense of community and civic obligation, and seeks to take the wider collective into consideration.” They (Spiller et al. 2017, 3) determined five key strengths that come from a management style guided by te ao Māori:

- Mauri Ora – creating wellbeing
- Whanaungatanga – having a family-based approach to work
- Tangata Whakapapa – embracing the wholeness of people
- Hūmārie – practicing humility, and
- Tuākana-Teina – creating effective succession through mentoring.

They (Spiller and Stockdale 2012; Spiller et al. 2017, 16-19) also identify five touchstones:

- Whakapapa touchstones:
  - “1. Create time for relationship building. Welcome people warmly through manaaki (hospitality), especially when new people start, through mihi whakatau (introductions) that include karakia (prayer, ritual chant), waiata (song), which places the relationship-building in a state of tapu (sacredness), followed by a cup of tea, which puts everyone back to noa (a state of ordinariness). 2. Honour the network of relationships each person brings with them. 3. Weave people’s whānau (family) into the workplace, which includes supporting people with their service, commitments and needs. For example, supporting them by contributing to tangihanga, Māori funeral processes, and personally attending these as a sign of respect. 4. Integrate organisational systems, policies and procedures to support whakawhanaungatanga, community building. 5. Respect all, even those who have left the work family, as they have not left the community (in the world). Do not speak ill of them. 6. Weave people around a shared kaupapa, purpose, of what they are seeking to achieve as a group.”

- Wairua touchstones:
  - “1. Take time for reflection to connect to one’s spiritual source. This can be done through connecting with the group and sharing through karakia (prayer, ritual chant) and waiata (song).
  2. Observe how thoughts, actions and intentions permeate one’s own wairua.
  3. Encourage karakia (prayer, ritual chant) and waiata (song), whatever form that takes, to support the higher intentions of the group.
  4. Create opportunities for people to connect in a wairua way and contribute meaningfully to the whole, the organisation and the community.
  5. Empower people to develop their inner compass, integrity and conviction to help them answer the question, How do I know what is right and just in this situation?”
- Mana touchstones:
  - “1. Recognise that managers and leaders stand in the power of the mana of tribal ancestors and the whakapapa (genealogies) of the people who work for the organisation.
  2. In conflict situations consider the mana of the person, whilst honouring one’s own, and search for mana-based solutions to create win-win outcomes. Mana based solutions acknowledge and respect the inherited and endowed authority each person brings through their genealogies and other forms of mana.
  3. Accept and respect that all people have their own mana – create the conditions so mana can flourish in others, in a spirit of generosity.
  4. Encourage the release of a person’s potential through training, supervision and personal growth.
  5. Always seek to enhance the collective.
  6. Be tika, in integrity, regarding making and keeping promises.
  7. Seek the guidance and wisdom of a pakeke (acknowledged person/mentor) or a kaumātua (elder) in the tribal/local community.”
- Mauri touchstones:
  - “1. Nurture awareness of mauri, the life force.
  2. Encourage people to be straightforward and honest about their problems.
  3. Encourage people to act with integrity at all times.
  4. Encourage a loving, caring approach in the organisation.
  5. Clear up any issues in the organisation before they fester.
  6. Respect the intrinsic worth of each.
  7. Bring everyone together once a week to look at the organisation’s kaupapa (purpose), address any issues that need clearing, and recognize achievements that need to be celebrated (for example, birthdays, course completions, graduations) and acknowledged (for example, major life events such as the passing of a loved one, health challenges).
- Hau touchstones:
  - “1. Nurture a culture of reciprocity through sharing and contributing.
  2. Adopt a healthy approach to competition and promote opportunities for collaboration and cooperation.
  3. Be mindful of impacts on the environment, seeking to give back, care for, and contribute to the

wellbeing of the environment. 4. Value the unique gifts of each employee. 5. Encourage a sharing and exchange ethos, such as shared meals, celebrating events. 6. Cultivate a healthy approach to money through nurturing reciprocity.”

### Human resource management

In terms of human resource management, Māori benefit from having workplaces that respect and incorporate Māori values (Haar et al. 2020). Māori employees “harness these values to assist decision-making and career development while navigating western organisation values” (Haar et al. 2019, 622). Māori employees are able to achieve a better work-life balance and greater benefits from work, such as work self-esteem effects on job and wellbeing outcomes (Haar et al. 2020 ).

**Cultural capital increases social and human capital.** Cultural values such as workplace collectivism have been found to be important to Māori (Haar et al. 2020 ). In their study, Haar et al. (2020 ), focus on: (a) job satisfaction, (b) career satisfaction, (c) work engagement, (d) turnover intentions, (e) work-life balance, (f) happiness, (g) cultural wellbeing, and (h) emotional exhaustion. They divide this into job outcomes – first four – and wellbeing outcomes – second four. This study provides what can be considered four metrics of wellbeing with relatively broad scope, as applied to a specific context: their work’s human resources practices.

Haar et al. (2020, 22) provide a list of Māori-centric high-performance work systems. Divided up across social, cultural (with the acknowledgement that everything is also cultural), environmental, and economic aspects, they can be seen as manifestations of Māori values:

Social – whanaungatanga, manaakitanga, whakakapapa, kotahitanga

- Staff are local iwi (tribal groupings)
- We consider the whanau (extended family) of staff as part of the wide organisation family
- We are a genuine collective where all employees share in recognition and praise
- Applies recognition and praise to Maori staff in a truly collective sense
- Encourage attendance and engagement with tribal meetings (whanau, hapu, iwi)
- Encourages Māori staff to whakawhanaungatanga (develop strong relationships)
- Use of kotahitanga (movements aimed to unify Māori on non-tribal grounds)
- Seeks to develop tino rangatiratanga (self-determination) of Māori staff
- Encourages manākitanga (caring, support) between Maori staff and clients/customers
- Focus on tuakana/teina (learning relationship between teacher and students)

- Interest in developing Māori staff mana tangata (pride)
- Use of extended tangihanga (bereavement) leave

#### Cultural – tikanga, te reo

- Uses traditional Māori tikanga (traditions and practices) where appropriate
- Showcase Māori culture in a positive light
- We use Māori cultural approaches (karakia [prayers], waiata [songs] and powhiri [traditional greetings]) in the workplace
- Staff drive a Māori strategy around te reo Māori (language) and tikanga (customs) in the workplace
- Normalising traditional greetings and Māori language (e.g., ki ora [hello], Morena [morning])
- Use of hakari (Customary feast, sharing of food during meetings)
- Organisation incorporates marae visits to reinforce tikanga Maori

#### Environmental – kaitiakitanga

- Respect for the environment

#### Economic – whai rawa, hau

- Importance of hau (reciprocity) throughout the organisation
- We provide financial assistance and development for staff and their whanau
- Employees are rewarded as a collective.

There are, as noted previously, numerous social and cultural manifestations. While these are critical for a wellbeing economy, there may need to be more focus on the economic aspects, not just in isolation but how they can work in with the social, cultural, and environmental.

Haar et al. (2020, 1) have created “a new measure of HPWS [high-performance work systems] that is culturally specific to Māori. We call this Māori High Performance Mahi Tautoko (HPMT), representing a bundle of HR practices that support Māori at work.” They found that across most of their metrics, that traditional Western HPWS positively interact with Māori HPMT, with the strongest effects being when both sets of HR practices are high. This was measured across: (a) job satisfaction, (b) career satisfaction, (c) work engagement, (d) turnover intentions, (e) work-life balance, (f) happiness, (g) cultural wellbeing, and (h) emotional exhaustion, with only c, d, and f,

not being supported. **This indicates an area where the settler and Māori economy align, or at least work in tandem, that there can be institutional alignment.** Haar et al. (2020, 8) posit that “it is expected that Māori employees with greater resources through HPWS [High Performance Work Systems] would benefit their wellbeing”. HPWS are “designed to enhance employees’ skills, commitment, and productivity” (Haar et al. 2020, 2). Amongst other employee outcomes, HPWS can increase job and career satisfaction, work engagement and turnover intentions (Haar et al. 2020 ). These all deliver wellbeing

#### Value chain and provenance

The value chain concept has had a lot of traction in Māori context. Regarding their study on an indigenous food market, Barr et al. (2018, 460) note that “the participants in the project were influenced by the concept of the value chain, one of the most ubiquitous concepts in business development practice.” However, as Kawharu (2018, 10) notes, “the model by itself is incomplete within a Māori kin community development context.” She proposes that the conventional value chain, with its “linear production (of value) to consumption approach”, needs to be reconstituted as a “cyclical process whereby consumption reconnects consumers – who are descendants – back to source” (Kawharu 2018, 10). Ellis (2021, 14-15) makes a similar point, “[p]roductivity of the Māori freehold estate, profitability and adding value in supply chains needs to fit with Māori forms of business derived from a context-specific, socio-historical, culturally constituted framework.” Barr et al. (2018, 460) also note the importance of respecting the autonomy of each Māori link in the chain, explaining that while they had “the aim of creating a functional mechanism that enables the different actors in the value chain to work together for each other’s mutual benefit... The sub-tribal and family owned enterprises were very clear that they did not want their strategic or operational autonomy impeded.” As such, the value chain needed to be developed in such a way that it could support the sustainable development of participants’ businesses while respecting their rangatiratanga. Kawharu’s “marae value chain also helps to identify the adaptive functions of culture within a modern innovation and sustainable development context” (Kawharu 2018, 10).

Provenance is closely related to value chains. While all food has provenance, in that it comes from somewhere, “the utility of provenance comes when the consumer is made aware of a correspondence between their values and the food’s provenance as mediated by marketing” (Reid and Rout 2016, 431). Provenance has spatial, social, and cultural parameters. For Māori, provenance is a fundamental concept, all food ‘the product of a nexus of relationships from a place, and as such will be imbued, from a Māori perspective, with unique mauri that comes from



its specific whakapapa” (Reid and Rout 2016, 431). As Reid and Rout (2016) argue, because of the central importance of a food’s provenance to Māori, and the wider cultural elements within which the concept of ‘food’ is understood and communicated, Māori have a natural advantage when it comes to using provenance branding as a means of attaining higher prices for their food products, whilst also delivering cultural revitalisation. That said, as with all provenance marketing there is a need for integrity and transparency.

Ensuring the right balance of collective and independent action in a value chain appears to be important, as does ensuring the relationships across the chain are well defined and strong. As Barr et al. (2018, 465) explain, “once the interrelationships between the Indigenous actors in the value chain are aligned in mutual agreement with an appropriate policy and strategy, it is then possible to create a competitive advantage for products produced by Indigenous enterprises.”

Barr et al. (2018, 463) explain how the value chain business they set up “successfully helps producers assert their Indigenous culture whilst ensuring that they are able to participate in the Western-oriented market” noting that in part this is because the market has reorientated itself to be closer aligned with indigenous values. This is something that Reid and Rout (2016, 427) note as well, explaining that what is driving the growth in demand for food provenance is explained as a response to modernity... [namely] an anxiety experienced by many Western consumers to the growing physical and psychological abstraction from nature and each other.” The cultural alignment of the branding and marketing has not been at the expense of commercial success, the “producers have found, their point of difference has been a boon when it comes to marketing and sales. It has provided a powerful means of differentiating their products from competitors and of positioning them in the premium sector of the market” (Barr et al. 2018, 463).

One advantage Māori have regarding value chains is that they can be bonded by kinship, effectively recreating the traditional networks that used to operate in the traditional Māori economy (Kawharu 2019). However, taking the concerns of Barr et al. (2018) into consideration means that these kin networks might need to be relatively ‘flat’ rather than hierarchical.

In her conception of a marae value chain, Kawharu (2018, 30) describes marae as serving “as economic systems – as production systems, as distribution centres, and as labour forces.” She notes that a successful value chain will involve “integration, coordination, communication and cooperation between partners” across production, processing and distribution (Kawharu 2018,

43). The marae value chain focuses on both the local and non-local community. In particular, it “aims to serve the diaspora that live beyond ancestral lands and communities, and in the process, reconnect them culturally and economically” (Kawharu 2018, 30). This scheme pulls together food with both identity and wellbeing across human and natural domains. The scheme is not limited to customary food grown by local hapū members, but rather incorporates non-indigenous foodstuffs that are grown by both Māori and Pākehā – this illustrates a flexibility that will be necessary for any nationwide wellbeing economy. This form of value chain is “intrinsically about reclaiming authority as well as cultural and economic connections and responsibilities in ancestral lands” (Kawharu 2018, 36).

As Kawharu (2018, 43) explains, the value chain focus is on “knowing what consumers value and working back from this start point in order to develop efficiencies (“doing things right”) and effectiveness (“doing the right things”).” The market for this chain is fairly limited as it is “targeted towards those who genealogically connect to one or more of the marae centres in the Bay of Islands” (Kawharu 2018, 44). However, this generates a significant question, what percentage of the genealogically connected population will it capture. While it is a good way to enhance connections, build identity, grow independence etc. for people who are local and non-local but still relatively well connected, what about those who are not connected? As Kawharu (2018, 30) notes, “[c]ultural ‘needs’ are not homogenized or the same for all descendant consumers... There will be a scale range where some desire strong connection or engagement while others desire weaker connection or engagement.” This starts to get at the wider issue, but the degree of market orientation and demand needs to be studied in greater depth. Kawharu (2018, 50) discusses how the circularity of the value chain would manifest in consumers “returning food scraps back to land and via descendant consumers participating in marae/local ‘pā’ gardening or other activities related to food and resource production.” This further suggests an incredibly narrow potential consumer, and while these types of value chains might deliver some social and cultural benefits

### *Whānau*

Whānau experienced significant economic, social, and cultural loss in the decades following colonisation. The loss of land and the subordination of Māori within the settler economy meant “marae communities not only lost their resources and energy production, but also the context or ability to fully exercise expert leadership, innovation and control. Without whenua, resources or leadership, marae descended into cross-generational poverty” (Kawharu and Tapsell 2019, 13-14). **The loss of natural capital resulted in the loss of financial capital.** Treaty settlements have

gone some small way in recompensing for the economic decimation of colonisation; however, as Kawharu and Tapsell (2019, 15) continue, “the benefits of Treaty settlements have not yet reached all corners of marae or hapū lives.”

There are a number of important and often troubling demographic realities for whānau highlighted in the literature that reflect the dire situation of many whānau, **with deficits across the capitals**. Māori are likely to be poor in contemporary New Zealand, with 20% living in material hardship in 2014, versus 5% for Pākehā (Houkamau et al. 2019). Māori unemployment is 2.5 times higher than Pākehā, the underutilisation (unemployed and underemployed) rate is 9.7% for Pākehā and 18.9% for Māori, and Pākehā earn a median income 42% higher than Māori (Haar et al. 2020). While New Zealand is a “developed country, that development is not evenly shared by the indigenous people around work” (Haar et al. 2020, 48). Roche et al. (2018, 26), note that Māori are “socially, psychologically and economically disadvantaged”, outlining a range of key indicators for Māori whānau: “Maori represent one of the fastest growing ethnicities in New Zealand, they also demonstrate a paucity of well-being. For example, Maori are over-represented in mental health outcomes, including anxiety and depression, as well as being socially disadvantaged, due to high unemployment and lower income in comparison to Pakeha/New Zealand Europeans. Furthermore, Maori workforce participation is under-represented in high-skilled occupations.” “Māori also have some of the highest rates of poor health as an ethnic group” (Kawharu 2019, 252). Similarly, Spiller et al. (2017, 3) state that “inequalities between Māori and non-Māori continue to persist across a range of indicators, including: health, suicide, life expectancy, education, employment, housing conditions, median income and access to technology.” Likewise, Houkamau et al. (2019, 143) note: “Māori feature prominently in litanies of negative social statistics, and when it comes to economic outcomes of whānau and individuals, as opposed to tribal corporations, the media do not hesitate to portray Māori with equal and opposite oversimplification as nothing short of a financially incompetent ‘brown underclass’.” Wolfgramm et al. (2020, 19) also note that “Māori represented 50% of the prison population, which is less than 15% of the total population, and according to the 2013 Census, Māori and Pasifika people have the lowest home-ownership rates... Māori and Pacific children and youth were twice as likely to live in poverty. In addition, Health statistics report that the life expectancy for Māori men is 7 years less than for non-Māori men, and for women the difference is 10 years.” Spiller et al. (2017, 3) explain that “[a]ssociated with these enquiries into the economy are significant demographic shifts. The Māori population is forecast to experience enormous growth in the near future.

Projections suggest an increase in population from an estimated 712,000 at 30 June 2015 to 830,000–910,000 in 2025 and 1–1.18 million in 2038, not including Māori living abroad.”

In terms of employment, there are a number of insightful points made in the literature. Critically, while much is made of the ‘Māori economy’, as Mika et al. (2019, 305) note: “most Māori earn their living in the general economy rather than the Māori economy.” This is an economy based on Western values, meaning that it is unsurprising that, as Brougham et al. (2015, 19) note, “Māori reported the lowest levels of work-life balance compared to the majority of New Zealanders.” They (Brougham et al. 2015, 19) then note it is unknown whether this is “due to a lack of support in the workplace for Māori culture and/or the aspirations of Māori employees.” The “quantitative research also shows Māori orientations towards whanaungatanga and collectivism exert a continuing influence on Māori career satisfaction”, which helps explain the dissatisfaction of Māori employees working in Western structures (Houkamau and Sibley 2019). “Even when individual Māori have been asked to reflect on their economic and career choices, Māori often refer to the implications of their choices for their whānau, hapū and iwi” (Houkamau 2019, 214). **The priority is on social capital rather than financial and even human capital.** More positively, “[r]ecent research has found that Maori are just as interested in starting their own businesses as other sectors of New Zealand society despite facing greater hardships in terms of potential racial discrimination and a lack of social capital” (Barr et al. 2018, 457). Also of interest is that “Māori are more likely than any other ethnic group in New Zealand to be involved in cultural arts and activities” (Houkamau 2019, 209).

Colonisation, urbanisation and numerous other processes have seen Māori – who were never a unified whole – split into a range of different groupings with different types of cultural identity, cultural affiliation and levels of fluency and knowledge (Houkamau 2019; Houkamau and Sibley 2019; Mika et al. 2019). **There has been loss of both social and cultural capital.** As Durie (quoted in Houkamau and Sibley 2019, 121) states, “Māori live in diverse cultural worlds.” Mika et al. (2019, 303) note: “self-assessing oneself as an authentic, culturally grounded citizen is not a trait esteemed by Māori.” Furthermore, the “social, cultural, economic, environmental and spiritual imperatives of multiple Māori identities as whānau, hapū, iwi, rural, urban and global citizens create potential for discord and disenchantment between tribal citizens and tribal polity” (Mika et al. 2019, 303). In their model of Māori identity, Houkamau and Sibley (2019) provide eight metrics:

- Group Membership Evaluation: extent to which respondents positively evaluate their membership in the social category Māori.

- Interdependent Self-Concept: extent to which the concept of the self-as-Māori is defined by relationships with other Māori versus being unique and independent to the individual.
- Cultural Efficacy and Active Identity Engagement: extent to which respondents perceive they have the personal resources (personal efficacy) to engage appropriately with other Māori in Māori social and cultural contexts.
- Spirituality: extent to which the person is engaged with, and has a belief in, certain Māori concepts of spirituality, including connecting strongly with the land, ancestors, Māori traditions and the sensation and experience of wāhi tapu.
- Socio-Political Consciousness: extent to which respondents perceive that historical factors matter for contemporary relations between Māori and other ethnic groups in New Zealand, and how actively they promote and defend Māori rights given the Treaty of Waitangi.
- Authenticity Beliefs: extent to which respondents believe that a ‘real’ or ‘authentic’ member of the social category Māori must display specific (stereotypical) features, knowledge and behaviour versus believing Māori identity is fluid rather than fixed and produced through lived experience.
- Perceived Appearance: extent to which respondents evaluate their appearance as having clear and visible features signalling Māori ethnicity and ancestry.
- Whānau Efficacy: extent to which respondents consider their whānau (extended family) can resolve challenges together.

As Houkamau and Sibley (2019, 120) explain, “In relation to dimensions 1–6 listed above, higher scores may be taken as indicative of a stronger affiliation (e.g. a higher positive evaluation of the social group Māori, greater importance of being Māori to one’s overall self-concept, stronger pro-Māori political beliefs and a closer alignment to normative Māori beliefs and values around spirituality). Dimension 6 (Authenticity Beliefs) is particularly important for understanding the prevalence and influence of essentialist beliefs within the Māori population because it evaluates the extent to which individuals believe Māori must display specific characteristics to be considered ‘real’ Māori. Dimension 7 (Perceived Appearance) was included in the MMM-ICE to evaluate the impact of racism on Māori... Dimension 8, the Whānau Efficacy scale, was developed specifically for the MIFAS to evaluate the role of whānau connectedness and well-being for Māori identity.” Similarly, Mika et al. (2019, 301-302) provide a list of indicators relating to cultural competence: “how knowledgeable a person is in their identity as Māori and how confident they are to maintain this wherever they are; their proficiency in te reo (language), tikanga and kawa; the level of mātauranga Māori they understand within an historical and contemporary context; and whether

they have expertise in raranga (weaving), kapa haka (dance), waiata (song), karakia (incantation), whaikōrero (speech-making), rongoa (medicine) and other branches of traditional knowledge.”

The variance in identity and culture across Māori is a complex and difficult area, one that connects with the colonial narrative and the impacts it has had on identity and culture. Referencing the newer iterations of the colonial narrative, Kawharu and Tapsell (2019, 15) note how the “narratives on ‘Māori failures’ or ‘underperformance’ pique those whom the stories are about because they suggest faults lie within Māori communities (that is, deficit theory thinking).” Reid and Rout (referenced in Houkamau and Sibley 2019, 121) note “the defining of Māori in opposition to Pākehā [is] a form of ‘reactionary traditionalism’ – an ideological response to colonisation. They propose that reactionary traditionalism encourages indigenous people to dissociate economically from modernity, presenting indigenous culture as the antithesis of Western capitalism and exaggerating true historical differences.” While Māori have fundamentally opposing views on economic structures and outcomes, there is a risk that the ingrained notions of difference could create resistance to economic development, particularly any hybrid forms that adopt or adapt from other sources.

Many whānau are distanced – either geographically, culturally, and/or socially – from their home marae (Kawharu 2018, 7). 84% of Māori now live in towns and cities away from their traditional tribal rohe (Mika et al. 2019). They are “are not necessarily ‘attached’ to, or directly involved in, their geographically distant lands or marae communities” (Kawharu and Tapsell 2019, 15). One major consequence of the atomising of Māori communities and the impacts of colonisation on culture and identity is that “[m]any if not all communities are confronted to one extent or another with diminishing expert Māori-language capacity and loss of tikanga or customary knowledge and practice” (Kawharu and Tapsell 2019, 15). “In this post-treaty settlement era,” as Mika et al. (2019, 301) explain, another “enduring challenge is how urbanised Māori maintain connections to their tūrangawaewae (tribal places of belonging) and vice-versa.” There is friction between “between ahikā (iwi members residing within and on traditional tribal lands), taurahere (iwi members living outside traditional tribal territories), urban Māori (Māori living in an urban centre) and pan-tribal groups (Māori collectives with multiple tribal affiliations).” (Mika et al. 2019, 301). Kawharu (2018, 7) makes an important point when she notes that “[i]t is difficult, however, to measure kin member views in relation to marae-grounded growth agenda when those individuals and their whānau live away from home marae communities and/or when ‘marae values’ have nebulous meaning.” There is, she continues, an apparent paradox: “Marae values are important when they are known and are

activated; and they are not important when they are not known or activated” (Kawharu 2018, 7). **This gets at the heart of an area that needs more attention, the variance of lived experience and cultural associations for whānau – this is something that any whānau-based wellbeing economy needs to understand and address.** There are also potential issues working in the other direction, between whānau and the PSGE who represent them and hold their settlements. As Awatere et al. (2017, 86) explain: “The absence of kaupapa Māori-attuned policy within Māori enterprises and entrepreneurs could also lead to adverse outcomes for whānau of collectively owned assets managed by MAHI such as increased environmental pollution, loss of jobs and a lack of connection with tribally owned assets.” Highlighting another tension, in reference to the collective focus of Māori culture, Brougham et al. (2015, 22) refer to “the complexity of Māori families, as well as the demands they put on their members, and how these might override the pressures of work.”

Regarding cultural fluency and identity, the Māori populace as a whole is complex and variegated (Houkamau 2019; Houkamau and Sibley 2019), though generalisations can be made. From Census data the “vast majority (70% of Māori adults) felt Māori culture was important to them and many reported a keen interest in expressing themselves culturally as Māori” and the “vast majority of Māori (nearly 90%) feel whānaungatanga is important to life satisfaction” (Houkamau 2019, 209, 215). “Despite colonisation and the non-legislative and non-binding nature of the Treaty of Waitangi (Maori and British versions),” Mika et al. (2019, 301) explain, “Maori have expressed citizenship through whakapapa or kinship ties. Maori maintain their right to determine their identity, customs and culture as tāngata whenua.” However, “89 per cent of Māori indicate they are unable to speak Māori either “very well” or “well”” (Mika et al. 2019, 302). Government statistics “indicate the bulk of Māori still value ‘traditional’ cultural practices” (Houkamau 2019, 209). Houkamau and Sibley (2019, 130) found that “found that Māori who are more socially and politically conscious and believe more firmly in Māori concepts of spirituality... have a much greater preference for preserving and protecting iwi natural resources, including land, rather than utilising and risking it for profit.” They (Houkamau and Sibley 2019, 130) also found that “Māori who are deeply culturally engaged and treasure their Māori identity and culture prefer employment that promotes Māori values and development.” And they (Houkamau and Sibley 2019, 131) also found that “with regard to individual performance versus sociality in the workplace, it makes sense that belief in interdependence... is associated with preferring the maintenance of relationships at work over individual performance.” Across these three previous variables, they (Houkamau and Sibley 2019, 131) also found that “having European ethnic affiliation bore no significant

association with financial attitudes.” They (Houkamau and Sibley 2019, 133) conclude that “some Māori may reject the culture of the ‘dominant’ ethnic group and identify much more closely with their own ethnic group and its values as traditionally represented, even if this rejection acts as a barrier to employment and upward social mobility.” As a corollary, Māori still face discrimination and racism, both individual and institutional, in contemporary NZ. “Māori face racist attitudes from non-Māori”, Houkamau (2019, 212) note, and those who ‘appear more Māori’ experience more discrimination. Similarly, Spiller et al. (2006, 4) note that a “survey conducted in 2005... revealed that some New Zealand recruiters still discriminate by race.” As the author of the survey explained, “If you only want Pākehā in your workforce, you’re limiting yourself to two-thirds of the available workforce, which is rapidly ageing. If you want to be internationally competitive, you can’t be provincial in your hiring” (Spiller et al. 2006, 4).

The literature also covers Māori financial literacy and wider attitudes to saving and money management. Māori whānau are more likely to have low financial literacy (43%) than Pākehā (22%) (Houkamau et al. 2019). That said, poor Māori often viewed their financial status according to their own set of values, considering themselves largely non-materialistic – their values, particularly around family and culture, “enabled them to perceive their lives as meaningful and positive” (Houkamau et al. 2019, 4). **Higher levels of cultural capital are able to ameliorate lower levels of financial capital.** Still, for those who were under considerable financial stress, “this strained their relationships as well as their physical and psychological well-being” (Houkamau et al. 2019, 17). This connects with a point made by Kawharu (2018, 7) about the “so-called ‘expected’ kinds of normalised realities or priorities which in turn feed into notions of success or wellbeing.” This suggests that the gap between Māori lived reality and the expectations that come with life in the settler economy can have an impact on wellbeing. The violence, land loss, trauma, and discrimination of colonisation laid the “foundation for the contemporary Māori economic situation and attitudes towards money and saving” (Houkamau et al. 2019, 6). In the contemporary environment, whānau are the major influence in Māori views of money and saving (Houkamau et al. 2019).

Houkamau et al. (2019, 3) note that there is a “‘lack of fit’ between whānau (extended family) approaches to money and savings and financial capability education in New Zealand.” Part of the issue is that financial literacy education does not align with Māori values, aspirations, and needs, it would be more effective if it were better tailored. At the whānau level, the trauma of colonisation, and the forced assimilation that goes with it, have led to problematised relationship with ‘money’,



and this has resulted in Māori using 'Pākehā money' in Māori ways. As Houkamau et al. (2019, 16) explain, "being forced to value mainstream culture incurs a natural resistance." As well as retaining tikanga this is an act of defiance. The whānau lies at the core of Māori financial considerations, both in terms of providing and receiving security, and as the main level of analysis through which savings and financial management are viewed. Money is an important part of the familial network and bond, Māori save to ensure they have money for their whānau, and they also value positive whānau relationships as they are a form of future financial security (Houkamau et al. 2019, 3). While 'culturally normative', the expectation of mutual financial support within a whānau can also cause stress (Houkamau et al. 2019). Fostering whānau financial literacy requires a tikanga Māori approach that:

- ensures they feel safe and at ease
- uses whakapapa and traditional stories relevant to their whakapapa
- based on upholding mana
- focused on unleashing their potential
- built on understanding that there is often trauma relating to money
- reassures them that they can use money for both financial and cultural empowerment (tino rangatiratanga)
- makes their relationship with money positive
- emphasises both the importance of using it for immediate relational manaaki as well as long term security (Houkamau et al. 2019).

It seems that while financial literacy education is a good start, there needs to be other means by which whānau can be reached and influenced. As Houkamau et al. (2019, 16) state, there is a need to "[d]eal with the values-system dilemma first, then be conscious of financial behaviour." While they are still focused on financial literacy education, it seems that there also needs to be something more widespread, that is able to help reframe the way Māori see money and the ways in which it can be saved and used.

Houkamau et al. (2019, 16) list a number of culturally acceptable forms of wealth accumulation:

- Social savings (saving collectively) to purchase a whānau home or asset that can be shared between households.
- Encouraging collective behaviour change (whānau participating in financial literacy workshops together and supporting each other's behaviour change at home).

- Allocating small amounts for saving each week for whānau needs, as well as personal needs.
- Weekly contributions to marae or whānau savings, which can be used to pay for events important to the whānau (e.g. contributing to children's educational needs or food/bills when particular members are in need).

These forms of wealth accumulation frame material wealth as something that offers choices/freedom from stress as opposed to being selfish and self-centred.

**The concept of a wellbeing economy has been growing in salience nationally and globally. For Māori, ‘wellbeing’ has a deep resonance that is made more potent by the history of colonisation and the manifest issues of contemporary life in the settler state.** After outlining the rising interest in wellbeing around the world and how the work of internationally renowned economists on the work resonates with Māori conceptions of wellbeing, Wolfgramm et al. (2020, 20) outline the most common measures of wellbeing: “material living standards (income, consumption and wealth); health; education; personal activities, including work, political voice and governance; social connections and relationships; environment (present and future conditions); and insecurity.” In their work Spiller et al. (2011a) show the synergies between a Māori business wellbeing approach and Western theories, identifying the overlap with concepts such as the ethic of care, a stakeholder view of organisations, and relational wealth. This shows that while what might be termed ‘modern’ institutions were inherently oppositional towards Māori thinking, increasingly there is convergence with ‘post-modern’ approaches. **This convergence should help with implementing a wellbeing economy, though more work needs to be done on examining the similarities and differences between Māori and Western wellbeing structures and practices.**

Even though there are similarities between wider understandings of a wellbeing economy and Māori views, there are also differences that need to be identified and protected. As has been identified in previous sections, there are a range of tensions between Western institutions and Māori ones at the fundamental level of principles, values, and beliefs. Roche et al. (2018, 28) note that there are two ways of understanding wellbeing in the Western mindset: “hedonic wellbeing, which is short-term and externally motivated (i.e. wealth, image, and fame), and eudemonic wellbeing (autonomous action, challenge and relationships).” There is an obvious connection between Dell et al.’s discussion on different types of value and these two types of wellbeing. As Roche et al. (2018, 28) continue, Māori conceptions of wellbeing best align with eudemonic, which is “gained via engagement in meaningful endeavours and growth promoting experiences.” (Wolfgramm et al. 2020, 20). **While there are wider trends towards wellbeing economies and these should be explored and utilised by Māori, there is also a need to ensure that the Māori wellbeing economy remains tuturu. There is a risk that the Western models of wellbeing, despite intentions, tend towards hedonic values. Institutionally, this can be**

**viewed as the inherent risk of established rules that shape the capitalist economy dominating and perverting attempts to change it. Or framed in terms of capitals, there is a risk that the power of financial capital will corrupt attempts to expand the economy into a five capitals framework.**

The following will examine the scholarship on Māori wellbeing economics, however, it should be noted that this is still in the early phases and much work remains to be done. As Hēnare (in Ellis 2021, 4) states, “there is a phenomenal amount of new research needed to work out culturally appropriate means of distributing the wealth created by the thriving Māori economy.” Similarly, Houkamau et al. (referenced in Wolfgramm et al. 2020) “highlight the need for more detailed culturally specific and psychological measures of Māori well-being.” Roche et al. (2018, 28) also note that “the implications of psychological well-being in relation [to] specific cultural contexts remain under-examined.” **This is not to say that much mahi has not already been done, but rather that as well as synthesising and integrating the existing work, there are still many aspects that require attention, particularly in many of the more practical areas. That is to say, much of the theoretical, high-level work has been done, but there is little so far in how a wellbeing economy would work on a day to day basis, what rules and structures it would take, how it would be constituted and enforced, what forms of exchange and commerce would be utilised etc. The kaupapa is there, now the tikanga needs to be developed.**

While much work remains, there are some powerful fundamental insights about what a Māori wellbeing economy would entail that are widely shared across the literature. There is consensus that a Māori wellbeing economy should be: culturally embedded; relationally-oriented; collectively based; mutually beneficial; holistic/multidimensional in scope and outcome; and, Māori led/enhancing tino rangatiratanga. The way the literature has been divided up is but one of many possible ways and should not be seen as definitive or even the most accurate way of categorisation.

First and foremost, a Māori wellbeing economy needs to be grounded in te ao Māori, the core beliefs, values, and knowledge of Māori culture across the spiritual, environmental, and social domains. Nicholson et al. (2019, 34) provide a good breakdown of how these different elements need to be considered, explaining that the “spiritual aspect of well-being is not necessarily equated with religion but refers to the wider concerns of humanity and the environment, addressing shared values and meanings, and the ultimate purpose of human life” while the “cultural aspect of well-being is cultivated by employing tikanga [cultural protocols] to influence behavior and creating

culturally aware processes.” Wolfgramm et al. (2020, 21) explain that “[i]n terms of Māori wellbeing, subjective aspects of wellbeing also have strong cultural dimensions.” One of their (Wolfgramm et al. 2020, 19) core concepts is that a wellbeing economy embodies a “Māori values-driven transformation from the centre of the model.” “For economic aspirations to be successful for whānau, hapū and iwi,” Amoamo et al. (2018b, 69) explain, “an emphasis is required on Māori knowledge frameworks, which are essential to effective understanding of the economy, and consequently movement towards achieving social and cultural well-being.” **The foundational asset of a Māori wellbeing economy is cultural capital, which can be leveraged to grow social, human, natural, and financial/built capital.** Spiller et al. (2020a) emphasise the need for a wellbeing economy to be underpinned by tikanga and values such as wairuatanga, kaitiakitanga, manaakitanga, and reciprocity, whilst also uplifting Māori identity and whakapapa and respecting the whenua. **There is an understanding that however a wellbeing economy is constituted, at its core it needs to be guided by Māori culture, worldview, values, and knowledge. There is, within the Whai Rawa literature, sufficient work on this area in general though potentially more work could be done on examining how the different values and concepts would work in practice – looking at areas of synergy and conflict, both across the values and between the values and the wider settler institutional framework. How can cultural capital be used to grow social, human, and financial/built capital whilst maintaining natural capital?**

However, Kawharu (2018) makes an interesting counterpoint. After reinforcing that “[i]n an Indigenous context, the past, or history is also essential in shaping the direction(s) that economic development should take”, she notes that Indigenous economic development needs to focus on “melding cultural values into a programme of development and growth that is grounded in ancestral terms and forward thinking, if not also visionary in future-focussed terms” (Kawharu 2018, 6). As she (Kawharu 2018, 8) continues, “inter-generational resource and cultural losses are foundational reasons for communities to explore new, and possibly more holistic, social and economic growth strategies. In so doing, Māori communities may not simply (or desire to) reclaim back a lost economic status, but rather grow potential and enable community flourishing in its widest sense.” While certainly not arguing against the central importance of Māori culture, Kawharu does infer that this should be done with a degree of flexibility and openness to new processes and practices. **There is a need to explore what hybrid wellbeing economies might look like, ones with a whakapapa traced back to traditional practices yet also forward focused and built with new and more expansive aims and outcomes. There are many**

examples of Māori adopting and adapting tools and processes from different cultures, and a review of international perspectives on wellbeing economies in practice would be useful as a way of assessing any potentially useful ‘loan works’. This could be viewed as developing hybrid institutions to enable the most effective use of cultural capital in the contemporary context.

Related to Kawharu’s point, Mika et al. (2019, 305) provide an important insight: “There is no one specific way in which to rebalance wealth creation (shared capital) and wealth distribution (shared well-being).” **What they are saying is that rather than a single universal solution, there will need to be an array of strategies that can fit specific contexts.** “Shared capital and shared well-being should be the ultimate goals of global economies, and potentially, tribal economies. Such goals, whilst easy to expound, are difficult to achieve for many reasons.” (Mika et al. 2019, 303). In fact, as Mika et al. (2019, 304) continue, “[r]ebalancing income and wealth inequalities for tribes and other groups involves... simultaneous ‘360 degree interventions’ to enable transformative change and equal participation in both opportunities and outcomes.” **A wellbeing economy needs to be multi-faceted, nuanced, flexible, and bespoke – rather than a single one-size-fits-all solution.**

A number of works refer to the need for a wellbeing economy to be relationally-oriented, that it needs to be built on creating and maintaining relationships amongst people and between people and nature (Spiller et al. 2020a). **A wellbeing economy needs to build social capital and maintain natural capital, with the understanding that all capital is really natural capital, or a derivative thereof.** Roche et al. (2018, 33-34) see relatedness as one of the three key pillars of Māori wellbeing: “relatedness is defined as the human striving for close and intimate relationships and the desire to achieve a sense of connection and belongingness and a sense of mutual respect, caring, and reliance on others... The significant aspects of relatedness for Maori are: (a) whakapapa, (b) whanau and (c) whanaungatanga... [and the] connection to wider family and support networks” will fuel wellbeing. Wolfgramm et al. (2020, 21) refer to the ‘relational economies of wellbeing’, noting how this incorporates “the interrelatedness of humanity, the natural world and the spiritual world” and list a number of core principles and values that frame and guide this relational approach. They (Wolfgramm et al. 2020, 24) also note that “[i]n Māori relational economies, social and cultural identities are encoded in the natural world through the heuristic narratives and genealogical recitals explicit in whakapapa. Hence, human well-being is inseparable from the well-being of the natural environment.” Similarly, Pio et al. (2012, 211)

explain that “Humans are stewards endowed with a mandate to use the agency of their mana (spiritual power, authority, and sovereignty) to create mauri ora (conscious well-being) for humans and ecosystems.” Durie (referenced in Wolfgramm et al. 2020, 22) also emphasises the importance of relationships, including “enduring relationship between populations, their territories and the natural environment; an ecological context for human endeavours; relationships with the environment that endures over centuries; relationships that are celebrated in custom and group interaction; relationships that gives rise to a system of knowledge, distinctive methodologies and an environmental ethic; relationships that facilitate balancing economic growth; and relationships that contribute to the evolution and use of a unique language.” Joseph et al. (2016) discuss the importance of collaboration, which can be seen as a practical implementation of the relational view. Collaboration is “highly flexible, adaptable and fluid, depending on the nature of interaction between parties” (Joseph et al. 2016, 25). Collaboration “is highly dependent on effective relationships” (Joseph et al. 2016, 25). There are six reasons for collaborating: share resources; improve performance; reduce threats; improve efficiency; institutions; and to access power. Collaboration has five key elements: “i) a common agenda or purpose; ii) a series of mutually reinforcing activities; iii) continuous and open communication; iv) backbone infrastructure; and v) a shared framework for measuring results” (Joseph et al. 2016, 27). **A Māori wellbeing economy should be built on positive relationships, focused on increasing and enhancing these interactions across whānau, communities, within businesses, within and between iwi, across regions and the nation, and with nature.**

A Māori wellbeing economy would need to be collectively based, with different levels of focus and engagement across whānau, hapū, iwi, and Māori as a whole. **Growing social capital is central to the wellbeing economy, so it needs to be focused on and located at the collective level.** Spiller et al. (2020a) emphasise that a wellbeing economy would have whānau at its heart, would be grassroots and local, would deliver collective benefit to whānau and build strong, resilient and confident communities. In a similar vein, Kawharu (2018) outlines that “[e]conomic development is, at its heart, about the advancement and growth of communities and not least, the improvement of people’s livelihoods.” The key locus of a wellbeing economy from this perspective is the whānau, and the community within which they live. Referencing the way wellbeing is conceptualised in the Whānau Ora programme, Wolfgramm et al. (2020, 23) note: “the well-being of hapū, iwi and communities often depends on the well-being of whānau. This is consistent with views that although Māori view hapū and iwi as being vital, in many cases there may be a degree of abstraction. On the other hand, whānau are more immediate and therefore permit the formation

of more concentrated networks of social life. Hence, Whānau Ora aims to be an inclusive approach to providing services and opportunities to whānau across New Zealand. It empowers whānau as a whole, rather than focusing separately on individual whānau members and their problems.” Durie’s model is “multilevel (individual, whānau, Māori population)” (Wolfgramm et al. 2020, 21). Likewise, Joseph et al. (2016, 22) take a slightly higher level perspective, noting that a Māori wellbeing economy “should be from a Māori, iwi or hapū centred perspective.” **A wellbeing economy would need to be collective, centring on whānau empowerment, community growth, and leveraged and facilitated through hapū and iwi. It should be focused on social capital.**

The importance of a wellbeing economy being mutually beneficial, of creating a circular economy that benefits and uplifts all, is also identified by a number of works. **This focuses on the equitable distribution of financial capital in a wellbeing economy, and with viewing financial capital not as an end but as a means for creating wellbeing.** Amoamo et al. (2018a, 491) state that such an “economy values an accumulation of sharing, enabling equitable distribution of wealth amongst the community.” They (Amoamo et al. 2018a, 491) continue, explaining that a wellbeing economy would need to provide “a system of exchange that can take into account multiple strands of social, cultural, economic, and political issues in society, empowering alternative voice and vision in the construction of economic activity.” Tau and Rout (2018) mention the potential for implementing a non-cash economy based on traditional reciprocity in their conclusion but **there is little detail there or anywhere else on the way a wellbeing economy would help distribute wealth or facilitate more equal exchange.** This form of mutually beneficial, circular economy is guided by a range of core Māori concepts such as: tohatoha (the fair distribution of material effects and social responsibility), hau (a fundamental principle for the life force that generates life and reciprocal exchanges between humans and nature), and utu (principles of exchange), amongst other values and principles (Wolfgramm et al. 2020). For Spiller et al. (2020a) it must be a sustainable, circular, sharing, caring economy that will create abundance and prosperity and realise personal and collective potential. A wellbeing economy would have value centred on collective interest (Dell et al. 2021). It could be an economy based on manahau, a concept that brings together the notion mana as a predicate for affective economic activity and hau, a metaphysical concept denoting a Māori ethic of generosity (Dell et al. 2021). Dell et al. (2021, 20) describe manahau as “an axiological agent to aid Māori entrepreneurs in multiple sites, scales, structures and sectors to synergistically negotiate commercial and cultural imperatives.” **By its very definition a wellbeing economy would need**



to be equitably distributive, this goes to the very heart of the concept. While this is emphasised in a number of works little has been done on understanding the ways in which this could be achieved in practice.

A wellbeing economy would also need to be holistic and multidimensional in both scope and outcomes. **This emphasises the need to not only focus on all the capitals rather than just financial capital, but also to understand them as interconnected.** Firstly, it would understand that all of the divisions and silos that exist in the current economy between the ‘economic’, the ‘political’, the ‘environmental’, and the ‘social’ are arbitrary and false. Nicholson et al. (2019, 32-33, 35) call for a “recalibration of the role of the economy” with “businesses and societies taking collective responsibility for this recalibration... The Five Well-beings are not compartmentalized but are interwoven and permeate each other.” Likewise, Ellis (2021, 26) notes that a wellbeing economy would require “[o]rienting away from neo-liberal Western views of productivity, maximising profit and economic success as measured by GDP.” Rather “than the more ubiquitous but less satisfactory triple or quadruple “bottom line” vernacular of sustainable development, a Five Well-beings approach is a Māori theory of the firm that brings spiritual, cultural, social, environmental, and economic well-being into intimate connection” (Nicholson et al. 2019, 34). The need for a Māori wellbeing economy to cover all dimensions of existence and understand that these are intrinsically connected is also found across the literature. Durie’s model is also “outcomes focused—Te Manawa (a secure cultural identity), Te Kāhui (collective Māori synergies), Te Kete Puawai (Māori cultural and intellectual resources) and Te Ao Turoa (principles including the Māori estate)” (Wolfgramm et al. 2020, 21). Hēnare (in Ellis 2021, 4) identifies that there is “an indivisible link between... [Māori] ethical practices and healthy economies. Sustainable human and economic development is a holistic approach involving whole-of-life sustainability, with mana an abiding keystone upon which wellbeing is predicated – Māori wellbeing comprising four elements: spiritual, environmental, family and kinship, and economic.” **The scope of a wellbeing economy would expand out from covering the ‘economic’ realm to encompassing all aspects of life, it would view economic relationships as a facet of the broader spiritual, environmental, and social realities of life.**

Secondly, in this Māori wellbeing economy, the concept of ‘wellbeing’ itself needs to be holistic and multidimensional – wellbeing outcomes need to be understood as multifaceted. Hēnare (quoted in Rout et al. 2019, 13) identifies “four wellbeings—spiritual, environmental, kinship, and economic.” Durie’s model encompasses “four dimensions of well-being: hinengaro

(psychological), whanau (family), wairua (spirit) and tinana (physical). Psychological, familial, spiritual and physical well-being are not viewed in isolation, but are interrelated and function in a synchronised manner to influence well-being” (Roche et al. 2018, 27). The Te Wheke model of wellbeing covers eight dimensions: “hinengaro (intellect), wairuatanga (spirituality), taha tinana (physical well-being), whanaungatanga (extended family), mauri (life principle in people and objects), mana ake (unique identity), whatumanawa (emotions) and ha a koro ma a kui ma (inherited strengths)” (Roche et al. 2018, 27). Noting that a wellbeing economy would “produce goods, services, values and care that are crucial contributors to material well-being”, Amoamo et al. (2018b, 71) then define this material wellbeing as encompassing “trust, stewardship, sharing, reciprocity, cooperation, collective agreement, equity, spiritual connection, and environmental and social justice”, showing the breadth of its conception. Wolfgramm et al. (2020) note that economic activity needs to be focused on reinstating and enhancing mauri ora (health and wellness of one’s life and flourishing communities and societies) across a range of contexts. For Joseph et al. (2016, 22), a wellbeing economy “is multidimensional and should promote improvement in economic and overall wellbeing... [and] should not focus solely on economic return, but on facilitation of achieving greater wellbeing for iwi and the people.” Spiller et al. (2020a) provide a range of markers that encapsulate the holistic and multidimensional nature of a wellbeing economy, stressing that it needs to have a unity of purpose, be holistic, intergenerational and enduring, and enable Māori wellbeing at all levels of being. **While there are a variety of different wellbeings listed, there is a relatively broad consensus on the scope of wellbeing; further work would be best to concentrate not on further identification or categorisation of wellbeing, but on the interconnections between these forms of wellbeing and how they can be grown.**

A Maori wellbeing economy needs to be Māori-led and must enhance tino rangatiratanga, with Māori not only driving the changes but also seeing increased control over the wellbeing economy as a whole and across the various nodes within the economy. **Here the emphasis is on social and cultural capital.** Houkamau (2019, 214) simply states that “Māori must control their own economic future if they are to thrive.” Hēnare (in Ellis 2021, 3) views part of a wellbeing economy involving “the transition from being the cheap labour force for the settler economies to becoming – as we were in the 1830s – the owners and managers of our own means of production.” Similarly, Tau and Rout (2018, 105) identify “the creation of tribally-owned firms that enable collective and individual gains” as vital. Joseph et al. (2016, 22) state that a wellbeing economy needs to fit “within efforts for self determination and self-governance.” Roche et al. (2018, 30-31) also make the connection between wellbeing and autonomy, explaining: “For Maori, who aspire to and are

orientated towards the collective, autonomy is not only an individual concept: the autonomy of others is also central. The need for ‘collective’ autonomy aligns well with the Maori concept of tino rangatiratanga, which espouses a pattern of (collective) volition and choice, in which governance and leadership is owned by Maori for Maori... We found that Maori autonomy, operationalised collectively, aided leaders’ well-being... autonomy is fundamentally important for Maori leaders. The ability for Maori leaders to not only be self-governing in their behaviour, but to develop others’ autonomy and self-determination, triggered satisfaction and consequently enhanced well-being.” Spiller et al. (2020a) also stress that a wellbeing economy would need to empower the tino rangatiratanga of whānau. **This does pose some significant questions regarding how a Māori wellbeing economy would fit within the wider economy and how it would be substantiated. Is increased Māori autonomy a prerequisite for a Māori wellbeing economy? What level of autonomy is needed for even a basic Māori wellbeing economic framework to be developed?**

Providing some nuance to this, referencing Prasad, Mika et al. (2019, 304) note that delivering wellbeing requires that “governments, communities and organisations, especially those with influence, adopt a combination of progressive economic and social policies, that focus on lifting health, social, educational, and political and environmental outcomes for disadvantaged populations. All these issues relate to improving the overall well-being of populations and to distributing wealth and improving incomes for people with lower socioeconomic circumstances.” While it needs to be Māori led, a wellbeing economy also needs to be integrated into the wider political infrastructure. The outcome is for “tribal members to benefit from opportunities, including, better jobs, higher incomes, better access to services in health, culture and education, participating in society as individuals and collectives with dignity and respect, free of discrimination” (Mika et al. 2019, 304).

Identifying the role of iwi, Mika et al. (2019, 308) outline five strategy “platforms to begin building a more comprehensive and integrated approach to tribal economic development.”

- iwi need to carry out a careful and respectful alignment of Māori-owned and operated “private business” with tribal goals and aspirations. A balance that ensures private and independent Māori business interests have their autonomy recognised, and at the same time, be “counted” as contributing to tribal economies

- iwi might consider moving beyond the notion of an iwi economy being fixated on a monetary quantum, with a shift in emphasis from “iwi economy” to an applied notion of “iwi economic development”, so “the profit is in the people” not the bottomline
- encourage simultaneous growth of social entrepreneurialism along with individual entrepreneurialism
- iwi need to move beyond investment in singular or “silver bullet” projects
- increase the number of iwi members within the tribal rohe so that they can contribute to and grow the iwi economy, address the divide between ahikā and taurahere

Referencing the rūnanga system of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, which was to have given “rūnanga the capacity to regulate, manage and administer the lands within its district”, Tau and Rout (2018, 102) note that this “is the kernel of the idea of a self-regulating tribal economy upon lands that remained under tribal authority and regulation.” They (Tau and Rout 2018, 102) explain that “what was then intended as a tool of subjugation could now, over 150 years later, be the blueprint for increased institutional autonomy for Māori.” Māori have continued to utilise rūnanga in a variety of forms, providing a cultural match for this form of organisational institution. Essentially what is being proposed here is that hapū regain a degree of autonomy over their land, which provides them with a range of abilities including certain taxation capacities. As Tau and Rout (2018, 105) conclude, Māori need “[p]olitical institutions that provide strong governance over tribal assets, such as a rūnanga model that has clearly defined powers that position it as an effective adjudicator and regulator of rights and exchange, across both internal and, to some degree, external affairs. Rūnanga need to be able to raise tax, through rates and an internal (Māori economy) GST.” An increase in political autonomy is vital for the establishment of a ‘Māori economy’, Tau and Rout (2018) argue, concluding: “Can there be a Māori economy? The question is fundamentally a political rather than a financial or economic one. Our surmise is that a Māori or tribal economy needs to be built upon the same foundations that underpin any other economy: strong politico-legal institutions that deliver the power to regulate and enforce laws and bylaws; the power to raise tax and revenue; tribal title to tribal properties; and the creation of economic institutions that encourage internal trade and enable both social and economic benefits.” This is also reinforced by the Canadian Government’s First Nations report (referenced in Wolfgramm et al. 2020, 20), which notes that “[e]ffective institutions are seen as essential for creating stable environments for decisions to be made that stimulate economic success and well-being... the effective management of resources and enterprises is contingent on skilled administration at multiple levels of governance.” They (Wolfgramm et al. 2020, 20) also quote Durie, who states that “Māori

aspirations for greater control over their own destinies and resources is variously described as a search for sovereignty, autonomy, independence, self-governance, self determination, tino rangatiratanga and mana Motuhake.”

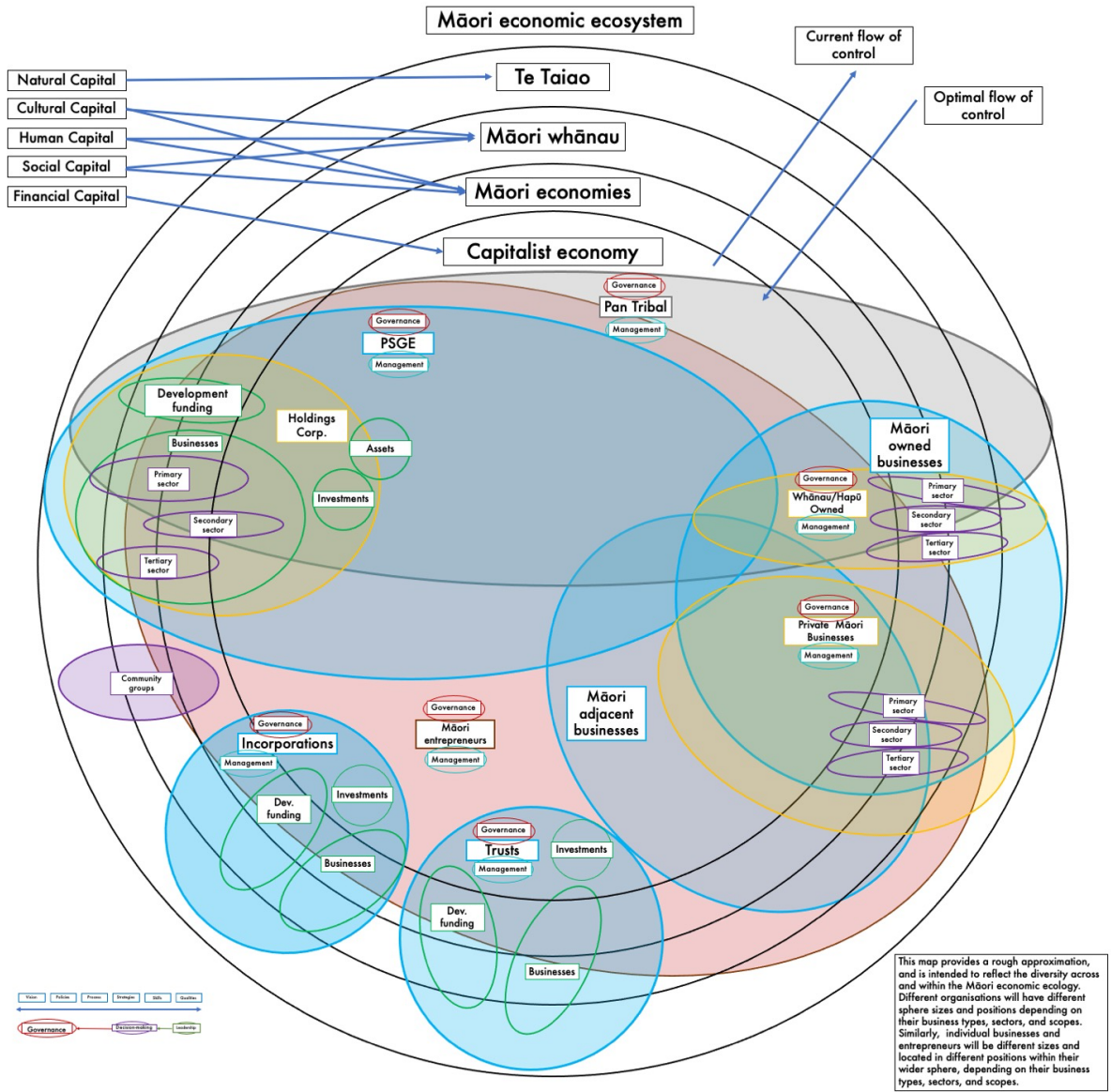
## FINAL THOUGHTS AND POTENTIAL AREAS OF RESEARCH

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- A better map of the current Māori economy is needed – the sectors, businesses, organisational structures, and operational practices. This work needs to be quantitative as well as qualitative and needs to be focused on providing a snapshot of current conditions and contexts. Rather than being prescriptive this should be descriptive, should be able to encapsulate the diverse economies that exist within the ‘Māori economy’. A graphic overview of the scope of such a map is presented at the end of these recommendations.
- This map might also want to look at outliers or those less culturally-oriented or fluent, as well as those ‘ideal state’ operations. The goal has to be creating a wellbeing economy that benefits all Māori, not just those with the cultural fluency and necessary supporting capacity.
- To date the focus has been largely on normative and optimal cases in the Māori economy. This was important mahi, especially in the early days of this emerging field but now this has been established, more work is needed on the actual and suboptimal. That is, examining businesses that may not fit the various criteria of Māori businesses but might be considered ‘adjacent’ to these businesses in terms of ownership, employment, kaupapa, products/services, or partnerships etc., as well as examining a wider sphere of ‘adjacent’ entrepreneurs than fit within the specific criteria. There also needs to be a greater focus on both businesses and whānau that are not performing as well, to understand how a wellbeing economy might address this as well as to determine what needs addressing.
- Work is needed on examining the tensions identified in this report and determining ways of addressing them, as these are the key areas of strain in the contemporary Māori economy and will no doubt add friction to any Māori wellbeing economy.
- More work is also needed on examining the interface between the Māori economy and the wider settler economy, looking for areas of both alignment and discord. This needs to focus on the institutional framework of both – that is the various interplays between the social, cultural, political, legal, environmental, and economic domains within both economies.
- Similarly, more attention is needed on examining wider initiatives across New Zealand to implement a wellbeing economy to determine the similarities and differences with a specifically Māori wellbeing economy, as well as ways in which these two economies would interact and how the Māori wellbeing economy can best position itself in the wider wellbeing economy.
- Also, the project needs to clearly identify what changes are currently possible within the wider settler institutional framework. Generally conceived, wellbeing economies are created by the sovereign entity, which raises questions of increased tino rangatiratanga as a prerequisite for a

Māori wellbeing economy. The scope of potential within current framework as well as possible policy changes needs to be determined. Also, there are questions of possible stages of development vs. instant autonomy, does the Māori wellbeing economy start as a subset of a wider New Zealand wellbeing economy and gradually become more sovereign or does it need to start independently?

- The concept of a Māori wellbeing economy needs to be better defined and outlined. There are high level statements but there needs to be more focus on developing how it would actually operate, the strategies and policies needed to create and sustain it, the rules and regulations in which it would operate, the optimal businesses structures, as well as the desired outcomes and the requisite indicators for measuring and tracking these outcomes.
- In particular, there needs to be more work on how a wellbeing economy would work on a daily basis and how it would fit within the wider national economy. Would there be different mechanisms of exchange, e.g. non-cash exchange? Would there need to be new organisational structures? Would there need to be new property rights? Would new indicators need to be developed or could existing ones be used, or adapted for use (Sustainable Development Goals, Human Development Index, Genuine Progress Indicator etc.)?
- Closely related to this, rather than being a singular 'Māori wellbeing economy' it seems likely it will be a number of related 'Māori wellbeing economies', understanding the potential differences across these economies and how they might interact is important.
- Conceptually, 'wellbeing economies' seem to exist along a spectrum of passive to active, with the more passive largely focusing solely on measuring more than just GDP. Presumably a Māori wellbeing economy would be more active, in that it seeks to create change. What level of active engagement would occur within the Māori wellbeing economy and what would this encompass?
- Are there other similar projects internationally that Māori could learn from and/or work with?
- There also needs to be work on the ways in which a Māori wellbeing economy could best be established. What are the best authorities and organisations to start with, PSGEs and their businesses, trusts and incorporations, collectively-owned Māori businesses, privately-owned Māori businesses, or a mixture of two or more of these? Also, who should lead this project, PSGE, a pan-tribal organisation, a new form of organisation? Would it be better to run a pilot scheme in one region or would a wellbeing economy need a national sized critical mass to be successful?





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