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# Te Hokinga ki te Ūkaipō

## Disrupted Māori Management Theory

Harmonising Whānau Conflict in the Māori Land Trust

*Kīri Mamai Dell*

A thesis submitted in the partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Management and International Business

**The University of Auckland, 2017**

Picture Credit: Papatūānuku and Rangnui, Perkins, Christopher Edward, 1891-1968. Perkins, Christopher, 1891-1968: Māori Adam and Eve. 1929. Ref: A-058-005. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand. /records/23013833

# Tuhinga Whakarāpoto

## Abstract

This thesis generates a theory grounded in data to explain the management dysfunction pervading many Māori land trust across New Zealand. Presently, 1.4666 million hectares of Māori land make up 5.5% of New Zealand's land mass, represented by an extraordinary 27,308 titles, and 2.7 million individual ownership interests. Māori trusts and incorporations are estimated to make up 64% of all Māori land, with half – 751,000 hectares, constituted as Ahu Whenua Trusts and 14% – 21, 0000 hectares, as incorporations. The New Zealand government recently spurred policy to mandate intiatives and resources to unlock the potential of Māori land. However, because of a number of intricate and multi-faceted issues, considerable complexity exists with the management of Māori land trusts.

Using grounded theory and based on 22 interviews with Māori land trust experts, trustees, shareholders, policy makers, lawyers and land development specialists, the research determines why relational conflict pervades Māori land trusts. The antecedents and consequences of this conflict are identified. It sheds light on the relationship between individual, organisational, and societal processes. At its core, this thesis presents the empirical foundation for disrupted Māori management theory. This new multi-level theory bridges micro-, meso- and macro- levels and is useful for understanding management complications within Māori land trusts. The thesis gives an outline of each level and a conceptual identity for disrupted Māori management theory. Achieving whānau and whenua potentiality is at the heart of this research; practice implications are also explored.

# Pōnga rā, i Pōnga rā!

This is dedicated to all whānau and Māori landowners.
I hope this shines light
to places that have once been dark.

# He mihi

## Acknowledgements


I acknowledge the source of my spiritual courage arising from my whakapapa, whanau and whenua and the many glorious and intimate experiences I have had with our people and lands in Whareponga –the haven and the heaven that has profoundly shaped me and who I am today.

to my friend,
Ann Pinckney, thanks for showing me what it means to have emotional courage. Through your guidance I explore the emotional depths and breadth of what it means to have fullfilling human experience.

to my supervisor,
Chris Woods, thank you for encouraging me to lead out. You teach me to understand the dance between when to be a learner and when to be a leader.

to my dad,
thank you for instilling in me an adventourous courage to go as far, as high and as great as I want to in this world.

to my supervisor,
Carla Houkamau, thank you for giving me intellectual courage.You gave me a warm sense of containment on this journey that allowed me to really explore the depths of my thinking.

to my mum
thank you for emulating to me a fighting courage to challenge what does not feel right.

To my children, I hope this tree of courage gives you the freedom to go and do and be whatever you want to in this world.

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# Tīmatanga

## Introduction

*Pōnga ra! Pōnga ra!*
*Ka tātākī mai Te Whare o nga Ture!*
*Ka whiria te Māori! Ka whiria!*
*Ngau nei ona reiti, ngau nei ona taake!*
*A ha ha! Te taea te ueue! I aue!*
*Hei! Patua i te whenua!*
*Hei! Whakataua i ngā ture!*
*Hei! A ha ha! Na nga Mema ra te kōhuru*
*Nā te Kāwana te kōheriheri!*
*Ka raruraru ngā ture!*
*Ka raparapa ki te pua tōrori! I aue!*
*Kāore hoki te mate o te whenua e*
*Te makere atu ki raro ra!*
*A ha ha! Iri tonu mai runga*
*O te kiringutu mau mai ai,*
*Hei tipare tāna mo te hoariri!*
*A ha ha! I tahuna mai au*
*Ki te whakahere toto koa,*
*A ki te ngākau o te whenua nei,*
*Ki te koura! I aue, taukuri e!*
*A ha ha!*

*Ko tūhikitia, ko tūhapainga*
*I raro i te whero o te Māori! Hukiti!*
*A ha ha! Nā te ngutu o te Māori*
*Pōhara kai kutu*
*Nā te weriweri koe i homai ki konei?*
*E kaore iara, i haramai tonu koe*
*Ki te kai whenua!*
*Pokokōhua!*
*Kauramōkai! Hei!*
*A ha ha!*

*Kei puta atu hoki te ihu o te waka*
*I nga torouka o Niu Tireni,*
*Ka paia pukutia mai e ngā uaua*
*O te ture a te Kāwana!*
*Te taea te ueue!*
*Au! Au! Aue!*

Our days are darkened! Our days are darkened
Parliament incessantly chatter
tying Māori like plaited rope
we feel the bite of their rates and taxes!
A ha ha! Its teeth lock us in! Alas!
Destroying land!
Hei! The laws are spread-eagled over it!
Hei! A ha ha! Government have done us wrong,
The Governor has pulverised us;
Confusing laws
even tobacco leaf is singled out! Alas!
Never does the death of our land
Cease to burden our minds!
A ha ha!, clinging
upon our lips
A headbands to parry the enemy's blow!
A ha ha! I was scorched in the fire
sacrificed blood, and stripped
To the vital heart of the land,
Bribed with the Pakeha gold!
Alas! Ah me! A ha ha!

Was it not your declared mission
To remove the tattoo from Māori lips
Relieve his distress
stop him eating lice,
And cleanse him of dirt and disgust?
Yea! But all that was a deep-lined design
'Neath which to devour our lands!
Ha! May your heads be boiled!
Displayed on the toasting sticks!
A ha ha!

How can the nose of the vessel you gave us
Pass by the rugged headlands of New Zealand,
When confronted with the difficulties
Of the laws of the Governor!
We are overcome with agitation!
Alas! Ah me!

This haka –Te Kiringutu – was written by Tuta Nihoniho, protesting land legislation in the 1800s.

American scholar Clayton Christensen developed the concept 'disruptive innovation' (Christensen, 1997), a paradigm that creates whole new markets, products and value networks, but simultaneously disrupts an existing or previous one. The disruption displaces established and standard ways of operating. Thus, a disruptive paradigm is life-threatening to the modus operandi of looking at and doing things. For Māori, this major disturbance and societal upheaval came in the 18th century with the arrival of the *HMS Endeavour*, a British Royal Navy research vessel, headed by Lieutenant James Cook. The arrival of this shipping technology into Aotearoa New Zealand opened the channels of colonisation, creating significant disruptions to the Māori way of living and being. Part of the Māori experience became one of loss, anger, grief, trauma and frustration. Throughout history, many other Indigenous communities have been disordered, similarly knocked from pathways to vibrant human flourishing.

The resulting loss, still felt, is now what needs to be disrupted; we need methods, actions and ways to counter the disruption, or to coin a new word, counter-ruption. Counter-ruption would stop any further corrosion in order to return to continuity and prosperous communities who are strongly connected between whānau and whenua. Māori land is at the heart of that because it is the rock upon which whānau and hapū truly exist.

With the rapid pace of technological developments, modern environments are being disrupted faster than ever before. Our world is transforming at a more rapid and accelerated pace that is being redefined by disruptive paradigms where communities must embrace this world as a new and fundamental way to exist. However, a Māori paradigm of existence promotes the opposite – it centres on philosophies of continuity and perpetuity. Disrupted Māori management theory

speaks to the paradox of surviving in a world of disruption and yet existing with a sense of stability and continuity.

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# Rarangi Kupu

## Glossary

| Te reo Māori | English |
|---|---|
| *Ahi kaa* | home fires burning |
| *Ahi kaa roa* | long home fires burning |
| *Ahi kimi* | fire seeking |
| *Aotearoa* | New Zealand |
| *Aroha* | to love, feel compassion |
| *Aroha atu, aroha mai* | give and take love or compassion |
| *Āronga* | purpose, focus |
| *Āta titiro* | look carefully |
| *Āta whakarongo* | listen carefully |
| *Atua* | god |
| *Haka* | to dance, perform the haka |
| *Hapū* | clan, tribe, subtribe |
| *Hau* | wind, breeze, breath |
| *Hinengaro* | mind |
| *Hoa ki te hoa* | friend to friend |
| *Hōhā* | nuisance, bother, hassle |
| *Hui* | to gather, congregate |
| *Hūmārie* | peaceful, gentle |
| *Iwi* | extended kinship group, tribe |
| *Iwi ki te iwi* | tribe to tribe |
| *Kai* | food |
| *Kaimahi ki te kaimahi* | worker to worker |
| *Kaimoana* | seafood, shellfish |
| *Kaitiaki* | trustee, guardian, caregiver |
| *Kaitiakitanga* | guardianship, trusteeship |
| *Kākā* | large native forest parrot |
| *Kanohi ki te kanohi* | face to face |
| *Kāpata kai* | food cupboard |
| *Karakia* | pray, chant |
| *Kaumātua ki te mokopuna* | elder to grandchild |
| *Kaupapa* | topic, matter of discussion |
| *Kererū* | New Zealand Pigeon |
| *Kite* | to see, perceive |
| *Kōrero uiui* | intensive interview |
| *Kōrerorero* | to talk, discuss, conversation |

| | |
|---|---|
| *Kotahitanga* | unity, togetherness |
| *Kuia* | elderly woman, grandmother |
| *Kūmara* | sweet potato |
| *Mamae* | be painful, sore, hurt |
| *Mana* | prestige, authority, power, influence |
| *Mana tūpuna* | power through descent |
| *Manaaki* | to support, take care of |
| *Manawa* | heart |
| *Marae* | communal place |
| *Mataku* | be afraid, frightened |
| *Mātamua* | first, elder |
| *Mātaotao* | cold, to die out, be extinguished of feelings |
| *Mātātuhi* | written literature, prophet |
| *Mātauranga* | knowledge, wisdom understanding |
| *Mauri* | life principle, source of emotions |
| *Mihi* | to greet, acknowledge, thank |
| *Moumou* | to waste, wasteful |
| *Ngā hau e wha o Tāwhiri* | the four winds of Tawhiri |
| *Ngā whatu o te taiaha* | four seeing eyes on a taiaha |
| *Ngākau* | heart |
| *Ngau tuarā* | back biting |
| *Noa* | to be free from the extensions of tapu unrestricted |
| *Pākehā* | English, foreign, European New Zealander |
| *Papakāinga* | original home, home base |
| *Papatūānuku* | Earth, Earth Mother |
| *Pikopiko* | a native plant |
| *Pōhiri* | to welcome, invite |
| *Pōuri* | to be dark, sad |
| *Pōuritanga* | grief |
| *Pūhaehae* | mistrust, be envious, jealous |
| *Puku* | belly, stomach |
| *Pūtea* | sum of money, fund |
| *Raki* | north |
| *Rangatira* | to be of high rank, chiefly |
| *Raupatu* | to conquer, overcome |
| *Rāwhiti* | east |
| *Riri* | to be angry, furious, scold |
| *Rongo* | to hear |
| *Rūnanga* | to discuss in an assembly |
| *Taiaha* | long wooden weapon |
| *Tangata whenua* | local people, host |
| *Tangi* | to cry, mourn, weep |
| *Taonga* | property, goods, possession |
| *Taonga tuku iho* | heirloom, heritage, something handed down |

| | |
|---|---|
| *Tapu* | sacred, prohibited, forbidden |
| *Tāwhiri* | to bid welcome, wave to |
| *Te ao mārama* | God of Wind |
| *Te Pūru* | the bull |
| *Te Ture Whenua Māori* | Māori land legislation |
| *Tī kōuka* | cabbage tree |
| *Tiaki* | to guard, keep |
| *Tikanga* | custom, practise |
| *Tonga* | south |
| *Tuākana ki te teina* | elder to younger |
| *Tuakiritanga* | identity, personality |
| *Tūmanako* | desire, to hope for |
| *Tūranga* | stand, position |
| *Tūrangawaewae* | domicile, place where one has the right to stand |
| *Uru* | west |
| *Utu* | to repay, avenge |
| *Waewae* | leg, foot |
| *Waiata* | to sing, song |
| *Waiata tangi* | lament |
| *Wairua* | spirit, soul |
| *Wairuatanga* | spirituality |
| *Wānanga* | to meet and discuss, consider |
| *Whaea/whāea* | aunt, aunty |
| *Whakamā* | to be ashamed, embarrassed |
| *Whakamomori* | to desire desperately, mope, fret |
| *Whakapapa* | genealogy, lineage |
| *Whakatauki* | to utter a proverb |
| *Whakawhanaunga* | to have a relationship, get together, make friends |
| *Whānau* | family |
| *Whanaungatanga* | relationship, kinship |
| *Whatumanawa* | feelings or emotions |
| *Whenua* | land |
| *Whenua ūkaipō* | nourishment through land |

## The Use of Te Reo Māori in this thesis

This thesis uses a substantial amount of Māori language. The words are translated into English on first usage. The macron or double vowel are two forms of signage to alert the reader to use the long vowel sound to help differintiate its multiple meanings in a given word. A macron is a bar placed over a vowel to show that the sound is lengthened. Both forms are retained in this

thesis even though the macron is used most of the time. The double vowel has been retained for example in the use of the word ahi kaa, meaning burning fires, it is simply a matter of preference. Which vowel the macron is placed is important as seen in the word Māui – legendary ancestor, Mauī – left hand. No attempt has been made to macron: Titles, Acts, Trusts, Reports, etc. sourced for this thesis they keep their autonomy from where they came from.

There is a general habit by New Zealanders of adding the letter ‘s’ at the end of Māori words. This practice is generally not acceptable, however, there are instances in this thesis, where the ‘s’ on a Māori word appears. Where interviewee transcripts has expressed verbally an ‘s’ on a Māori word, this has been retained. For example, words such as my whāea’s (my aunties) my kuia’s (my grandmothers.) In such cases the writer has remained with the interviewee’s usage. Also, names of the interviewees and people are also subject to usage of the letter ‘s’. For example, ‘Ngata’s words ’or ‘Karaka’s opinion’.

# Wāhanga Tuatahi

## Māori Land Issues

*E tipu e rea mō ngā ra ō tōu ao*

*Ko tō ringa ki ngā rākau ā te Pākeha*

*Hei ara mō tō tinana*

*Ko tō ngākau ki ngā taonga a o tīpuna Māori*

*Hei tikitiki mo tō māhuna*

*Ko tō wairua ki tō Atua,*

*nāna nei ngā mea katoa.*

Grow up and thrive for the days destined to you.

Your hands to the tools of the Pakeha

to provide physical sustenance.

Your heart to the treasures of your Māori ancestors

as a wreath for your brow,

Your soul to God,

to whom all things belong

Apirana Ngata's words to a two year old school girl, which have been used and referenced many times to convey the Māori aspiration to not only retain culture but to enhance it using the tools of others.

# Chapter 1: Aims and Objectives

This chapter introduces the thesis which examines the relationship of Māori land and whānau potentiality. The research problem is identified and an outline provided of the challenges of operating from a dual world or Māori-Western context to conduct the research. A summary of the thesis structure is also given.

## Māori Land and Whānau Potentiality

Statistics in multiple health and social indicator studies consistently confirm that relative to non-Māori, Māori experience a poorer quality of life and well-being. Conversely, Māori hold a significant land advantage, owning 1.4666 million hectares, making up 5.5% of New Zealand's land mass (Kingi, 2008). While this is a seemingly impressive resource, Māori land is generally considered to be underperforming (Kingi, 2008; PwC, 2013; Reid, 2011), or what this research terms 'unrealised potentiality'.

Whānau potentiality is the ability to develop or bring whānau experiences into an improved and enhanced existence. The research question for this thesis arises from this dual dilemma;

> How can Māori land be better utilised, transformed, and managed to enable Māori to realise whānau potentiality?

Perhaps the well-known Māori proverb, *haere whakamūa, hoki whakamūrī*/going forward, looking back, speaks directly to the strategy that might help to solve what industry reports label 'the underperforming Māori land problem.' The traditional Māori view embedded within this proverb suggests the future can only be understood by knowing the past. Māori should look

back, to guide the way forward. Therefore, whānau potentiality constraints should start with understanding the past, and doing that requires the observation and analysis of entrenched historical colonialism and its impacts on Māori land (Reid, 2011). Untangling the contemporary land conundrum should begin with understanding the context in which it was created.

Exploring the past and Māori land may for some, be a confronting exposure to what many consider a brutal New Zealand history (Walker, 2004). Events and incidences of the New Zealand wars, imposed legislative acts, land sales, acquisition and confiscation significantly eroded the Māori economic land base. A loss of income and diminished Māori well-being resulted (Walker, 2004). The consequences of a drastically reduced economic base have perpetuated Māori poverty and impoverishment intergenerationally (Wirihana & Smith, 2014). Now a minority in their country, Māori make up around 15% of the total New Zealand population (Statistics New Zealand, 2013). They continue to combat issues of marginalisation that place them on the fringes of society. Many Māori, restricted from participating in opportunities to thrive, struggle to overcome barriers to upward social and economic mobility.

Numerous reports show this disadvantage. National research on 'Māori Housing Trends' indicated that on average, Māori had lower rates and reduced quality in income, housing and home ownership. Conversely, Māori have higher rates of unemployment and home overcrowding (Flynn, Carne, & Soa-Lafoa'i, 2010). 'The Quality of Life Report' found that 17% of Māori struggled to meet the financial costs to cover their everyday needs (Nielsen, 2008). Of all ethnic groups in New Zealand, Māori have the worst health status. They are statistically over-representated in obesity and lower life expectancy (Ministry of Social

Development, 2016); cigarette consumption (Te Puni Kokiri, 2009); incarceration and criminal convictions (White, 2015); suicide and beneficiary rates (Marriott, 2014). These inequalities limit Māori potentiality to attain and realise land aspirations.

Despite the negative socio-economic statistics, a spirit of optimism for a positive Māori future exists. In recent decades, Māori have managed to attain and assert some socio-political rights, through political representation and advances in Treaty settlement compensation for land grievances. Combined with the fiscal valuation and distinct identification of a robust 'Māori economy' (Nana, Khan, & Schulze, 2013) an increased awareness of a Māori economic renaissance has emerged along with the development of future growth strategies towards it. Māori land is a significant potential source of well-being. Uncovering its opportunities will enhance the Māori renaissance. As a path to alleviate Māori poverty, suffering and impoverishment, this research is an attempt to better understand Māori well-being through reconnecting our relationship to whenua and whānau.

However, issues concerning Māori land and constraints to achieve whānau potentiality are complex and multifaceted, intersecting within multiple spheres of social, political, legal, psychological, economic and environmental realms (Reid, 2011). The various ways to understand and attack the Māori land problem, speaks to the intricate complexity of the matter.

## Rationale for Thesis

Presently, the 1.4666 million hectares of Māori land is represented by an extraordinary 27,308 titles and 2.7 million individual ownership interests (Te Ture Whenua Māori Act 1993 - Review

Panel, 2014). These titles and land interests are legislated and governed by Te Ture Whenua Māori Act 1993. In acknowledging Māori land as a taonga tuku iho or ancestral treasure, the legislation represented a milestone in restricting and curbing further loss and land alienation. The two principles underpinning the legislation were land utilisation and land retention. The legislation mandates the Māori Land Court to oversee judicial issues. This law administers Māori land under a number of different types of trusts: Ahu Whenua Trusts promote land use in the interest of owners, often used for commercial purposes it involves the management of entire land blocks; Whenua Tōpū Trust are used to receive land on behalf of iwi, and hapū during Crown settlement, and designed to facilitate administration of their land interests; Kaitiaki Trusts relate to individual minors or disabled who are unable to manage their affairs; Whānau Trusts allows families to bring together their land interests for the benefit of the whānau and their descendants; Putea Trusts allow for the owners of small and uneconomical shares to pool their interests; Māori Incorporations are similar to a company structure, which takes legal ownership of land assets; and Māori reservations sets aside land as a reserve for specific community purposes. Together, these organisational types of Māori trusts and incorporations are estimated to make up 64% of all Māori land, with half – 751,000 hectares – constituted as Ahu Whenua trusts and 14% or 21,0000 hectares, as incorporations (Kingi, 2000).

The complexity of the Māori land context lies in several intricate and multi-faceted issues. Recently the New Zealand government spurred and mandated policy to unlock the potential of unproductive Māori land (Dewes, Walzl, and Martin, 2011; Ministry for Primary Industries, 2013; Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry, 2011; Te Ture Whenua Māori Act 1993 - Review Panel, 2014). Specific issues identified include:

- 600,000 hectares of Māori land (40%) under-developed;

- 80% of Māori land classed in the poorest land classes, i.e., non-arable, therefore can only be developed for limited range of productive uses;
- Located in remote areas, with up to 30% of Māori land landlocked, causing access issues; and
- Of around 26,000 blocks of Māori land, almost 50% has not been surveyed, and nearly 58% is not registered under the Land Transfer Act 1952.

  (Audit Office, 2004, p. 28)

Other government reports investigating the barriers to Māori land development also categorise the issues around several themes:

| | |
|---|---|
| ***Multiple Ownership*** | Leads to problems with obtaining consensual agreement about land use and development, and also reduces the economic return to individual owners. |
| ***Governance and Management Issues*** | While appropriate management structures for the administration of Māori land may exist, there is a lack of expertise to plan and make effective administrative decisions. |
| ***Access to Information*** | Data on the current use of Māori land is not comprehensive, and it is costly to obtain information on Māori land potential. |
| ***Access to Finance*** | Multiple ownership of land makes it difficult to use land as security when seeking finance for land development. |
| ***Access to Land*** | A large proportion of Māori land is landlocked, reducing the options available for its use and/or reducing the options to lease. |
| ***Rating of Māori Land*** | Some local authorities are more determined than others to collect rates on Māori land. In cases of arrears, some local authorities have tried to sell the land or place charging orders on it to recover outstanding rates. |

*Table 1: Māori Land Issues*

Since the late 1980s, discourse and concerns labeling Māori land as underachieving have appeared (Asher & Naulls, 1987), gaining in momentum to the present. These reports objectify Māori land as a 'problem.' Reports describe land as possessing 'unfavorable characteristics', 'poor quality,' 'unproductive,' 'underperforming,' 'inaccessible' and 'non-arable'. Over time, Māori land has progressively been framed negatively.

The focus on land as a problem has missed the element of human agency within this environment. Human agency is the ability and capacity of people to act freely and to make choices for themselves and their future. While government and industry reports address very real issues of Māori land, little research has identified or addressed an understanding of what actually limits the freedom of choice and decision-making to progress land aspirations and whānau potentiality. As I show in this work, the focus needs to shift from making the land more productive, to transforming the experience and relationship of Māori with the land.

There is a significant research gap in this area; this thesis is an attempt to fill that. From my own personal experience, which inspired this study and which this research supports, relational conflict pervades many Māori land trusts. Few studies address such conflict. The 'Māori Land Administration Report' put forward six barriers to the development of Māori land (Audit Office, 2004, p. 31), none of which identified relational problems and affective conflict as an issue. The review of Te Ture Whenua Māori Act 1993 offered ten recommendation to assist in unlocking the growth potential of Māori freehold land (Te Ture Whenua Māori Act 1993 - Review Panel, 2014) but made no explicit mention of addressing relational inhibitors that impeded whānau achieving land aspirations. Government reports and research generally overlook or completely miss this aspect, or only superficially mention complex relational issues

as a problem. The only report this research found mentioning conflict was 'The Owners' Aspirations Regarding the Use of Māori Land' (2011, p. 22), which classified barriers to whānau realising their aspirations and visions for their land. It briefly mentioned behavioural aspects as a barrier, pointing out 'conflict' and 'ongoing family disagreements' as obstacles for whānau members to obtain collective and shared visions. However, the report was limited in describing antecedents and consequences of such conflict.

Although government reports tend to overlook the human element of Māori land and whānau potentiality, Reid (2011) studied three Māori land trusts. He examined barriers and constraints for Māori to realise their aspirations for the development of land. Reid (2011) states that political empowerment, financing and capabilities development are necessary and important to transform Māori land aspirations into reality. But they do not deal with the significant constraints of the 'psychological harm caused by the internalisation of subtle and denigrating colonial concepts within the minds and action of Indigenous people' (Reid, 2011, p. 73). Some of his findings include, "high levels of distrust and suspicion within communities; leadership which is unable to maintain collective support; and the presence of colonial narratives within communities that create despondency and inertia" (p.ii). Further, he adds, these are linked to the psychological harm caused by damage to a positive sense of self and are a significant constraint for Māori to reach development goals that build prosperity. Picking up from Reid (2011), this research delves more deeply into the behavioral aspects operating in the Māori land trust, to theoretically embed it within the wider complex systemic problems aggravating the achievement of Māori land aspirations and whānau potentiality.

## The Challenges of this Thesis

Addressing the topic of Māori land in the context of a predominantly Western informed academic institution presented some challenges. These took various forms, but principally centered on the intention and purpose of who to produce knowledge for: academia, Māori, or both? Māori and academic ways of thinking both embody contrasting pathways about how to collect and gather knowledge, what are valid and reliable forms of knowledge, and who should benefit from that knowledge.

This research stems from the epistemological and ontological beliefs that value and honour Kaupapa Māori and as Smith (1997) describes, is simply the philosophy and practice of living and being Māori. These philosophies pivot around core values that enhance key matters: the collectiveness and interrelatedness of people and nature – whanaungatanga; the oneness of humanity – kotahitanga; the spiritual relationship between humankind and cosmos – wairuatanga; and our role as guardians of this earth – kaitiakitanga (Henry & Pene, 2001). Common methodological features of Kaupapa Māori shared by Indigenous tribal groups, include holistic epistemology, story, purpose, the experiential, tribal ethics, tribal ways of gaining knowledge, and an overall consideration of the colonial relationship. (Kovach, 2010, p. 44). Kaupapa Māori aligns with similar Indigenous worldviews globally, which give centrality to the inter-relatedness and connectedness of all things, and additionally, the dependence of humans, the cosmos and all living things on each other (Cajete, 2016; Chilisa, 2011; Henare, 2001; Kovach, 2010; Royal, 2003; Wilson, 2008). Thus, from the outset, the foundations of this research paradigm are unambiguously rooted in a Kaupapa Māori worldview and philosophies.

## Negotiating the Landscape

However, the research does simultaneously utilise tools, methods, theories, concepts and practices developed within Western methodological paradigms. Many researchers speak of the conflicting Indigenous and Western paradigms, and the need to negotiate a space where the different worldviews intersect to expand and innovate each other. Smith, Hudson et al. (2008) term this the 'negotiated space'. Negotiating Western ways of knowing with mātauranga or Māori knowledge are combined and merged only when Western knowledge collection processes and systems resonate, align and complement a Kaupapa Māori position. The famous words of politician and leader Apirana Ngata which opened this chapter aptly describe the process of centering oneself in a Māori world, yet utilising other tools and knowledge for progression and development. Ngata believed that if Māori cherished the treasures of the ancestors, the Western world could provide tools for physical sustenance and development. Kaupapa Māori research seeks to maintain and hold on to ancestral treasures, yet is open to the exploration, innovation, and creation of new ways of seeking life. Although Kaupapa Māori challenges Māori researchers to question Western forms of knowledge as universal truths, it does not exclude or reject it; "it is not one or the other choice" (Pihama, Cram, & Walker, 2002, p. 33).

This integrated approach guides my research. It is a constant interplay of crossing backward and forwards between Indigenous and Western ways of knowing, to produce new knowledge, all the while asserting that the 'heart and soul' of this research is unequivocally grounded in Kaupapa Māori. The Western academic scholarship provides complementary tools to assist the process.

Kaupapa Māori research has a transformative agenda. While recognising the importance of producing a thesis that fits with the demands of a Pākehā or Eurocentric academic institution, remaining accountable to the Māori communities which I serve was unnegotiable and continued to be my priority throughout the research journey. Placing whānau potentiality at the center of the research is a counter to marginalising Māori from knowledge production by academic institutions which privilege Western forms of knowledge (Bishop, 1999; Smith, 1999). Accountability is ensured through an internal mantra that guides my journey to seek new knowledge, entailing a relentless questioning at each stage of the research process that asks "how does this help my people?" The direction, course and decisions are guided by the answers to that question.

## Negotiating Language

Upholding the mana or the dignity of Māori and participants is a central objective of this research. "It is vital that the knowledge gained from research benefits the community" and "the communities interest should have the highest priority" (Te Awekotuku, 1991, p. 14). Problematic language in research can contribute (sometimes unintentionally) to dehumanising and denigrating the people being studied. In the area of this thesis research, Māori land is increasingly being tied to economic development, where transactional business terminology often communicates a mechanistic relationship between Māori and land. The whenua itself has become increasingly known as an asset and strategic resource, requiring economic productivity. Māori land kaitiaki or guardians are increasingly called shareholders and beneficiaries. The detached language objectifies land, a concept foreign to Kaupapa Māori, separating people from their special attachments to land. Where possible, I reframe the language to refer to the land as a source of well-being instead of, for example, an economic resource, or I present land as a strength, taonga or treasure instead of as an asset.

Whānau transformation is at the heart of this research, so careful consideration has been given to minimise deficit language that perpetuates negative stereotypes. Therefore the research framing takes the form of whānau potentiality, rather than whānau poverty. This aligns with the ideas of Graham Smith, a Kaupapa Māori theory expert, who advocates for shifting the constant framing of the Māori experience from one of colonisation to one of conscientisation (Freire & Macedo, 2000). Conscientisation is a process of understanding and enlightening Māori social reality and experiences through critical reflection and action. Colonisation tends to put the colonisers as the lead actor or the center of the research. Māori become inclined to compare themselves constantly (and usually negatively) against Western standards and values, leading to vicious cycles of deficit thinking (Valencia, 1997).

Pursuing positive framing occurs in the exploration of trauma literature utilised in this thesis. The trauma discourse on Indigenous people often uses deficit based descriptors of these communities, such as 'maladaptive', 'disorders', 'dysfunction' and 'pathological' (Brave Heart, Chase, Elkins, & Altschul, 2011). The language stigmatises and pathologises people and communities as being inherently deficient. Where possible, I have reframed this language; 'disorder' and 'dysfunction', for example become 'survival response', and 'symptoms' becomes 'adaptions'. While not always possible to delineate and eliminate problematic language, especially when citing mainstream research where the terminology is so pervasive and the accepted norm, I have made vigilant attempts in this research.

As much as possible, I incorporate Te Reo or the Māori language, metaphor, proverbs and concepts, to welcome in Māori readers and create a space in this thesis that feels like ours. I

have sought to produce a thesis that resonates as much as possible with Māori. The titles of the three main components of this research are in both Te Reo and English. However, the incorporation of two distinct cultures and language could create a type of rhythmic jarring. I could have reduced the Māori language content to alleviate this, to produce lines and paragraphs that flow more easily for readers more familiar with just the one language. I consciously decided against it for the reasons noted above. This becomes something of a symbolic reality of existing and accommodating dual world cultures that often clash against each other.

## Negotiating Valid Knowledge

Using a Kaupapa Māori approach to guide the process of 'knowing' and 'coming to know' can, at times, conflict with Western methodologies, epistemologies, and ontological positions. Many Indigenous scholars speak of their ways of knowing being rejected in favour of what Western paradigms count as valuable knowledge (Chilisa, 2011; Kovach, 2010; Smith, 1997; Smith, 1999). Embodying the philosophical orientation, cultural norms, practices, beliefs and values of Kaupapa Māori challenge the acceptance by Western paradigms, which often require positivistic evidence for the existence of knowledge (Cajete, 2016). Concepts that underpin this thesis, such as whenua ūkaipō or holistic land sustenance, are based on generations of accumulated experiential knowledge, continuously validated over time and passed down through many forms of oral traditions. While academic institutions value knowledge that is peer-reviewed, validated with multiple and frequent citations, I privilege Māori korero tukuiho/oral history, mōteatea/traditional chants, karakia/ritual prayers and waiata/songs in this research as valuable and reliable sources of knowledge. Māori communities and experts validate these forms of knowledge in their own unique way. For example, a song or a proverb

regularly sung, or verbalised at Māori gatherings is an oral equivalent of an academic citation. For this reason, centering this research first and foremost within a Kaupapa Māori paradigm validates concepts and knowledge acceptable within a Māori context.

### Negotiating Emotions

The academy prefers an objective, unbiased voice, not influenced by personal feelings. An emotionally charged, passionately written doctoral thesis is not the accepted style or norm. Yet, as I argue in this thesis, Māori land is emotional, and I am openly emotional about Māori land. The thought of tempering my intensity and keeping an emotional distance from the topic almost seems fraudulent. I cannot betray or minimise the suffering, grief and destruction caused for my people by land alienation and dispossession by communicating in a detached and disconnected language. Yet I am mindful and reflective of my position and self in this research, but also of the requirements for doctoral work within a university. In an attempt to satisfy both the requirements of the academic process and acknowledge the grievance of land loss, wherever possible I have tried to convey that emotionality through the voices of the participants and Māori waiata/songs, haka/protests, and whakataukī/proverbs.

## The Chapters

### Getting to the Problem

#### 1. Rationale for Thesis

This chapter introduces the research, which examines the relationship of Māori land and whānau potentiality. The research problem surrounding Māori land management is identified

and an outline given of the challenges of conducting this research from a dual world Māori–Western context.

### 2. Theorising Māori Management

This chapter explores the most appropriate theoretical lens to observe and understand the management of Māori land. Management theories tend to be developed, inspired and derive from Western contexts. I examine several theoretical perspectives and argue that to address vast gaps in Māori business and management research, the development of more context-dependent theories is needed. This will enable the fields of both Māori management practice and academic scholarship to flourish.

### 3. Methodology and Data Collection

Chapter three validates and rationalises grounded theory as a methodological choice to study management issues in the Māori land trust. The process of data collection and analysis is discussed.

## The Solution

The rest of the enquiry can be divided into three sections that addresses the research question. Chapters four and five speak to whanau and whenua potentiality through the Whenua BEINGS Wheel. Chapter's six to nine explain disruption in the Māori land trust and the emerging theory, from which this is titled the Tapahi Block. While chapter ten addresses harmonising conflict and offers a high level strategy through the AIO Pyramid.

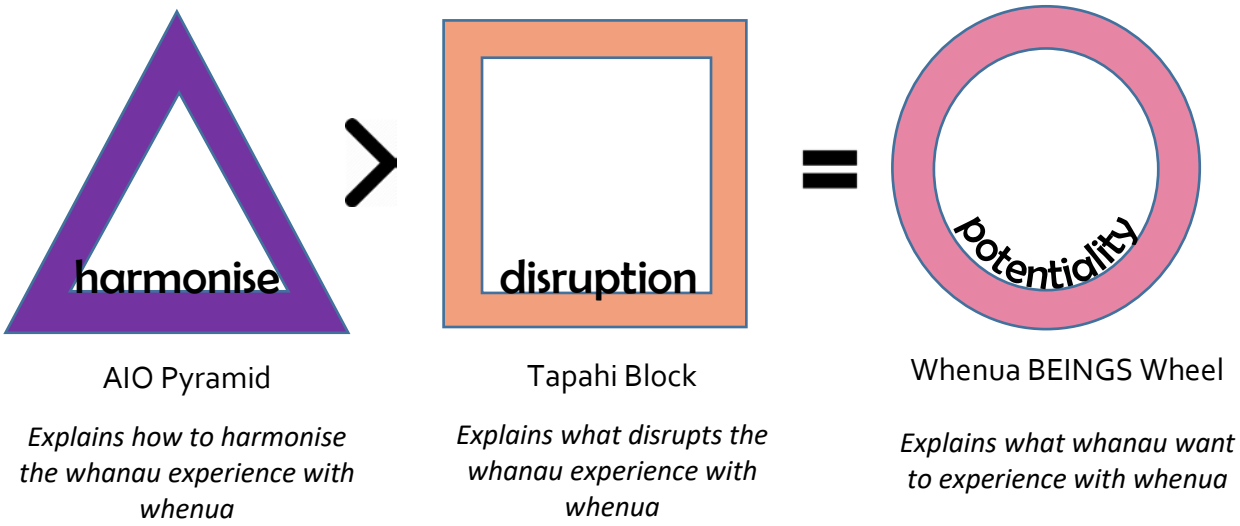



*Figure 1: The Ūkaipō Equation*

Figure 1 demonstrates that the three components convey that when harmony is greater than the disruption, whanau and whenua potentiality can occur. This is referred to as the Ūkaipō Equation.

## 4. Potentiality: The Economy of Mana

In this contextual chapter, the Economy of Mana is explained to give the philosophical underpinnings of Māori society and land prior to the formation and establishment of the Māori land trust. Understanding the ideological foundations that permeated traditional Māori life is a crucial element towards understanding the current intersections and modern clashes between Māori and the Western management systems.

## 5. Potentiality: Whenua BEINGS Wheel

Relationships with the land permeate so much of Māori life. Land is a source of well-being across many dimensions (Cajete, 2016). The Whenua BEINGS wheel is made up of six components is given to explain this relationship: Belonging, Emotions, Influence, Nourishment, Guardianship, and Spirituality. This chapter explains that when Māori are engaged in all six relationships with whenua they experience whanau and whenua potentiality.

## The Emerging Disruption Theory

### 6. Disruption: The Tapahi Block

The theory emerging from this research is disrupted Māori management theory and titled Tapahi Block. Three theoretical dimensions are evident – macro-, meso-, and micro- level disruptions, and together, these generate disrupted Māori management theory. This chapter outlines each disruption level, gives a general overview, and offers a working definition and conceptual identity for the theory. It also identifies how disruptions are transferred across an individual level, collective populations and generations. These transmissions explain how historical events influence the present and the management of the Māori land trust.

### 7. Disruption: Macro-level Disruptions

Macro-level disruptions refer to the deliberate and systematic practices, policies, and actions a dominant population imposes upon a community or people through force, suppression, and subjugation. This chapter explores the processes by which land attachments were cut. This resulted in an organisational reformation into the constituent parts of the Māori land trust. Two key components are addressed: the imperialist British ideologies underpinning the policies, and the continued perpetuation of those severing actions associated with administering Māori land trusts.

## 8. Disruption: Meso-level Disruptions

This chapter discusses the meso-level disruptions, describing their issues at the organisational level and their negative impacts on contemporary management of the Māori land trust. It elucidates and explains organisational frictions of governance, authority and values places in the Māori land trust.

## 9. Disruption: Micro-level Disruptions

This chapter addresses the behavioral consequences of severing Māori from their land attachments. It has two functions: to demonstrate the actions and conduct that occur due to micro-level disruptions; and to show the circumstances under which these behaviours perpetuate and continue in the Māori land trust. Five emotional states emerged in the interviews that form the third theoretical dimension for disrupted Māori management theory: whakamā/shame, mamae/disenfranchised grief, mataku/fear, riri/anger and pūhaehae/envy and mistrust.

## 10. Harmonising: AIO Pyramid

This chapter discusses the AIO Pyramid and a strategy for harmonising disruption to move forward. This embraces revisiting the past, reframing the present and re-imaging the future. It concludes with recommendations for alternative land development approaches and limitations of the research.

# Wāhanga Tuarua

## Theorising Māori Management

*Te mātauranga o te Pākehā*
*He mea whakatō hei tinanatanga*
*Mō wai ra? Mō Hātana.*
*Kia tupato i nga whakawai, kia kaha rā*

*Te mātauranga o te Pākehā*
*Patipati ā ka muru whenua,*
*Kia kaha rā, e hoa ma*
*Ka mutu ano te taanga manawa oranga.*

*Te mātauranga o te Pākehā*
*Ka tuari i te penihana oranga,*
*Hei aha rā? Hei patu mahara*
*Patu tikanga Māori e, a Māori e.*

The Pākehā way
is implanted, the embodiment
of who? Satan.
So be careful of its temptations, be courageous.

The Pākehā way
deceives you to confiscate your land;
Be strong friends
Land provides comfort to the Maori heart.

The Pākehā way
has given us benefits
For what purpose? In order to confuse thinking
to subdue the Maori way

Tuini Ngawai opens this chapter, with her composition *Te Mātauranga o te Pākehā*. Essentially, she comments on the negative consequences Pākehā society has had on the Māori way, and calls on Māori to have the courage to awaken to these concerns.

# Chapter 2: Aims and Objectives

I argue that Māori management and business needs more theorising because Western theories, on some topics, may not sufficiently explain Māori phenomena. Therefore, the aim of this chapter is to understand the implications and complications of researching and theorising Māori business and management. The chapter covers three areas: a discussion of what is unique about Māori management; a description of the complexity of environments in which Māori business operate; and the application of Western theories to explicate and understand Māori phenomenon. Lastly, the chapter summarises my pathway for theorising in this research.

## Māori Business and Management Phenomena

Despite recent trends (Deloitte New Zealand, 2015; Frederick & Chittock, 2006; TDB Advisory, 2015; Te Puni Kokiri, 2006) showing remarkable Māori business success, management scholarship still lacks a comprehensive understanding of the nature and origins of that success. More Māori centred theories and frameworks would help elucidate the antecedents of those accomplishments. The theoretical deficit gives rise to the importance of the question "how is Māori business excellence and success influenced by the uniqueness of being Māori?"

There are three distinct phenomena of Māori business that lack integration and consideration in Western scholarly discourse:

a) The Māori Edge - an inherent and particular quality of being Māori;
b) Māori Values - unique cultural beliefs and value system that influence distinctive Māori management and practices; and
c) Colonial Impacts - understanding the consequences resulting from a

colonial system historically forced on Māori management and business.

A thorough discussion of these justifies why Māori business and management need more theoretical perspectives to explain and describe their unique phenomena.

## The Māori Edge

The first phenomena specific to Māori is the competitive advantage of being Māori, often referred to as the 'Māori Edge' (Te Puni Kokiri, 2007). Recently, public interest and industry reporting on Māori business success and excellence has grown. For example, Deloitte ranked ten Māori businesses for their exceptional commercial achievement based on criteria of kaupapa/purpose, asset ownership and accounting measurements Deloitte New Zealand, 2015). Similarly, the TDB Advisory (2015) report valued seven tribal businesses at $3.8 billion, recognising that six of these consistently generated positive returns from the years 2013-15. Over the past decade, the recognition of Māori business excellence and success parallels the emerging Māori-specific national awards – Aotearoa Māori Business Leaders Awards, Māori Hi-tech Award, BNZ Māori Excellence in Farming Awards, Māori Excellence in Export Award and many others. Implicitly, such business excellence and success is attributed to 'being Māori'.

Many studies refer to this unique and distinguishable quality inherent within Māori and their organisations. For example, the oft-cited international research report, Global Entrepreneurship Monitor (GEM) measuring entrepreneurial behaviours and attitudes, determined Māori to be the third most entrepreneurial people in the world (Frederick & Chittock, 2006). Furthermore, Māori Inc., a framework established under *He Kai Kei Aku Ringa* – the national Māori

economic development strategy and action plan (Ministry of Business and Innovation, 2012) – sought to leverage off a Māori "point of difference". Inspired by the discussion document *Te Tirohangā Hou* (Te Puni Kokiri, 2007), the research identified a Māori comparative advantage and showed that in some economic measurements, Māori business and their economy were outperforming other New Zealand counterparts (New Zealand Institute of Economic Research, 2003). The findings and conclusions identified the Māori Edge as comprising resilience/flexibility, an inherent and acquired trading capability, a culture well suited to transacting in growing markets, a curiosity and increasing willingness to diversify, a uniqueness/freshness and dual-world skills.

The general proposition of these studies indicates that something special and unique about Māori business exists. However, while most of these studies are produced by industry and national policy research, scholarly attempts to capture the 'Māori Edge' for the purpose of theorising, remain, for the most part unexplored and elusive. Identifying the 'Māori Edge' may simply evade Western applications to uncover it, because the environment from which the 'Māori Edge' derives may not be captured by theoretical perspectives designed from contexts where it does not exist.

## Māori Values

The prioritisation of cultural, social and spiritual values by Māori organisations is both a generally accepted unique phenomenon recognised within management practice, and the conclusions of a small body of academic scholarship. (Harmsworth, 2005, 2006; Knox, 2005; Puketapu, 2000; Spiller, Erakovic, Henare, & Pio, 2011; Warriner, 1999). This tends to align with Māori theories and frameworks across other scholarly disciplines that produce holistic,

values-based models of well-being. These include health – Whare Tapa Wha (Durie, 1998) and Ngā Pou Mana; education – Te Wheke (Pere, 1984) environmental ecosystems – Cultural Health Index (Harmsworth, Young, Walker, Clapcott, & James, 2011), the Māori Wetlands Indicator (Harmsworth, 2002) and the Mauri Model (Morgan, 2007); and business – Five Wellbeing's Approach (Spiller, Erakovic, et al., 2011). The common thread to such works is holism, and the recognition of the interconnected nature of Māori relationships with the environment, the spiritual world, and community.

The simultaneous fusion of cultural and commercial objectives is apparent in a number of Māori business research findings. Te Puni Kokiri's (2006a) report studying the core characteristics and themes of 30 Māori businesses discovered the common desire to be both culturally and commercially successful. In fact, participants in that research placed cultural values as their highest priority. Likewise, Harmsworth's (2006) study showed Māori values to be instrumental in defining organisational identity, guiding ethical standards and providing a point of difference in the marketplace. Many more studies cite and give precedence to Māori cultural values that reach beyond commercial objectives (Best & Love, 2010; Harmsworth, 2005; Mika, 2014; Warriner, 2007).

There is less research attention on the causative effects of cultural and spiritual holistic objectives, and their direct impact and influence on the management practices and policies of Māori organisations. However, recent government and industry reports make some initial suggestions through comparing and contrasting business practices between Māori and non-Māori. For example, Te Puni Kokiri's (2006a) report noted several key features. Māori business tended to be risk-averse and conservative in decision-making. Collectively owned

Māori assets were unlikely to be sold, and tribal business was more inclined to be risk-averse and conservative with decision-making than Pākehā business. Many tribal assets included land, flora, fauna and marine based-resources, all carrying strong cultural attachments and significance as taonga or treasured resources. Consequently, Māori businesses which are risk-averse and conservative in decision-making tend to carry a lower debt equity ratio. Māori business also displayed longer future strategic planning. The report further recognised the cultural value of kaitiakitanga/long-term intergenerational sustainability, acknowledging the Māori sense of responsibility to cohabit harmoniously with the environment, affecting the future planning of Māori business, where immediate profit accumulation is less urgent. In contrast, the study noted future planning of Pākehā enterprise tended to occur in much shorter business cycles of five to ten years. Redistribution of profit was also evident in Māori business. Surplus or profit of tribal business has a different function, often re-distributed for a social purpose, typified by tribal entities such as Ngāi Tahu distributing $320 million to social and cultural programs (Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu, 2016) and Tainui returning $104.5 million to their people since 2004 (Waikato-Tainui, 2014).

These areas signal a few of the research avenues that could be investigated to understand more clearly the causality and correlation between cultural values and business. Except for two empirically based and published peer-reviewed articles (Spiller, Erakovic, et al., 2011; Spiller, Pio, Erakovic, & Henare, 2011), most research exploring Māori cultural values and business success is done by private consultants and government departments, where the robustness of scholarly examination, aimed at theorising, has not been scrutinised. However, the accumulating evidence from industry and practitioners provides some suggestions towards fruitful topics for academic research. More scholarly research would help give greater direction and predictions for operating in a Māori specific way. Understanding the consequences of

operating business under a Māori cultural paradigm is worthy of more scholarly research and theoretical investigation.

If contrasting cultural values operate in Māori organisations, then organisational behaviour should be affected. A strong sense of belonging, particularly in kin-based organisations, creates robust ties, loyalty and allegiance of Māori to their organisations. A co-construction of identity occurs between Māori and the organisation, where the people perceive the entity to be an extension of themselves. Therefore this strong affection, and relational bond between each person and the organisation drives distinctive organisational behaviour (Dyer & Whetton, 2006). Organisational environments of belonging and connection are created through highlighting commonalities. Assisted by highly contextualised interactions and relationships, strong affectional ties between Māori and Māori-based organisations are developed and nurtured. Values of whanaungatanga/connections and belonging, for example, may be repeatedly brought to the fore and expressed through sentiments across multiple platforms and opportunities in Māori-centered organisations, including; verbal articulation, websites, annual reports and policy documents. By way of illustration, Ngāti Whatua o Orakei, an Auckland-based iwi, draws connection through genealogy to its members in their vision statement: "*Mā to tātou whanaungatanga e whakataki i te ritgenga tika*/by our kinship, we strive to meet our present and future needs" ("Ngāti Whatua Orakei," n.d.). Similarly, the vision statement of South Island iwi Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu asserts "*Mō tātou, a, mō ka uri a muri ake nei*/for us, and our children after us". These types of sentiments tend to be the norm in Māori-centered organisations. Thus, the prioritisation of cultural values by Māori organisations creates a unique phenomenon that for the most part is currently unexplored in its connection with theory.

## Colonial Impacts

There is a legacy of colonial impacts on Māori business and management. One area currently receiving scholarly attention is understanding how to reconcile the tension between conflicting ideologies of a Māori collective and value-based approach to business operating in the self-interested, market systems of the modern Western world (Best, 2013; Kent, 2011; Knox, 2005; Nicholson & Spiller, 2015; Ruwhiu & Amoamo, 2015). There is a clash of different knowledge paradigms. On the one hand, Western business practice and management scholarship has a preoccupation with economic value creation; in contrast, Māori seeking ultimately to create social, spiritual and cultural value emphasise holism, relational well-being, and interconnectedness (Nicholson, Spiller & Pio, 2013). Scholars who have tried to reconcile such management tensions include Ruwhiu and Amoamo (2015) - using the concept of hybridity; Nicholson & Spiller (2015), and Best (2013) - who adopt ambicultural approaches. These scholars attempt to identify the strengths and weaknesses of Western and Māori business paradigms, looking for bridging solutions that make linkages and connections across the two.

One under-explored research area is the psychological harms caused over decades by the internalisation of colonial concepts that diminish, denigrate and demean the psyche, emotional, and spirituality of Māori people. The work of Freire and Macedo (2000) and the seminal book *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, conceptualised internalised oppression. It received wide attention, and heavily influenced other academic disciplines of sociology, psychology, education, postcolonial and post-development studies. However the links and relationships to business and management are, for the most part, unexplored. Freire and Macedo's (2000) work speaks to the idea that internalised oppression is the damage to a person and his or her community's sense of self or sense of identity. A confused sense of identity creates and manifests behaviours in the oppressed or subordinate groups as they internalise the negative ideologies and belief

systems of the oppressors. The oppressed may mistakenly look to free themselves from oppression, by seeking to control it, through means of further domination and supremacy over the colonisers themselves. Alternatively, they may inflict and reflect the negative, oppressive behaviours back onto their own people, most often towards the most vulnerable members.

The colonial history from which the current Māori economy and business evolved cannot be ignored in management and business theorising. Understanding the implications of that history should not be underestimated, for "where we go next depends not only on where we are now but also upon where we have been. History matters" (Liebowitz & Margolis, 1999, p. 981). Path dependence explains this connection; decisions people or organisations face depend on past knowledge, limiting, or restricting their current capabilities and competence base (Liebowitz & Margolis, 1999).

Dramatic historical events thrust the Māori economy on an involuntary trajectory, setting into motion institutional patterns and chains of activities resulting in the modern Māori reality. Shaping a new purpose-driven trajectory, or enabling Māori to have more agency in their future, requires combating 'lock-in', an economic term referring to a dependence on the environment, where the dominance of the wider system fixes the object wanting to change. Without more research linkages and theoretical connections to the past, Māori business and economic future become limited by a narrow understanding of historical influences on the present and the future. Theoretical associations between historical impacts and modern Māori management make a fertile ground for future research.

### Summary

Overall, research shows accumulating evidence for differences between Māori and non-Māori business. The three unique phenomena of the Māori business context – the 'Māori Edge', Māori values and colonial impacts support a case for the advancement of, and the need for, the proliferation and creation of more Māori theories.

## Māori Business and Management Context Complexity

The three phenomena distinct to Māori elucidated above provide the case for more Māori specific scholary research; heterogeneity and complexity, on the other hand, provide the challenge towards producing all-encompassing or broad theories of Māori business and management, for Māori cannot be considered a homogenous group (Greaves, Houkamau, & Sibley, 2015). After a brief introduction of the Māori economy, this section describes the complexity of the contexts within which Māori organisations operate and discusses implications for academic scholars who aspire to theorise.

### The Māori Economy

Measured by two critical concepts, assets and Gross Domestic Product (GDP), the Māori economy, valued at $NZD42.6 billion, is a subset of the New Zealand economy and provides the context in which Māori organisations operate (Nana et al., 2013). The report of Nana et al offers a broad definition of the Māori economy, using self-identification of Māori organisations and individuals, to evaluate its worth. The majority of assets are in the primary industries of agriculture, forestry and fishing. Tribal business comprises $12.5 billion of the $42.6 billion of Māori economic assets, making up 38.8% of the Māori asset base. Although often proclaimed

by media as a success story, triumphing from one leaping victory to the next (Hayes, 2015; Te Amo, 2015), economists consider the Māori economy to be underperforming relative to its economic potential (Nana et al, 2013). A significant percentage of the economic base represents Māori-owned assets rather than return or income generated by those assets. Various barriers and obstacles restrict and obstruct Māori from realising its full value creation and capture potential (Bowman & Ambrosini, 2000). Consequently, these fixed assets do not currently generate high levels of operating income, returning only minimal profits and revenue to Māori. Considering the socio-economic disadvantages and inequality gaps between Māori and the rest of the New Zealand population, emphasis on asset development to provide income growth and increase wealth distribution to Māori has become a strategic focus for future planning (Nana, Khan, & Schulze, 2013).

### Complexity of Dual Objectives

Due to co-existing in dual worlds, Māori organisations are fraught with more complexity than the Anglo-Saxon New Zealand business environment. Therefore, one driver for Māori organisations is to protect cultural interests and values; another is commercial survival amidst a capitalist system in an increasingly globalised world. Dell and Houkamau (2016) introduce the ideas of fire-keeping and fire-seeking to conceptualise the dual context in which Māori development resides. The concept of ahi kimi or fire-seeking takes its metaphorical meaning from Māui, the legendary, charismatic mythical figure (Keelan, 2010; O'Sullivan and Dana, 2008). Māui achieved many feats, one of which was an adventure to find the source of fire. Fire-seeking offers a cultural understanding of the importance of interacting with the external world to innovate, an outward-focused engagement with external/non-Māori commercial interests. The ability to cope with and adapt to changing environments of technological advances and accelerating innovation is occurring more rapidly (Adner, 2006; Henry, 2004).

Responding to environmental changes requires Māori enterprises constantly to scan their surroundings, looking for new ways and alternative paths of continuous and sustainable value creation; this opportunity/threat recognition is fire-seeking.

However, socio-economic disadvantage may inhibit Māori engagement with the wider world. So, although fire-seeking aligns with other similar concepts that recognise the ongoing need to scan and explore – sensing, seizing and reconfiguring (Teece, 2009), absorptive capacity (Cohen & Levinthal, 1990) and exploration and exploitation (March, 1991) – fire-seeking also addresses further socio-economic barriers Māori communities experience. Fire-seeking simultaneously advocates for Māori self-determination, empowerment and engagement in emancipation strategies that remove barriers and constraints to participation with the wider world.

Fire-keeping, an inward-focused perspective, addresses the protection of unique cultural practices that emotionally, spiritually and materially sustain Māori communities degraded and eroded by colonisation. A common term within Māori culture, ahi kaa or fire-keeping, describes people who keep the home fires burning, or keep the home warm (Mead, 2003). The metaphoric notion of keeping the fire alight refers to nurturing, preserving, and protecting the cultural and spiritual aspects of Māori communities. Thus, a second context is identified: fire-keeping, which recognises the importance of maintaining "cultural diversity, knowledge systems, customs, and identities that belong to the Māori people" (Dell & Houkamau, 2016, p.9.) Fire-keeping attempts to create, develop and agitate for the continued existence and expression of tikanga or Māori practices, protocols and kaupapa, the Māori purpose and philosophy. Fire-keeping efforts create value that promotes the unique identities in areas such

as health, education, broadcasting, media and entertainment, sport and recreation, and business. The fire-keeping metaphor alludes to drawing resources, capabilities, and collective efforts inward, to ignite the positive expressions of traditional and contemporary Māori philosophies and ideologies.

## Complexity of Blended Environments

With a history stemming from adaptation, resistance and resilience to colonisation (Walker, 2004), Māori organisations operate under circumstances of a more multifaceted nature than Pākehā entities. Māori organisations learned to function across a spectrum, in Māori-centric, Māori–Pākehā biculturally integrated, and Pākehā-centric contexts. Some Māori operate in 'Western' style firms, managed and governed by Pākehā ideologies. Others function in Māori centered workplaces where Māori values are prioritised, albeit to some extent still integrating Pākehā management principles. Mika and O'Sullivan (2014) resolve some of this complexity by developing 'Te Whakahaerengā Māori: A Model of Māori Management, a typology of nine Māori organisational arrangements', illustrated in Figure 2.

| *Mana and kaupapa of Māori organization* | *Whakapapa and āronga of Māori management* | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | *Strong* | *Moderate* | *Weak* |
| Strong | Māori management in a Māori organisation | Hybrid Māori management in a Māori organisation | Non-Māori management in a Māori organisation |
| Moderate | Māori management in a bicultural oganisation | Hybrid Māori management in a bicultural organisation | Non-Māori management in a bicultural organisation |
| Weak | Māori management in a non-Māori organisation | Hybrid Māori management in a multicultural organisation | Non-Māori management in a non-Māori organisation |

*Figure 2: A Model of Māori Management: Te Whakahaerenga Māori*

The whakapapa or identity refers to the genealogical connection and blood descent a person or organisation can trace to Māori ancestry. The āronga or worldview reflects the practices, customs, language, and symbolism that centers from a Māori worldview or philosophy. Mana refers to the authority, power, and control Māori management has to influence the direction and operations, and kaupapa or the purpose reflects the intention and agenda of the organisation. Whakapapa/āronga, and mana/kaupapa, form the two axis in the diagram, and the strength and combination of each variable determines where a Māori organisation might be situated. To different degrees, combinations of two scenarios exist. First, the extent to which an organisation is considered 'Māori' is contingent on its commitment and adherence to centering itself around Māori values and worldview (that is, placement along the horizontal axis). Wakatū Incorporation, with a $260 million asset base ("Wakatu Incorporation," n.d.), illustrates a Māori-centred organisation, situated on the left side of the horizontal axis. It is a highly regarded Māori business, commercially and culturally successful, which manages a diverse portfolio of vineyards, orchards, office buildings, marine, waterspace and property developments. Wakatū Incorporation exhibits a strong commitment and adherence to Māori-centred values and beliefs, reflected at all levels of the business from ground staff to board leadership (Harmsworth, 2006).

Second, complexities arise when trying to define a Māori entity based solely on ownership, or the vertical axis. Some tribal entities may have ownership stakes, but minimal engagement with day to day operations. For example, one of Ngāi Tahu's lead investments is a 6% stake holding in Ryman Health, a retirement living options provider in New Zealand with net assets in 2015 valued at $1,101.3 million (Ryman Healthcare, 2016). Typically, Ryman Healthcare would not be considered a Māori-centered business, but under the Mika and O'Sullivan (2014) typology noted earlier, Ngai Tahu's investment aims to generate economic returns for Māori, and so it

can be situated low on the vertical axis. The framework indicates that Māori organisations exist across a spectrum of different dimensions and tenets, which can be both similar and/or different to Western settings, adding to the complexity and multifaceted nature of the environments when trying to theorise Māori business and management.

## Complexity of Organisational Forms

Successive New Zealand governments have responded to Māori grievances and resistance through the implementation and design of unique legislation that currently governs some Māori organisations. Although some Māori businesses operate within the same legislative framework as non-Māori organisations, such as the Charitable Trust Act 1957, Incorporated Societies Act 1908 and the Companies Act 1993, Māori have specific legislation which regulate and govern their organisations. This includes for example, Te Ture Whenua Māori Act 1993, Māori Land Court Rules, Māori Fisheries Act 2004 and the Rūnanga Acts, most of which concern the management and administration of collectively-owned assets. Some of the organisational forms affected by such legislation include Rūnanga, Māori land trusts and mandated pan-tribal organisations. Such legislation and organisational entities reflect the colonial historical context from which Māori assets and resources are managed. For the most part, the legislation considers how to regulate the management of collective assets, quite distinctive from Western understandings of legislating assets that focus shareholder wealth for individuals. Some of the legislation seeks to protect Māori assets from further alienation, requiring more rigorous and consensus-based decision-making processes.

### Summary

The complexity of contexts; dual objectives, blended environments and organisational forms constitutes unique and diverse settings under which Māori business operates. Context adds complexity, but it also adds a rich and diverse environment for exploring theoretical gaps and opportunities.

## Māori and Western Theoretical Fusion

The challenges of complex, diverse and blended contexts complicate the creation of a neatly synthesised, 'one-size fits all theory', generalizable across all Māori management and business. The lack of any theory suitable as a useful lens for this study forced me into a journey – to discover how to theorise Māori phenomena and their relevance within a global academic context. A critical issue I faced was whether to apply to a Māori setting the current management theories, most of which were developed in the Western context.

Many Western management tools evolve from theories predicated on the thinking of 18th century economist Adam Smith. Sometimes referred to as the 'grandfather' of concepts about the free market economy, Smith developed the famous notion of the 'invisible hand'. Smith suggested that people know what is best for themselves and should be left to trade freely with each other in free markets. This notion of the self-interested, rational human being provided the platform from which the development and design of Western economic models and theories stem, often limiting a firm's function to allocate resources to activities that might increase economic success (Friedman, 1962). Westernised business management practice uses theories that stem from a competitive paradigm, and organisational behaviour conforms. Thus theory

and practice perpetuate each other, becoming self-fulfilling (Ferraro, Pfeffer, & Sutton, 2005; Ghoshal, 2005). Māori management utilising Western-centred methods to guide business, may in fact, be perpetuating Western behaviours, instead of capturing and identifying their own unique practices. Revealing and explicating Māori-centric management phenomena will need to be charted via different ontological and epistemological applications. The next section addresses this challenge, by examining Māori management and business scholarly literature.

## Māori Management Theorising

A stocktake of peer-reviewed scholarly literature concerning Māori management and business showed common themes and patterns useful for assessing the current position, potential directions and future avenues for Māori management and business theorising. A systematic search for relevant peer-reviewed articles identified 35 papers (Appendix 1), where Māori management and business formed the focus – a relatively small, but growing pool of scholarly knowledge from Māori academics and practitioners can draw.

By topic, journal outlets vary, with Māori-centred research contributing to a number of fields - a promising indication of the diverse contributions Māori as a subject can make to management and business theory. Māori entrepreneurship articles dominate, (Devlin, 2007; Haar & Delaney, 2009b; Reihana, Sisley, & Modlik, 2007; Tapsell & Woods, 2008, 2010; Yunxia, Frederick, & Walker, 2004; Zapalska, Perry, & Dabb, 2003); there are some discussions relating to accounting (McNicholas & Humphries, 2005; McNicholas, Humphries, & Gallhofer, 2004; Russell, Taonui, & Wild, 2012); explorations of human resources, careers and employee well-being (Brougham & Haar, 2012, 2013; Brougham, Haar, & Roche, 2015; Haar & Brougham, 2011a, 2011b); and business ethics and spirituality also feature (O'Sullivan

& Dana, 2008; Spiller, Erakovic, et al., 2011; Spiller, Pio, et al., 2011). Vast gaps remain: I found no contributions in areas such as strategy, economics, marketing and property. Methodologically, the majority of studies comprise qualitative and conceptual papers, typical for nascent and developing fields (Bryman & Bell, 2015). However the lack of quantitative studies means concepts can lack operationalisation. Thematically, nearly all the literature demonstrates two common themes: a critique of the inadequacy of Western paradigms and theories to accurately explain Māori business and management phenomena, and a values and relational well-being approach.

## Māori Enrichment of Universal Theories

Taking stock of Māori management and business scholarly articles shows how theory contributes to Māori management, and how Māori management contributes to theory. Understanding theory in diverse cultural contexts is not new for academia. Asian management already provides some well-formed discourse in this area. (Barney & Zhang, 2009; Cheng, Wang, & Huang, 2009; Leung, 2009). Barney and Zhang (2009) divide the discussion of non-Western research between an etic or emic pathway. Essentially, these are independent pathways. Etic theories are intended to be applicable across cultures. Applying Western approaches and concepts in culturally diverse contexts, such as Māori business helps to validate and verify the applicability of univerisal theories in diverse contexts. From a Māori perspecitve, this is described here as the '*Māori enrichment of universal theories'*. This approach works with received established theory to "identify unstated assumptions, making them explicit and then broadening the theory to incorporate them [having] the effect of helping to develop more general theories" (Barney & Zhang, 2009, p. 18). Thus, Western knowledge and theory are used to illuminate and inform Māori business, while expanding universal theories.

Some scholars theorising Māori management have taken the '*Māori enrichment of universal theories'* approach. For example, Haar's and Delaney's (2009b) exploratory paper uses dominant Western strategy perspectives of a resource based view (Barney, 1991) and Porter's (1985) value chain to reveal how Māori business utilise whanaungatanga of connections, belonging and relationships as points of competitive advantage. Similarly, Nicholson, Woods and Henare (2012) also apply the Western family business literature, drawing from the concept of 'familiness' to explore the competitive advantage of whanaungatanga, concluding it as a critical source of leverage for Māori business. Additionally, Mika and O'Sullivan (2014) use Fayol's four functions of management as a framework to examine and compare the differences between Māori and Western styles of management.

Māori industry and management practice also use management tools from Western theories which are readily accepted and adopted in Māori contexts. For example; Design Thinking ("Inspiring Māori business innovation," 2015; New Zealand Qualifications Authority, 2016), Business Canvas Models (Te Ohu Kai Moana, 2015), and Porters Five Forces (Allen, 2011; Hay & Lindsay, 2003), are tools regulary utilised in Māori organisational environments. Thus using Māori contexts to enrich universal theories helps to "broaden and deepen received theory by adopting the 'borrow with the intent to improve' strategy" (Barney & Zhang, 2009, p. 21). The goal is to enhance the development of universal theories, that are independent and validated regardless of place and context.

## Māori Development of Home-grown Theories

The above approach serves as one pathway, but there is no reason to believe that understandings of Māori phenomena are only or best served through applying a Western theoretical lens. Given

the unique history and evolution of the Māori economy, limitations exist when using Western theories to produce new concepts and ideas (Barkema et al., 2015). Western scholars maybe unfamiliar with the core aspects of a Māori world view. In studying Māori phenomena they may misunderstand cultural concepts, and impose Western values on the research. One recent example from non-Māori researchers is the report 'Indigenous Belief in a Just World: New Zealand Māori and other Ethnicities Compared', which suggested that collectivist values prevented Māori from achieving economic success. The media seized upon the report for representing Māori as disadvantaged. Senior Māori academics ("Māori researcher slams MOTU report as flawed analysis," 2015; Taonui, 2016) condemned this culturally slanted study, which placed Western Protestant capitalist beliefs over other cultural values and understandings.

Therefore, a second road or emic approach is required – '*Māori development of home-grown theories'*. Research using this approach does not intend to generalise beyond Māori contexts. However, '*Māori development of home-grown theories'*, utilising Māori contexts, phenomena, knowledge, ancestral visions and spiritual narratives can inform Western audiences, encouraging them to reimagine new ways of viewing and being in the world. For example, Russell et al. (2012) reconceptualises the word 'asset' through a Māori lens by using the concept of taonga or treasured possession to inform the accounting profession of alternative ways to address social and environmental issues caused by the idea of individual property rights. Similarly, Spiller, Pio, et al. (2011) introduce kaitiakitanga or stewardship to Western business to enrich understandings. They invite scholars and practitioners to re-examine business as a caretaker role and an extended expression of community, instead of just driving profits. Spiller et al. (2011) exemplify this approach. Their inductive grounded research revealed a relational well-beings framework operating within Māori tourism business. The

conceptual work of Mika (2014) defining and typologising Māori management also developed a context-dependant analysis of Māori organisations. Unique Māori phenomena embedded in history, culture, and traditions can only be understood in the environment from which they derive, thus necessitating emic theory development. In summary, '*Māori development of home-grown theories*' cannot be explained using theory that stems solely from Western experiences and paradigms.

## Theoretical Fusion

Barney et al. (2009) argue that researchers must choose one road. Leung (2009), on the other hand suggests it is possible to integrate the two by adopting an emic–etic approach. He explains a theoretical fusion as a "constant exchange and mutual stimulation [that] can improve both emic and etic theories over time, giving rise to integration and the formulation of universal theories." (p.6). Morris, Leung, Ames, and Lickel (1999) further explain the mutual stimulation that occurs with this theoretical fusion:

> "Differences between the perspectives mean that there are lessons from exploratory studies in one tradition that are not redundant with those from the other tradition… preliminary exploratory studies … often spurs a second generation of studies, which often come at the problem from the opposite perspective in order to critique or challenge the initial claims. In providing apt challenges to the limitations of initial claims, second-generation studies in one tradition often evoke new formulations that synthesize the original claim with the critique." (Morris et al., 1999, p. 789)

Although rarely attempted in management, there are successful cases in other disciplines (for example, psychology), where theoretical fusions have an important role to play in the international academic arena. A '*Māori enrichment of universal theories*' can assist in refining and expanding established received theories; in return, a '*Māori development of home-grown theories*' can highlight theoretical constructs and processes that are pronounced and

exaggerated in culturally different contexts. Etic researchers have largely overlooked such theories, but learning can occur across the etic and emic approaches (see Figure 3). The literature demonstrates that a mutual relationship can exist, where both parties can inform and enrich the other.

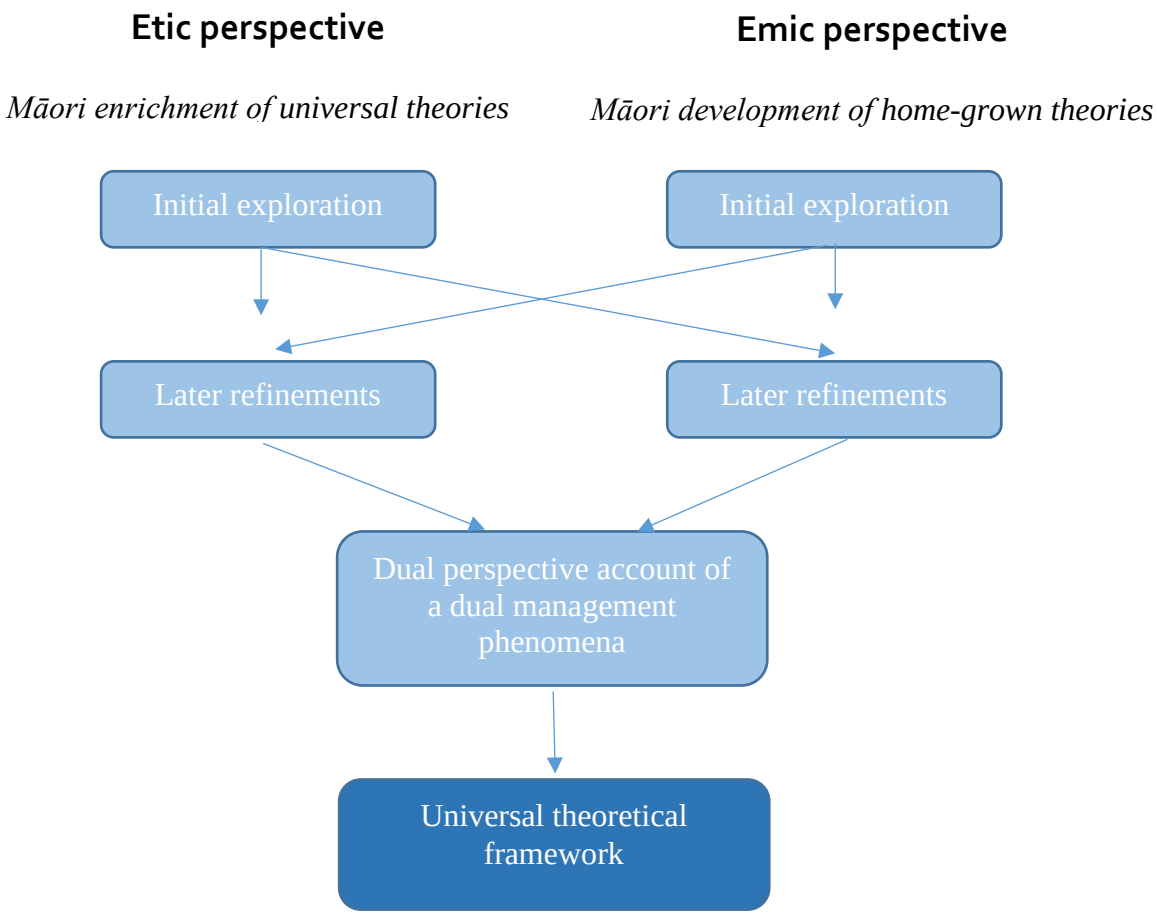



*Figure 3: Dynamic Interplay between Māori and Western Perspectives*
Adapted from Leung (2009)

This interactive stimulation has begun to occur with initial Māori entrepreneurship emic observations leading to broader etic implications and theorising for entrepreneurship theory. The evolution began with Māuipreneur (Keelan & Woods, 2006), an emic contribution linking Māori mythology and metaphors of Maui, the young, charismatic, adventurous hero, to the

entrepreneurship literature. Subsequently, Tapsell and Woods (2008b) built on the young Māuipreneur hero, to add the elder statesmen or rangatira as the guiding hand in Māori entrepreneurship theory – another emic contribution. The work of Tapsell and Woods highlights the lack of consideration in entrepreneurship theories of the importance of historical and cultural context. Building further, Tapsell and Woods (2008a) develop a "spiral of innovation" framework for social entrepreneurship, linking opportunity and heritage, again signalling and emphasising context. Most recently, they offered a etic contribution and broader theoretical insights to established social entrepreneurship theory, Tapsell and Woods (2010) explicitly acknowledging the historical and cultural context and its influence on both social and economic entrepreneurial activity (Kawharu, Tapsell, & Woods, 2017).

Western-derived theories are influenced by cultural and institutional forces, and can overlook constructs and phenomena that do not stand out in Western contexts. The Māori–Western theory interplay, primarily developed from an emic perspective can examine relationships in a Māori context, more pronounced and observable than in Western settings. The interplay stimulates and generates an evolution of theorising at both the etic and emic levels. While some Māori phenomena may not be salient in a Western setting, elements may exist. Māori emic theories are likely to help Western management observe antecedents, which might otherwise be concealed. Māori business and management have unique and distinguishable phenomena; they operate from complex environments and therefore require contextually dependent theorising.

> "The need for Indigenous research implies that there is no 'all-powerful' management theory that is 'right' and 'substantial' in all contexts. The purpose of the communication between different theories is not about comparing those theories to identify the better

one, but rather about enhancing the knowledge in each that is essential for the further development of every theory." (Cheng et al., 2009, p. 102)

## Conclusion

This chapter validates, supports and rationalises the use of exploratory research methods applied in this study, with the specific intention to generate new theory. This chapter followed a journey to find the most suitable theoretical lens through which to observe and study Māori. Western business literature (covering strategy, family business, organisational conflict and entrepreneurship) only partially described the Māori context. Vast areas of the Māori experience remained unaccounted for, so I am arguing specifically for more theorising of Māori management and business, to better capture and explain Māori phenomena. Addressing these gaps requires the development of more context-dependent theories, enabling the fields of both Māori management practice and academic scholarship to flourish.

This chapter opened with the assertion that Māori management and business needs more theorising, to help elucidate the antecedents for Māori business and management success (or failure). Māori have both heterogeneous and homogenous practices within the Western context which offer fruitful conditions for developing an array of localised, context bound theories, laden with rich descriptions of the conditions from which they derive. The pathway I have chosen is a mutual interplay and theoretical fusion of Western theory and Māori.

# Wāhanga Tuatoru

## Methodology

*Tēnei au, tēnei au*
*te hōkai nei i taku tapuwae*
*ko te hōkai-nuku*
*ko te hōkai-rangi*
*ko te hōkai o to tipuna*
*a Tāne-nui-a-rangi*
*i pikitia ai*
*ki te Rangi-tūhāhā*
*ki Tihi-i-manono*
*i rokohina atu rā*
*Ko Io-Matua-Kore anake*
*i riro iho ai*
*nga Kete ō te Wānanga*
*ko te Kete Tuauri*
*ko te Kete Tuatea*
*ko te Kete Aronui*
*ka tiritiria, ka poupoua*
*ki a Papatūānuku*
*Ka puta te Ira-tangata*
*ki te whai-ao*
*ki te Ao-marama*
*Tihei mauri ora!*

Here am I, here am I
by the power of my karakia I move swiftly
swiftly moving over the earth
swiftly moving through the heavens
the swift movement of your ancestor
Tane-nui-a-rangi
who climbed up
to the isolated realms
to the summit of Manono
and there found
Io-the-Parentless alone
he brought back down
the Baskets of Knowledge
the Basket called Tuauri
the Basket called Tuatea
the Basket called Aronui.
portioned out, planted
in Mother Earth
the life principle of humankind
comes forth into the dawn
into the world of light
I sneeze, there is life!

This ancient prayer tells how Tane, the progenitor of humankind, the forests and all its creatures, ascended through the many realms to reach the highest, uppermost place where Io-Matua-Kore resides. There Tane obtained the three baskets of knowledge. He returned to Earth, and from this journey, humanity has knowledge.

# Chapter 3: Aims and Objectives

This chapter describes the methodology for the development of disrupted Māori management theory. After discussing grounded theory as the appropriate methodology for this research, I give a description of the four components to the research strategy: kōrero uiui/intensive interviews; kōreroreo/informal conversations, mātātuhi/literature review; and aroha atu, aroha mai/empathy as data. Finally, the defining traits that characterise grounded theory, including constant comparative analysis, theoretical sampling and theoretical saturation of categories, are discussed.

## Introduction to Grounded Theory

Reacting to the heavily dominated positivistic studies permeating social research, Glaser and Strauss (2009) developed grounded theory. Positivist researchers view reality as external and 'out there', to be discovered and explained mostly by employing natural scientific methods. Using numeric measures of observations for studying and research (Creswell, 2009), positivism tests theory through hypothesis. On the other end of the spectrum, the interpretivist researcher views reality as socially constructed. Grounded theorists construct meaning about social realities, and how individuals create their reality through understanding knowledge produced through social interaction. The intention of the interpretive researcher is what Weber calls *Verstehen*, referring to the subjective experiences and beliefs of individuals in their environment (Welman & Kruger, 2001).

Ultimately, grounded theory seeks to generate new theory from data rather than testing existing theories. Glaser and Strauss (2009), the founders of grounded theory, advocated for inductive

theory development grounded in qualitative data, rather than the positivistic methods that deduce testable hypotheses. Initially offered as an alternative methodology, the patterns, categories and themes to emerge from the bottom-up data increasingly became organised into more abstract units of information to create, extend and add to theory. Researchers may work back and forth between the themes; the data may then require re-collaborating with participants to gain further insights.

## Kaupapa Māori

A Kaupapa Māori paradigm provides the center axis for this research methodology. However, a modified grounded theory method, drawn from Charmaz's (2006) constructivist grounded theory, and furthered supplemented by Kovach (2010), complements it. Similar to a Kaupapa Māori view, Charmaz's (2006) constructionist paradigm "recognises mutual creation of knowledge by the viewer and the viewed" (p. 510), further acknowledging that "truth or meaning comes into existence in and out of our engagement with the realities in our world" (Crotty, 1998, p. 8). Knowledge is constructed by co-created interactions of relationships. Charmaz (2006) explains her interpretation of this method:

> "In typical grounded theory practice, you follow the leads in your data, as you see them, and constructivist grounded theory takes you one step further. With it, you try to make everyone's vantage points and their implications explicit, yours as well as those of your various participants. Not only does a constructivist approach help you to remain clear about the antecedents of your constructed theory, this approach helps other researchers and policy makers to establish the boundaries of the usefulness of your grounded theory and, possibly to ascertain how and where to modify it" (p. 184)

Similar to Charmaz (2006), I also try to make explicit my own position and that of my participants, so that those analysing or interpreting the theory are aware of any limitations or confining aspects. Kovach (2010) extends the method further to the modified grounded theory

method, retaining most of the classic grounded theory techniques, without however, needing to adhere strictly to prescribed rules. I took a similar approach. For example, I substituted memos for kōrerorero – informal conversations – in the data gathering process. Modified grounded theory method allows enough analytical flexibility while complementing rather than compromising Indigenous ways of knowing.

Three arguments support the (modified) ground theory method used in this thesis. First rather than presupposing any theoretical explanation for the relational conflict (Rahim, 2011) in the Māori land trust, grounded theory allows for the flexible exploration and phenomenon investigation, where unforeseen and unanticipated themes emerge from the data. Secondly, recent research and understanding of barriers to Māori land aspirations may have focused on Western perceptions of the problem, missing key and crucial components of the issue. Using established theory developed through a Western lens to initially observe Māori management phenomena, possibly unique to cultural contexts or perhaps socio-historically influenced, risked missing themes. For example, social scientist Erving Goffman's model of strategic interaction was underpinned by assumptions of the "individualistic, competitive, strategic, and hierarchal concept of human nature, that fit 1950's North American cultural conceptions of white, upwardly mobile, middle-class men" (Charmaz, 2006, p. 156). Management theories stemming from the rational individual favoured in some academic scholarship (Ghoshal, 2005) may be an inappropriate lens. A blank slate facilitated by a grounded theory method provides a pathway of 'bottom-up' inductive theory reaching into localised contexts without being jeopardised by Western preconceptions (Suddaby, 2006).

Thirdly, ‘generating theory’, a fundamental feature of grounded theory, provides established concepts and tools that align with the aims of this thesis to produce new Māori management theory. While a Māori management theoretical lens could be applicable, Māori management scholarly literature is nascent, and theories in this area are yet to be fully defined, refined and substantiated.

## Gathering Rich Data

The well-known proverb introducing this chapter refers to the cleansing and healing aspects of hau, felt by returning to the land. In the spirit of hau, the data gathering strategy is termed Ngā Hau e Whā o Tāwhiri, most commonly translated as the four winds or breaths of Tāwhiri. Tāwhiri is the god of winds and Ngā Hau e Whā o Tāwhiri depicts the four hau or compass points: raki – the north, tonga – the south, rāwhiti – the east, and uru – the west.

The analogy illustrates their interrelated and similar nature, yet like the four directional winds, each data collection strategy holds unique properties and characteristics. Like many other value-based concepts in Māori, hau is laden with multi-layered meaning and symbolism. Hau simultaneously refers to both the essential vitality of a person, and the spirit, intention, and energy created between people who give to and receive from each other. The data collection strategy involves four methods: kōrero uiui/intensive interviews; kōreroreo/informal conversations; mātātuhi/literature review; and aroha atu, aroha mai/empathy as data. Each method is more focused than the previous; each informs the next, probing and investigating further the meaning behind themes arising from the data.

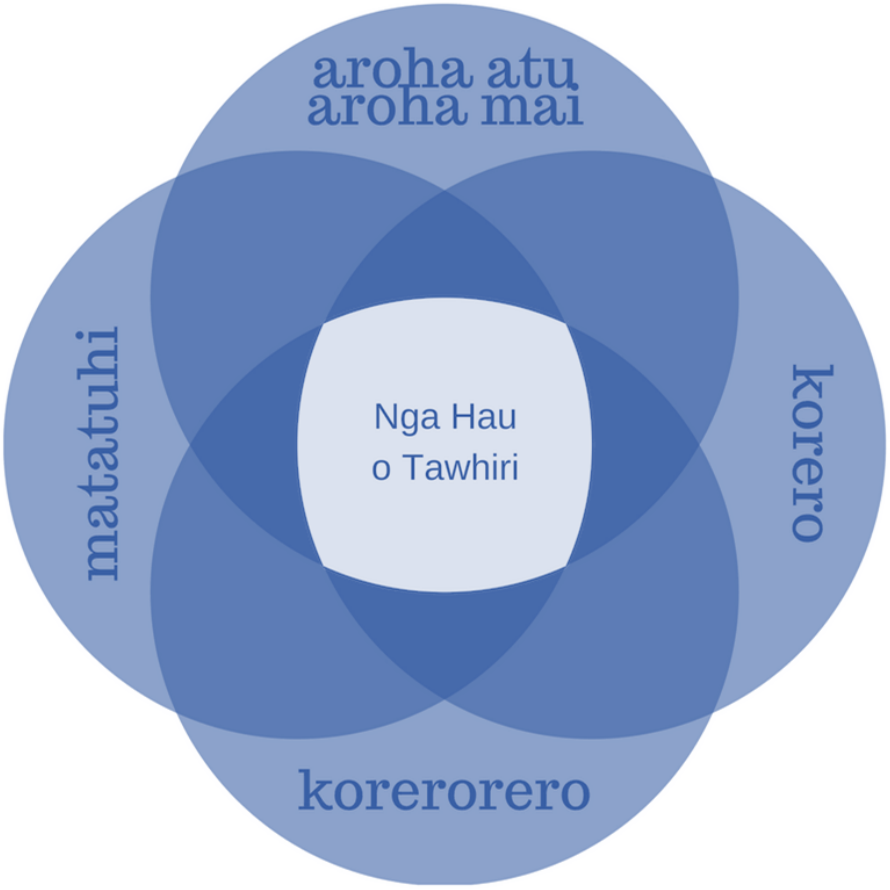



*Figure 4: Data Collection methodology*

## Kōrero Uiui: Intensive Interviews

Intensive interviews (also known as in-depth interviews), provided the primary source of gathering data, and are "a gently guided, one-sided conversation that explores research participants perspectives on their personal experience with the research topic" (Charmaz, 2006, p. 56). Interviews, mostly held in the preferred culturally acceptable protocol of kanohi ki te kanohi or face to face, are a method validated in the literature for accessing rich and detailed data for the purpose of generating theory (Edmondson & McManus, 2007). Tikanga or protocols and customs guide appropriate ways of acting and being when operating in a Māori context (Mead, 2003) and meeting new or familiar participants. Before interviewing work

begun I engaged in mihi – greetings and acknowledgments, and whakawhanaunga - relational bonding. By establishing common links and connections to tribal areas, family, genealogical lines, significant events and ancestors, this process, according to Bishop (1999) creates the interactional space for the participants to admit the researcher into their lives; Māori see this as connecting not just with the person, but also their connections.

The participant and interviewer mentally locate a 'place' for each other, establishing not only the nature and connectedness of the relationship but also the level. For example, mihi and whakawhanaunga set the level of the relationship. It might be one of several forms: tuākana ki te tēina/mentoring relationship; kaumātua ki te mokopuna/imparting and receiving wisdom relationship; hoa ki te hoa/mutual friendship exchange; kaimahi ki te kaimahi/colleague to colleague; iwi ki te iwi/tribal connection. While some literature comments on the position of power the interviewer possesses in an interview, the initial mihi and whakawhanaunga establishes who, if anyone, has power and accepts that the power dynamic exists. Understanding Māori relational power dynamics occurs with a person's knowledge of tikanga or Māori customs, and is therefore an insider relationship. The amount of rapport and intense bonding of the researcher–participant relationship is widely determined by connectedness (Mallozzi, 2009). Without this initial connection, however, the interview is likely to be mataotao (go cold) and the flow of information liable to be restricted (Bishop, 1999).

To create forthcoming conversations I adopted a learning strategy from my kuia or grandmother, passed down to her mokopuna and grandchildren. Her own kuia taught her to āta whakarongo – to listen attentively, and āta titiro – to watch responsively. Essentially these techniques are highly attuned attentive strategies. Comforted by my receptive responses, a

wealth of rich and in-depth information surfaced during the interviews, requiring very few questions and probing. Interviewees were briefed on the kaupapa or topic of the research and were asked permission to have the discussion recorded; all participants agreed. Twenty-two interviews were conducted, mainly in person; five interviews had to be done at a distance owing to availability (four via Skype and one via a phone call).

Table 1 lists the interview participants. Of the 22, seven are women, residing in locations from numerous parts of New Zealand. The gender skew favouring more male participants, represents the unavailability or non-response of woman when contact was made to participate in the research. Pseudonyms of native New Zealand trees are used. Interviews were recorded and permission to use the material freely was sought. Participants chose the location and time of the interviews, with most opting for public places such as cafes or shared work spaces. Each interview was asked the same two questions:

1. Tell me about your background and experiences within the Māori land trust?
2. Have you observed any destructive behaviours within the Māori land trust?

From there, working with grounded theory techniques, interviews followed leads, hunches and explored assumptions, developing into a narrowing inquiry, eventually leading to initial and focused codes (Charmaz, 2006).

I did not intend to gather the life histories of participants, but some interviews expanded from current land trust management to a more narrative turn, especially where land block histories and experiences went back generations. Narrative stories provide rich and in-depth personal experiences. As Bishop (1996) notes, this form "addresses Māori concerns in a holistic, culturally appropriate manner, because storytelling allows the participant to select, recollect,

and reflect upon their stories within their own cultural context and language rather than the cultural context and language chosen by the researcher" (p. 24). Narratives turned out to be a method whereby participants expressed and communicated emotional distress such as tangi or grief and mamae or suffering, leading to a crucial, yet unexpected finding of the research that made links with historical trauma and the management of Māori land.

## Aroha Atu, Aroha Mai: Empathy as Data

An academic community can be uncomfortable privileging emotions as data and emotions can lack validation as a distinct form of knowledge creation in the interview (St. Pierre, 1997). The role of empathy in qualitative research, Gair (2012) argues, is not well understood or illuminated. While everyone has feelings, "our society defines being cognitive, intellectual or rational dimensions of experience as superior to being emotional or sentimental….we are led to perceive and feel emotions as some irrelevancy or impediment to getting things done (Hochschild, 1978, p. 281 in Oakley, 2013, p. 222). Critiques of empathy in an interview are often linked to the insider/outsider debates of qualitative research, concerning how data is either impeded by the interviewer/interviewee relationship as too close – an insider, or too distant – an outsider (Gair, 2012). The debate oscillates between which relationship obtains superior data. Support for the 'insider relationship' of cultural, heritage, linguistic, racial, and religious similarities, claims these create openness, enhanced levels of trust, and provide the researcher with rich interview information (Ganga & Scott, 2006). Alternatively, support for the 'outsider relationship' claims a professional approach or emotional neutrality and detachment helps protect against over-identification (Gair, 2012).

Although mostly using an insider perspective, I could construct a reflexive distance from the interviewees simply by virtue of having had different life experiences. St. Pierre (1997) also reflected about this inside/outside role;

> "I was like them but different too, for I had moved away from their community and had been reconstituted by other discourses and practices. I was both identity and difference, self and other, knower and known, researcher and researched." (p. 178)

Empathy is an awareness and understanding of the emotions of another person or as Rogers (cited in Gair, 2012, p. 135) discusses, is a quality that enables one to sense the private world of another as if it were your own, but without losing the 'as if' quality. Furthermore, he described empathy as accurately determining the internal frame of reference of another person. I was able to go inside but also pull back with an outside lens to focus on the kaupapa or purpose of the research.

From a Māori perspective, listening is not separate from feeling and perceiving. In contrast to Western understandings of the senses, which identify five – sight, taste, sound, touch and smell – Māori identify two – kite as sight, and rongo as hear, feel, smell and taste. "The term rongo or whakarongo, which is popularly translated as listen or heard, in older texts means to know or get to know through, not only by hearing but also by touching, feeling, seeing, intuition, or any other means." (Smith, 2000, p. 55). Rongo includes mulitple forms of sensing called tuakiritanga, classified as; te hinengaro/the mind, te ngākau/the heart, te puku/the stomach, te manawa/the pulse, te wairua/the spirit, te whatumanawa/the inner eye (Pohatu & Pohatu, 2011). These are the inner sites, receiving information from outside or external places.

When rongo senses activate, a holistic array of human sensing comes to the forefront of the kōrero or talk. After each interview, I reflected and captured some of my emotional, physical and mental reactions that surfaced from interviews. Comparable to Mallozzi (2009), I experienced the following:

> "I kept thinking about everything that was not in the text—the silences, the energy, the smiles, the holding of breathe, and the … voices that were present but audible only to me throughout the interview." (Mallozzi, 2009, p. 9)

A mixture of many emotions surfaced,'audible' only to me as the person physically present in the interview, including, pōuri/sadness, tangi/grief, riri/anger, hōhā/frustration, wairua/spiritual-ness, tūmanako/optimism and aroha/nostalgia. I have used these all as forms of data.

Empathy developed within the interviews influenced the data in two ways. First, as Maggio and Westcott (2014) reason, empathy provides valuable access to the feelings and emotions of participants. It shows the degree to which participant and interviewer share a similar situational context – culture, language and in my case, disruption to land – and how that affects the degree of empathy felt in the interactive encounter. My own experiences with land evoked empathetic responses in participants who mirrored similar experiences, thus sharing "common wounds" (Gair, 2012). Emphatic data led the discussion into areas and places that might not otherwise have occurred with an 'un-empathetic' listener. Empathy triggered emotions, allowing the flow of relational energy at profound and experiential levels resulting in stimulating rich data. Birch and Miller (2000) talk of the "intimate sphere". The more intimate and revealing they felt an interview to be, the more they felt they had collected 'real' and authentic meanings from their data. My empathetic interviews possess a mutual sense of deep engagement, a shared

connectedness, a feeling of having walked beside the participants and taking a common journey together.

Secondly, reflecting on the emotional states, especially the pōuri or sadness, and tangi, the grief of interviews, led to the theoretical insight concerning the manifestation of intergenerational trauma in the current management of some Māori land. Empathy became a significant factor in shaping my understanding of Māori land trust environments. Quite early in the interview process, frustrations over land management became evident; family struggles and suffering over generations was a recurring theme through many interviews. Empathy helped me to understand the voices at deeper affective levels, which I framed into cognitive understandings and data themes.

An empathetic style of interviewing begs the question of whether a different interviewer would have found the same or different information. Did I draw out a particular kind of story from the participants, because of my own land experiences? Each interview has its own unique hau or vital energy, or what Mallozzi (2009) refers to in the Western literature as relational energy, for generating knowledge and data. Every interview is unique and can never be completely replicated by another. I remained conscious that I had potential to lead the interviews in a particular direction, so I deliberately enabled respondents to lead the way.

### Kōrerorero: Informal Conversations

Grounded theory data collection literature encourages memo-writing throughout the research process (Birks & Mills, 2015; Charmaz, 2006; Lempert, 2007). Memos provide an audit trail

for the research, raising the data to abstract and conceptual levels, and help researchers explore their internal dialogue to answer the question "what is actually happening in the data?" (Glaser, 1978, p. 57). Diagrams have often been viewed as an intrinsic part of grounded theory methods (Charmaz, 2004). For this thesis, the memo process mostly consisted of diagrammatic forms, with visual depictions of the connection and coherence of codes, to simplify the increasing complexity of relationships and associations codes had to each other. Diagramming was used to explore the relationship between categories.

Māori regard kōrero or talk as a highly regarded art and communication form with layers of meaning and symbolism easily missed by an outsider. An insider's view is necessary to pick up the diverse interpretations. I utilised kōrerorero or informal conversations and discussions (phone calls, casual chats at dinners or group discussions) with peers, family and professionals to test my internal dialogue and thinking. These people drew out my internal conversations and ideas, and provided a reality check on the validity of those conversations and thoughts. These informal discussions occurred throughout the research process, and had a similar purpose as memos. Being an insider gave me access to many experts, trustees, shareholders and academics with whom to engage and investigate ideas and theoretical implications. A written record of kōrerorero was kept and information noted as I proceeded with the study.

To illustrate the process, the following example traces the journey to the arrival of the code 'disrupted attachments' (discussed more thoroughly in Chapter Eight) and the role of kōrerorero or informal conversations. The disruption to the relationship of whenua ūkaipō is the over-riding conceptual theme of this thesis. Very early on, 'transferred trauma' emerged as an initial code, leading to an engagement with the historical trauma literature and informal

conversations with therapists, counsellors and Māori healers regarding grief and trauma. As an explanation for intergenerational trauma transmission, conversations turned to attachment theory, a relational theory explaining maladaptive individual human behaviour when mother and child relationships are disrupted. This provided an opportunity to investigate the nature of this theory and the parallels that might exist between disrupted mother/child relationships and humanity/land relationships. This became the development of a major code 'disrupted attachments', explored in subsequent kōrerorero with Māori trustees, landowners, and elders.

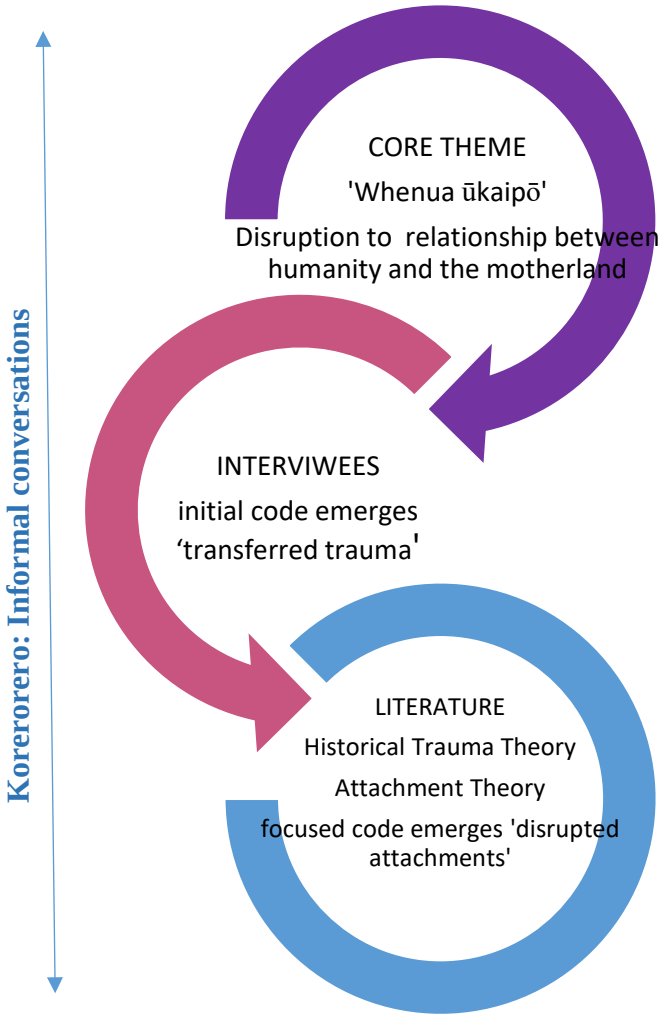



*Figure 5: Example of a Journey to the Arrival of a Code*

### Mātātuhi: Literature Review

The best time to do a literature review in grounded theory is the subject of contentious debate. The arguments are polarised between 'doing it before' (Corbin & Strauss, 2014) and 'doing it after' (Glaser, 2001) developing codes and categories (McGhee, Marland, & Atkinson, 2007). 'Doing it after' is meant to protect the researcher from imposing any pre-conceived ideas on the data. In my thesis, those pre-conceived ideas included Western theory considered potentially unsuitable as a primary lens for the research. Rather than being shackled to old ideas (Charmaz, 2006), I conducted the detailed literature review after the interviews began. When themes started to emerge, literature provided further insights. For example, once the codes 'in-house fighting' and 'us versus them' appeared from the interviews, the relational conflict literature provided additional insights to describe the conflict in the Māori land trust. With codes identified, the literature could be treated as data, utilised to illuminate the ideas and evidence from other scholars on my emerging codes. The code 'trauma passed down' linked to historical trauma theory. As this is a body of established extant knowledge, I referred to the literature and then explored its connections to management in the interviews. This created new leads and pathways that opened up a line of investigation influencing discussions and further empirical inquiry about coping behaviours in the Māori land trust. The collection strategy was not a linear process but one that was iterative and circular.

## Defining Traits of Grounded Theory

To differentiate grounded theory from other qualitative methods that also build inductive theory from the data, Hood (2007) identifies three defining traits: theoretical sampling,

theoretical saturation of categories, constant comparative analysis. These are used to frame the data analysis.

## Theoretical Sampling and Theoretical Saturation

Theoretical sampling seeks and collects specific data that elaborate and fill emerging categories. Theoretical sampling allows the researcher to direct the investigation to sources that can speak to the emergent properties developing within categories. The research investigation continues until no further properties emerge, thus reaching the point of saturation.

| NAME | GENDER | POSITION | ROLE |
|---|---|---|---|
| Mānuka | female | Trustee, Committee Member, General Manager, Acting CEO, Business advisory | Landowner |
| Kawakawa | female | Trustee, Committee Member | Landowner |
| Rimu | female | Secretary of Ahu Whenua, Trustee, Whenua Researcher | Landowner |
| Raukūmara | female | Trustee, Committee Member, Chairman | Landowner |
| Raupō | female | Trustee, Committee Member | Landowner |
| Ngutu Kākā | female | Trustee, Committee Member, Advisory | Landowner |
| Mingimingi | female | Trustee, Committee Member, Advisory | Landowner |
| Tōtara | male | Trustee, Committee Member, Advisory | Landowner |
| Kahikatea | male | Researcher, Advisory | Landowner |
| Maire | male | Trustee, Committee Member, Advisory | Landowner |
| Harakeke | male | Chair of Māori Incorporation, trustee on Ahu Whenua Trust, committee member on five Māori incorporations | Landowner |
| Pōhtukawa | male | Trustee, Committee Member, Advisory | Landowner |
| Tītoki | male | Trustee, Committee Member, Advisory | Landowner |
| Taramea | male | Trustee, Committee Member, Advisory | Landowner |
| Tī Kōuka | male | Trustee, Committee Member, held many Chair positions Advisory | Landowner |
| Pingāo | male | Trustee, Committee Member, Advisory | Landowner |
| Karaka | male | Trustee, Committee Member, Advisory | Landowner |
| Ponga | male | Māori land legal advisor | Pākehā |
| Kōwhai | male | Trustee, Committee Member, Advisory | Landowner |
| Kauri | male | Trustee, Committee Member, Advisory | Landowner |
| Tane Kaha | male | Trustee, Committee Member, Judicial advisory | Landowner |
| Horoeka | male | Māori land business advisor | Pākehā |

*Table 2: Interview Participants and Māori Land Trust roles*

To prevent the risk of gathering conceptually thin data many diverse perspectives were sought. The initial sampling strategy for this research was to take a broad sampling of participants, with a variety of perspectives on the Māori land trust. These included internal perspectives from trustees, landowners, associated whānau and beneficiaries. External perspectives came from lawyers, public servants and academics. The only common criterion was a relationship with a Māori land trust. Theoretical sampling is not intended to capture generalisable data through representative distributions of a population (Hood, 2007). Locating the participants centred on people who had experience and involvement with Māori land trusts. I did this until I reached saturation. Where possible, a broad stakeholder point of view was sought, and interestingly all participants tended to acknowledge the same challenges. Suffering and disturbances occurring between whānau within the Māori land trust were acknowledged by all as a distinguishable problem that has received little attention.

This initial sampling guided who to interview and talk to next. For example, to elaborate the category on 'trauma passed down', therapists, healers and Māori tohunga were consulted to discuss trauma transmission. Literature supported what these conversations revealed. 'Implications for management' became the most elusive category to explicate because linking trauma to management is not well understood at either the scholarly level or as lived reality. Participants who had alluded to management implications caused by maladaptive behaviours were interviewed again to further develop this as a robust category rich with concepts. Finally, three major categories emerged macro-, meso- and micro- disruptions.

Categories need to be treated theoretically. Glaser (2001) describes saturation:

> "Saturation is not seeing the same pattern over and over again. It is the conceptualization of comparisons of these incidents which yield different properties of the pattern, until no new properties of the pattern emerge. This yields the conceptual

> density that when integrated into hypotheses make up the body of the generated grounded theory." (p.91)

Theoretical saturation occurs when no new properties of the categories can be found (Glaser, 1978), indicating that "nothing new is happening". By this logic, categories were saturated at a sample size of 22 interviews.

## Theoretical Sensitivity

Birks and Mills (2015) define theoretical sensitivity as "the ability to recognise and extract from the data elements that have relevance for your emerging theory." (p.58). They list three important characteristics:

1. It reflects the sum of your personal, professional and experiential history;
2. It can be enhanced by various techniques, tools, and strategies;
3. It increases as your research progresses.

Theoretical sensitivity, similar to reflexivity debates, pervades grounded theory literature (Mruck & Mey, 2007) where some accept and acknowledge its importance, while others such as Glaser (1992), explicitly reject it. The basic premise of reflexivity is being able to refer to oneself, or recursively turning back to examine one's own experiences. My own sometimes visceral experiences with Māori land make it impossible to separate myself in the generation of data, requiring an explication of prior experiences and knowledge and its effect on the theory development. Stern (2007) aptly describes her role as being integrated and a part of the research:

> "the beauty of the method lies in its everything-is-data characteristic; that is to say, everything I see, hear, smell, and feel about the target, as well as what I already know from my studies and my life experience, are data. I act as interpreter of the scene I observe, and as such I make it come to life for the reader. I grow it." (p. 114).

Theoretical sensitivity challenges the researcher to realise or become aware of "biases, assumptions or beliefs [which] are entering into the analysis" (Corbin & Strauss, 2014, p. 80). Through that awareness, my interpretations and experiences are accounted for. Māori scholar Graham Smith describes his position as at the center of his research:

> "My methodology was to put myself as a Māori researcher at the center of the project and all that this entails. I argue for subjectivity as being a more honest position. I declare openly that I am arguing for my language, knowledge, and culture and against reproducing colonizing forces in my research. I name these things overtly …. I am saying, 'Well this Is me, I am trying to be neutral, but I can't because I am Māori." (Kovach, 2010, p. 90)

I too make this statement: I am Māori and this research fights for outcomes that liberate Māori.

In my reflective practice, I regularly made myself accountable to whānau or the wider family. Other Indigenous scholars implement this practice. Wilson (2001) states that "you are answering to all your relations when you are doing your research" (Wilson, 2001, p. 177). Kovach (2010) also writes: "I hear the Elders' voices; Are you doing this in a good way?" (2010, p. 52). Chilisa (2011) situates herself and the relationship to her community:

> "I belong to the Bantu people of Africa, who live a communal life based on a connectedness that stretches from birth to death, continues beyond death, and extends to the living and the nonliving. I am known and communicate in relational terms that connect me to all my relations, living and the nonliving" (p.3)

Practically implementing being accountable to whānau meant taking emerging abstract concepts from the data and when attempting to make theoretical connections and relationships, mentally doing an internal test, using them against situations and scenarios I have had with Māori land. I tried to make sense of them in the real world, but often, the proposed theoretical observation did not make sense, requiring a reworking and further empirical investigation.

## Constant Comparative Analysis

From the outset, grounded theorists cross between data collection and data analysis.

> "Ultimately it is this iterative analytical method of constantly comparing and collecting or generating data that results in high level conceptually abstract categories, rich with meaning, possessive of properties and providing and explanation of variance through categorical dimensionalization" (Birks & Mills, 2015, p. 90)

They go further to suggest that data analysis is the process of making sense of the text to interpret that data and its larger meaning (Creswell, 2009). Data analysis is a continual reflection as the data unfolds. The analysis is likely to be conducted concurrently with the data, and this also guides further inquiry and questioning in subsequent interviews.

### First Order Categories – Initial Coding

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *attacking others* | *destroying traditional systems* | *being dishonest* |
| *sense of entitlement* | *continuity versus disruption* | *unethical behaviours* |
| *grudge holding* | *entrenched shareholders* | *land solutions* |
| *withdrawing* | *feeling mamae* | *disrupted attachments* |
| *us versus them* | *paradigm conflict* | *sense of loss* |
| *conflicting with tikanga* | *language tension* | *feeling of being severed* |
| *nepotism* | *connection and belonging* | *disregarding beliefs* |
| *power playing* | *traditional economy* | *anger at the system* |
| *disconnecting from land* | *coercion* | *sharing the value* |
| *negative descriptions* | *kōrero tukuiho* | *genealogical tie* |

*Table 3: First Order Categories*

Grounded theory is a simultaneous process of data collection and analysis. Initial coding signifies the first step in the analysis and assists in organising, synthesising and managing large amounts of data to open up conceptual possibilities. I recorded all the interviews, which were then transcribed by professionals, and checked for the accuracy of Te Reo Māori used during

the interviews. The transcribed interviews were put into Nvivo – a software that supports the organisation, and analysis of qualitative data– and coding immediately began.

The transcriptions were then mined for analytic ideas, possible theoretical directions and potential paths to follow. Interview data generally took two forms: narratives and abstract observations. Narratives focused on the history and transference of land and the interviewees most often spoke of their stories in terms of a struggle still to be overcome. Abstract observations about the Māori land trust were based on a person's accumulated experiences.

Some participants had begun to make their own generalisations and theoretical propositions. These were coded and compared to what others said. Figure 4 shows the initial process that produced codes across a variety of topics, covering many aspects of the Māori land trust including: lack of education, gender issues, measurements of success, language and the competitive effect of Western structures. Some codes, already researched and identified as land issues, populated quickly with data, often becoming the most frequent codes. These were not automatically assumed to be the most significant as I did not want to miss or be distracted from uncovering the less obvious codes in the data. The research investigation then followed codes that had a surprise element, in that they were unexpected or uncommon expressions of experiences in the Māori land trust. Some of these initial codes included: 'grudge-holding over generations', 'sense of entitlement', 'types of characters in the Māori land trust', 'negative descriptions of Māori' and 'mana munchers' The surprising nature of some codes confirmed to me that I was not subconsciously applying my tacit understandings and superimposing my preconceived notions on the data.

### Second Order Themes - Focused Coding

The second major analytical process is focused coding. The initial coding began to produce multiple codes so these were analysed for patterns to categorise and group together, developing codes at an abstract conceptual level towards theoretical possibilities. Unexpected leads were explored while discontinuing to populate saturated codes regardless of whether they appeared in further transcripts. Investigation of these codes were ignored because ample research already explains them. Constant interaction with the data and further investigation of unexplored codes developed into broader categories that were capable of subsuming multiple codes including; 'trauma passed down', 'intense emotions', 'maladaptive behaviours', and 'fear-based management'. These codes, although initially 'thin', formed a nascent analysis requiring more probing to delineate their properties.

Some codes opened up new questions that were refined for theoretical sampling. These were;

1. What was the cause of such intense emotions associated with the Māori land trust?
2. What kind of behaviours stemmed from such emotions?
3. How does this influence the management of the Māori land trust?

Interviews became more refined and focused towards understanding and answering these evolving questions. Explanations and answers for the first two questions were quite evident in the data. However, explaining the links to management required more accessing interviews with landowners who have significant management and governance experience. The most difficult thing to grapple with was understanding at what level the disruption was occurring, that is, individual, organisational, institutional, cultural or spiritual, or indeed any combination of these levels. Explanatory power was limited if focused on one level. Finally, a multi-level

analysis assisted with producing three theoretical dimensions –macro-, meso- and micro- – resulting in a multi-level theory, termed disrupted Māori management theory.

## Conclusion

The aim of this research was to explore the relational conflict occurring in the Māori land trust. The research followed a grounded theory process, and data gathering strategy consisted of kōrero uiui/intensive interviews, kōreroreo/informal conversations, mātātuhi/literature review, and aroha atu, aroha mai/empathy as data. Coded data was analysed using the constant comparative analysis to produce first order categories, which were then collapsed into high-level abstractions or second order themes. These themes became subsumed under three theoretical dimensions or macro-, meso- and micro- levels.

# Wāhanga Tuawha

## Potentiality: The Economy of Mana

"[Mana] gives you the power to talk, the power to stand up at the marae, the power to deal with anything. When a man with the blessing upon him stands up to speak he'll be taller than anybody else, and his ancestors come to stand beside him – nobody can touch him."

(Stirling, 1981, p. 205)

# Chapter 4: Aims and Objectives

This chapter is contextual, providing the philosophical underpinnings of Māori land prior to the formation of the Māori land trust. Understanding the ideological foundations that permeated traditional Māori life is a crucial element towards comprehending the contemporary intersections and clashes between two differing systems, Māori and Pākehā. The economic and social infrastructure of Māori society is introduced and framed as the Economy of Mana. Five conceptual regulators that stimulate and motivate the Economy of Mana are then discussed – mana, tapu, utu, whanaungatanga, mauri. The conclusion discusses the relevance of the Economy of Mana for understanding land and the current issues in the Māori land trust.

## 'Economy of Mana' versus 'Economy of Money'

Traditionally, scholarly attention on free market economies has geared towards understanding and researching the exchange of the tangible aspects of the economy, known as the production and sale of goods and services. Less attention has been given to the analysis of relational interactions occurring between and within the market place. An Economy of Mana, is a Māori philosophy of economics that highlights how the intangible elements of relationships impact, influence and generate economic activity. As a system of exchange, the Economy of Mana prioritizes the enhancement of mana.

The Economy of Mana - a Māori economic philosophy that centers on enhancing the dignity of people, is juxtaposed with the Economy of Money - the dominant Western economic paradigm characterised by capitalism. The contrast in the two economic paradigms is highlighted through the concept of equilibrium. Equilibrium is the state in which two opposing forces are balanced, where hypothetically, when the two curves meet, an optimum balance is

reached. The two economic paradigms tend to be dominated by a differing emphasis. The Economy of Money has focused on research that addresses understanding market equilibriums - a market transaction state where supply and demand forces are balanced. Whereas, the Economy of Mana primarily focuses on understanding relational equilibriums, a state where the parties reciprocate, in a cycle of exchange and counter exchange till a harmonious relational balance occurs between the two trading parties.

In free markets the allocation of resources is determined by supply and demand, where in theory, little to no control or involvement from any central government agency. Instead of government-enforced price controls, as seen in many socialist and communist countries, a free market economy allows the relationships between product supply and consumer demand to dictate prices. A market equilibrium is a market transaction state where supply and demand forces meet. Western research have analysed economic patterns from the supply and demand of goods and services, where hypothetically, the two curves meet to reach an optimum balance. Supply and demand curves intersect at the equilibrium price. This is the price at which the market will operate.

The exchange of goods and services was a pragmatic and tangible part of traditional Māori economic models (Petrie, 2006). The exchange system was underpinned by a focus that sought to achieve relational balance (Ahu, Hoare, & Mamari, 2011; Metge, 2002). Traditionally, the Economy of Mana, similar to gift economies (Mauss & Halls, 2014), was an exchange of valuables that were not merely sold or traded in a purely economic transactional sense but were offered in the spirit of enhancing mana or dignity of a person or peoples.(Mead, 2003; Metge, 2002). For example, when a whānau from a coastal region gifted kaimoana or seafood to an inland group who may have had difficulty accessing such a resource, the mana of the giver was

enhanced by the generous act. However, a sense of obligation was also generated, “for every gift another of at least equal value should be returned” (Firth, 1929, p. 406). An unsettled relationship was created with the receiver, who could feel indebted until, at a future point, could return the act of generosity. The receiver feels a state of relational imbalance, igniting a positive cycle’s mana enhancing actions of reciprocity. Ultimately the system tries to return to a harmonised state of relational equilibrium. As an exchange system, the Economy of Mana enabled and promoted the enhancement of the mana or dignity within people. Traditionally, Māori made concerted efforts to return relational states to one of balance.

As part of the economy, the concept of mana inherently contradicts Western notions of exchange systems that seek to create shareholder value to maximise individual wealth and profit in the market (Henare, 2014). Western economies and market behaviours are based on predictions and assumptions of self-interested and individualised behaviours (Friedman, 1962). Mana economies are based on wealth distribution, not wealth accumulation. As one interview participant in this study noted, “mana isn’t money; mana is hūmārie [humility]”. The primacy of monetary transactions over relational balancing can remove, disconnect and distance ties of Māori to each other, creating long-term relational states of disruption. With the arrival of Europeans into Aotearoa New Zealand, many of the relational values that held the system together to regulate and return to states of balance were thrown into complete chaos and disharmony.

Developed in the context of a non-monetary system, the Māori understanding of mana in economies was quite different from the early settler economy. Commercial relationships were not separate economic, political, social and spiritual spheres but fused together as one in a Māori exchange system (Metge, 2002). According to the law of supply and demand, both

consumer and producer seek to attain the best deal, and this economic theory assumes that any obligation or tie between them ceases once the transaction is completed. One interviewee, Tītoki, alludes to the relational aspect of a transaction that underpins a Māori perspective in business.

> "This relational kaupapa [matter] is fundamental, because a lot of our organisations, trusts, incorporation, family situations, [have become] very transactional in nature, and they focus on transactions, rather than relationships. Those relationships are actually just a sub-set of a transaction, whether or not that transaction is a succession order, a partition order, a vesting of ownership, those are all transactions. Māori generally - well the ones that I know, are more relational in nature, [Māori] are worried about the deal, but actually, if you haven't got the right wairua [intention] about you, things can get offside pretty quickly, and things can go downhill really fast". – Tītoki.

The separation of commercial and non-commercial transactions did not traditionally exist. Tītoki refers to the 'other' facets of business transactions, and acknowledges that for Māori, business is not only isolated incidents of exchanging goods and service; there are also layers of relational interactions and exchanges emerging from economic agreements and commercial contracts.

Rangatira or leaders were key players in the early Māori economy. Land and access to resources was the primary source for rangatira to accumulate mana. Food became the main currency from which to trade with. The more people a chief could feed, the more his mana increased through attracting a bigger following (Petrie, 2006). Alliance with others became an essentail leadership activity and chiefs with mana were afforded more opportunity and connections wth other chiefs. Mana played a key social and economic role and had an accumulative effect that tended to perpetuate itself. Chiefs who failed to provide stability would experience diminishing mana in the tribe.

As a system of exchange, the economy of mana prioritises the enhancement of mana. The system is regulated by what E. Durie (1994) refers to as conceptual regulators, which are principles that form the basis of Māori social order. Much has already been written about these relational values (Bowden, 1979; Marsden, 1992; Mead, 2003; Royal, 2003), and while not the only regulators, I focus on five due to their prominence in contemporary Māori discourse:

1. *Mana* the importance of spiritually sanctioned authority and the limits on Māori leadership
2. *Tapu* respect for the spiritual character of all things
3. *Utu* the principle of balance and reciprocity
4. *Whanaungatanga* the centrality of relationships to Māori life
5. *Mauri* the principle that all things carry an essence or life force

The discussion considers two distinctive qualities of these five conceptual regulators: their dynamic, transformational, adaptive nature; and their ability to equalise, harmonise and restore balance.

An Economy of Mana evolved as a dynamic system allowing for continuous creation (Royal, 2003), accepting and enabling creative transformative behaviours. All conceptual regulators are dynamic. They are both philosophies and practices. Many authors indicate the importance of transforming, and returning back to balance in Māori society. For example, Quince (2007) notes that "in the Māori mind, the world existed in a natural state of balance … Thus, in most instances, reciprocal actions and/or words were required to restore the equilibrium." (p. 321) Tapsell and Woods (2008) pointed out that "complimentary dualisms … have driven and balanced Māori social order for tens of generations" (p. 196). The notion of decay and growth is expressed as "nothing dies in the Māori world. Things merely move through dimensions – the flax, for example, becomes a cloak of immense beauty" (Darcy Nicholas in Patterson,

1992, p. 21). A dynamic society also needed flexible and fluid laws and processes to accommodate values inherent in the system (M. Durie, 1994). Thus Māori social and economic institutions were guided by principles as opposed to fixed rules. Conceptual regulators underpinning traditional Māori society were means to return social institutions to balanced states, especially when those institutions had been thrown into chaos and disorder.

## Mana

Attempts to directly translate mana can be challenging. Definitions of mana have been offered by many philosophers, theologians, academics and cultural specialists. Due to its abstract and enigmatic natures, as a concept it has been difficult to define succinctly. Some definitions have included, Moorfield's (2004) interpretation as "a supernatural force in a person, place or object" (p. 238); Pere's (1982) many descriptive labels – "a psychic influence, control, prestige, power, vested and acquired authority and influence, being influential or binding over others." (p. 36); Shirres (1997) definition as "the realization and actualization of tapu" (p.53); Reverend Māori Marsden calling it a "spiritual authority and power" (Royal, 2003, p. 4), and Royal (2006), who redefined mana for a modern context, described it as a "quality, energy or consciousness in the world which can be harnessed and expressed in human activities through acts of generosity and wisdom" (p. 8). Although slight variations on definitions of mana all acknowledge mana as a potent human state with the profound ability to impact upon, effect and transform the lives of others.

Many authors also describe the various sources of mana (E. Durie, 1994; Henare, 2001; Royal, 2003; Shirres, 1997), which usually fall into four separate yet interlinked categories, shown in Table 2.

| Mātauranga Māori | Interpretation | Descriptions |
|---|---|---|
| Mana atua (gods) | Divine power, from a universal source | Spirituality/universal connectedness |
| Mana tūpuna (ancestors) | An inherited power, from a historical source | Genetic influences/historically developed processes |
| Mana whenua (land) | A terrestial power, from a localised source | Influence of environment/ sociological situation |
| Mana tangata (people) | Personal power, from an inner source | Personality/temperament, unique individual attributes |

*Table 2: Dimensions of Mana*

The table denotes mana is sourced at multiple levels; the universal, the inherited, the environment and personal uniqueness. The four sources act as an interrelated system, or an exchange of interactions that co-evolve and shape each other to produce unique combinations of individual or group mana. In this way, mana is not absolutely determined by one source; it combines in unique and inimitable ways, ultimately expressed in human behaviour and activities. Characterised as stimulating change, mana is dynamic (Bowden, 1979). Authors interpretations tend to support this, describing mana as being; enhanced or decreased by achievements (or non-achievements), ascribed, and/or achieved (M. Durie, 1994; Mahuika, 1992); rising and falling (Salmond, 2009); waxing and waning over time (M. Durie, 1994). Mana can be characterised as a force that stimulates change or progress (Bowden, 1979).

Mana atua is a spiritual essence, coming "down the descent lines as a gift of power from Io-matua-te-kore, Tane-nui-ā-rangi, Tu-matauenga" (Stirling, 1981, p. 205), or "that which manifests the power of the gods" (Royal, 2003), as "coming from the gods" (Mahuika, 1992, p. 45). Mana tupuna is inherited power from ancestral sources. For example, some families are known for their exceptional ability, traits, and skills distinctive to certain areas. *"Ko te mana i ahau no ōku tūpuna nō tuawhakarere"* (my strength comes from my ancestors from long ago) (Brougham, Reed, & Karetu, 2012). Mana is an inherited trait through ancestral connections. Mana tupuna explains, through fortunate and esteemed whakapapa or genealogical lines, how a person's mana is automatically endowed. Mana whenua is power and authority attached to land. Pere (1982) described mana being most effective when people are in their own contexts, such as their papakāingā or tūrangawaewae. Sometimes a person's mana may only be relevant or extend to a specific region, speciality, industry or community.

Mana is an achievement-orientated concept (Bowden, 1979) relating to actions that add dignity to people and provide positive transformation back to communities and people. Mana tangata is the authority and power attained through personal attributes. Individual mana is demonstrated through a person's actions and achievements. A person's mana may fluctuate depending on their ability and achievements at the time (M. Durie, 1994).

Mana however is measured through the assessments of others. A person cannot claim to have mana; their mana is credited, recognised and endorsed by others, who direct the mana claim towards the individual or group. The proverbs "*waiho ma te tangata e mihi"* (leave your praises for others to sing), and "*kāore te kūmara e kōrero mō tōna ake reka"* (the sweet potato never talks of its own sweetness), reference mana and humility. Usually, accumulating mana

is the extent to which a person provides, supports and gives to others, or directs their personal success towards the wider collective. Interview participant Pōhutukawa commented on one-way the mana of a whānau or family increases:

> "Before [the lands were] carved up into these title areas, it was a whole land block where everyone contributed to the wealth of the tribe, and a lot of competition, if you were (laughter) growing kūmara [sweet potato] you had to grow more than that fella next door (laughter). And a lot of that competition is shown where they have these big hui [gatherings]. They have these huge racks where each hapū gets assigned, or maybe even whānau get assigned, a space on these racks where they bring and donate the kai [food], some of them are 3 storeys high, and so your mana of your hapū, or your whānau is in how many of those spaces you can fill, and how many hundreds of pigs you can bring, and how many hundreds of sacks of kumara, yeah, all those sorts of things, so [mana] was a collective sort of a thing" – Pōhutukawa.

Shirres (1997) highlights the connection between mana and generous achievement: "the real sign of a person's mana or tapu is not that person's power to destroy other people, but that person's power to manaaki or care, to protect and look after other people" (p.47). The more an individual influences the group or people to realise their fullest potential or inherent mana, the more that individual's mana is increased.

Power and authority can be distinguished concepts concerning mana (Royal, 2003). Power is the ability to influence the control of people; authority is the legitimate right or mandate to wield that power. For example, a chief may have the power, in terms of access to physical strength and capabilities, to retaliate with an act of war against another tribe. However, he must also gain authority, permission or a mandate from the group (Royal, 2003). People acting from a place of mana do not act independently; they are sanctioned and authorised on the permissible behalf of others.

## Tapu

If mana is the actualisation of power, then tapu is the potential of that power. Therefore mana and tapu sit alongside each other and are philosophically linked (Bowden, 1979; Henare, 2001; Mead, 2003; Royal, 2006; Shirres, 1982, 1997). Three aspects of tapu considered in this discussion are qualities, functions, and significance. The qualities of tapu have been described as "being with potentiality of power" (Shirres, 1997, p. 34), a cosmic power imbued in all things (Henare, 2001), as something sacred (Williams, 1971) or, as Marsden (2003) observed, a sacred state residing in all persons, places, and objects. The qualities of tapu are therefore associated with being distinct, special, needing protection and sacred (Royal, 2006). Tapu is the potential imbued within things. Mana is the realisation and actualisation of that potential. Henare (2001) explains: "In its primary meaning, tapu expresses the understanding that once a thing is, it has within itself a real potency, mana. Each being, material or nonmaterial, from its first moment of existence, has this potentiality and its own power and authority." (p. 86).

Secondly, the function of tapu places sanctity over a person, object or property, indicating to the general public that the special element or sacredness of that thing requires protection, restriction and safe-keeping. Thus tapu functions as "establishing social control and discipline and protecting people and property" (Pere, 1982, p. 39). Williams (1971), also describes the tapu function as placing a quality or condition on a person or on an object or place. Tapu is protection.

Thirdly, the significance of tapu as Ngoi Pewhairangi, a prominent teacher, Māori language advocate, and prolific song composer, points out "is something that teaches you to respect the whole of nature" (King, 1992, p. 10). Other experts such as Pere (1982) describe tapu as "putting something beyond one's power" (p. 39). Thus, tapu goes beyond individual rights to

access or utilise the object, person or property at their own will and teaches a person and communities to respect and revere things that are outside of themselves. Tapu is the respect for the spiritual character of all things.

The reference to balanced states of tapu is noted by Mead (2003), who refer to tapu as balancing well-being, "if the level of one's tapu is at steady state, the individual is well in both a physical and psychological state. Well-being means that the self is in a state of balance" (Mead, 2003, p. 45). Henare (2001) makes reference also to balancing the state of tapu:

> "Tapu needs to be treated with respect … A respectful relationship ensures harmony, balance, health, and well-being, but a bad relationship of abuse often leads to disharmony and imbalance. This applies to the tapu of distinct features of ecosystems. They need to be protected, strengthened, and constantly confirmed so that balance, harmony, and potentialities can be fulfilled." (p.87).

Tapu is a dynamic concept, complemented by its opposite noa, which is to normalise or make common. Because tapu is embedded in many things, for example, children, individuals, groups, houses, gardens, trees, birds, rivers, lakes, oceans and ecosystems (Henare, 2001), labelling facets of Māori society tapu or noa assisted the community to understand what should be respected, appreciated and valued, while conversely understanding what could be utilised for normal everyday activities.

### Utu

Utu is reciprocity. Fundamentally, utu strives for the harmony of relationships with both people and the environment (Patterson, 1992). However, early European interpretations "failed to appreciate the depth of the concept" (Metge, 2002, p. 67). Early missionaries frequently used the terms gift and present to describe utu. Connotations associated with those references misconstrued the actual meaning of utu. Others interpreted utu as revenge or

retaliation (Ahu et al., 2011; Metge, 2002). More traditionally aligned definitions and translations of utu included "return for anything; satisfaction, ransom, reward, price, reply…make response, whether by way of payment, blow, or answer, etc." (Williams, 1971). The principal of utu is reciprocity and compensation (Firth, 1929), and "utu is the principle of equal return" (Salmond, 2009, p. 13). Utu, therefore, was a reciprocal response, governing the balance of actions and exchanges of social relationships in Māori life.

The primary function of utu seeks either to enhance or protect mana (Salmond, 2009), and so, like the interrelatedness of all Māori conceptual regulators, mana–utu is entwined in a dualism. Mana was essential and vital to group survival, and utu kept mana intact. When an act of injustice occurred towards a person, their mana is said to have been threatened. Hostile acts, insults, offenses and abuse were taken as serious threats and a violation of the mana of a person or group: "*Nā tētehi te tihī, na tētehī te tokomauri*" ( if one person begins a quarrel, his enemy will retaliate) (Brougham et al., 2012, p. 87). The principle of utu righted the injustice by restoring the mana of the victim through the engagement of appropriate exchanges, until the right reconciliation was made. Therefore, any act, whether hospitable or hostile, required a response. Individuals and groups would reciprocate both positive and negative deeds (Ministry of Justice, 2001; Pere, 1982). Thus, returning '''good' gifts (taonga and services) for good gifts, and the return of 'bad' gifts (insults, injuries, wrongs) for bad gifts." (Law Commission, 2001, p. 38). Generosity was returned with generosity, hostility with hostility. This inevitably could lead to skirmishes, attacks and instances of war. Thus utu, in practice, unfolded in two ways: compensating a wrong or an appreciative return.

The notion of maintaining a balance or sense of harmony resounds as a central theme to describe the concept utu. A number of government documents recognised utu as "a means of seeking, maintaining and restoring harmony and balance in Māori society and relationships" (Ministry of Justice, 2001) and "a key element of the utu principles to maintain reciprocity and balance in society" (New Zealand Law Commission, 2001, p. 38). Henare (1988) similarly wrote utu is the "reciprocal responses; obtaining equivalent value for services or gifts and the righting of injustices for the balancing of social relationships" (p.21).

## Whanaungatanga

Whanaungatanga deals with the practices and bonds of strengthening relationships, a pervasive concept of Māori society and described as "one of the most fundamental values that holds any Māori community together" (Matiu & Mutu, 2003, p. 162). Whanaungatanga, a concept of relationships, bonds and connections, is not solely confined to human relationships: "individuals; communities; the individual and the collective; past, present and future generations; people and atua (gods); and people and the natural world" (Jones, 2014, p. 191) were also accounted for. Thus whanaungatanga conceptualised for Māori their relationship with the entirety of their world and with each other. The cosmos, according to Māori, unfolded itself as a gigantic system of kinship, between plants, fish, and people. (Johansen, 1954) Whanaungatanga became a way of living and organising the social world (Sahlins, 2011, p. 2).

Traditionally, whanaungatanga refers to shared whakapapa or genealogy from a common ancestor, focusing on kinship bonds (Pere, 1982). Kinship is "'mutuality of being': people who are intrinsic to one another's existence" (Sahlins, 2011, p. 2). Whanaungatanga, taken from the word whānau, means family but carries much broader and wider understandings that cross generational and temporal dimensions. The classic Māori whānau of the 18th and 19thcenturies

has been described as an autonomous socio-economic unit, which worked together on a day to day basis, tied by kinship (Metge, 1990). However, as a dynamic society, Māori values and concepts allow for re-interpretations. Changing contexts permit broadening the term whānau even further, to now include collectives of people who share common values and goals. Cunningham, Stevenson, and Tassell (2005) distinguish whakapapa whānau or genealogical groups from kaupapa whānau or purpose-driven groups. The former is a whānau tied through common ancestry, and the latter whānau tied through common bonds and shared goals.

Polarising aspects of ideologies belonging to Western and Māori paradigms inherently reside within the concepts of independence and interdependence. Western ideologies have typically encouraged practices that enhance individual independence. Māori values and belief systems foster the notion of interdependence, imbued in the concept of whanaungatanga. Māori individual identity was defined through relationship with the collective. The individual became bound to the collective through responsibility, which in return created a sense of belonging and strong identity.

There were rights and obligations associated with belonging to a collective identity. Traditional Māori society abhorred individual greed, selfishness, and self-interest that superseded the needs of the collective. Individualism was curbed and mediated by the interdependent nature of Māori to each other and the environment. A certain degree of individual flair was encouraged, but the rugged individualism often valued by the pioneer settler culture was a threat to collective Māori living. Consequently, as a valued attribute in traditional Māori culture, self-centred independence did not take precedence.

As a dynamic concept, whanaungatanga involves the relationship of two paradoxical concepts, termed here as 'relational distinctiveness' and 'relational commonality'. Relational distinctiveness is the processes and practices that distinguish one whānau from another, and relational commonality are those processes and practices which enhance the shared elements between whanau. The dynamic interchange of these concepts often plays out at pōhiri, a welcoming process for guests to a tribal area. The pōhiri functions to establish the purpose and intent of the two groups coming together (Mead, 2003; Salmond, 2009). During the process, host and guests communicate through an exchange of songs, formal speeches, and anecdotes to establish who they are. Multiple identifying processes allow them to distinguish their distinctive and separate identities, usually differentiated through their unique landmarks and ancestors particular to that group. However, a simultaneous process also occurs, valuing relational commonality. Groups draw on aspects of commonality, such as mutual ancestral lines and historical events shared in their past, cementing the group together. These two aspects of whanaungatanga allow the dynamics of coming and going, forming and reforming, uniting and reuniting of groups.

## Mauri

Mauri is a universal concept in Māori thinking. According to knowledge holders, it is a "life principle and the ethos of animate and inanimate things" (Pere, 1982, p. 32), a "spark of life, the active component that indicates a person in alive" (Mead, 2003, p. 363) and "a unique power, a life essence, a life force, and a vital principle" (Henare, 2001, p. 87). Mead (2003) give a more complete definition:

> "The Mauri is a life-force that is bound to an individual and represents the active force of life which enables the heart to beat, the blood to flow, food to be eaten and digested, energy to be expended, the limbs to move, the mind to think and have some control

> over body systems, and the personality of the person to be vibrant, expressive and impressive" (p. 54)

Mauri, therefore, is a life force energy, the essence of being or a thing, an essence encapsulated in all living things. Everything has a mauri. This includes not only the obviously living such as people, fish, animals, birds, forest, land, seas and rivers, but also inanimate objects such as stones, houses or structures. Thus "mauri is that power which permits these living things to exist within their own realm and sphere" (Barlow, 1991, p. 83). "All animate and other forms of life, such as plants and trees owe their continued existence  and health to mauri." (Mead, 2003, p. 70). As an intangible energy, mauri is a binding force between the physical and the spiritual (Barlow, 1991) It "is the force that interpenetrates all things to bind and knit them together" (Royal, 2003, p. 60).

Like most Māori vitalism concepts that had a dynamic energy, mauri was no exception. "When the mauri is strong, fauna and flora flourish. When it is depleted and weak, those forms of life become sickly and weak". (Mead, 2003, p. 70). "When actions impact negatively upon the mauri of something this essential bond is weakened (or broken), and can potentially result in the separation of the physical and spiritual elements resulting in the death of a living thing or alternatively the loss of a thing's capacity to support other life." (Morgan, 2006, p. 171). Within people, mauri is also dynamic – changing, fluctuating, flourishing or withering. Recognising and understanding the true essence of people and things is a mechanism and process that enables and assists mauri to flourish. "If a person feels that she is respected and accepted for what she herself represents and believes in, particularly by people who relate or interact with her, then her mauri waxes; but should she feel that people are not accepting her

in totality, so that she is unable to make a positive contribution from her own makeup as a person, then her mauri wanes." (Pere, 1982, p. 32)

## Conclusion

As an alternative lens, a Māori paradigm and its philosophies is used to juxtapose the norm or accustomed positions of dominant Western perspectives. This helps to put up a reflective mirror, to assist Western scholars and practioners to reveal their established traditions and norms that may be holding them to a one-sided view of the world. This chapter demonstrates how two juxtaposed positions, can highlight differences in the way an economy is viewed and interacted with.

The purpose of introducing the Economy of Mana as the contextual chapter lays the foundation for the philosophical thought of traditional Māori pre-European arrival and offers a base, from which the current disrupted situation can be compared. The conceptual regulators – mana, tapu, utu, whanaungatanga and mauri – set the ideological state for the context of traditional Māori land tenure. The Economy of Mana establishes the dynamic and adaptive nature of Māori society that imbues Māori and their relationship with the land.

# Wāhanga Tuarima

## Potentiality: Whenua BEINGS Wheel

*Papatūānuku/ Earth Mother*

We are stroking, caressing the spine of the land.

We are massaging the ricked back of the land

With our sore but ever-loving feet. Hell, she loves it!

Squirming, the land wriggles in delight.

We love her

*Hone Tuwhare*

Poet Hone Tuwhare opens this chapter with a poem personifying land as Papatūānuku, the earth mother. Within the traditional Māori psyche, as this poem suggests, the land is alive, wriggling in delight, reciprocating an intimate relationship to be lived out between people and land.

# Chapter 5: Aims and Objectives

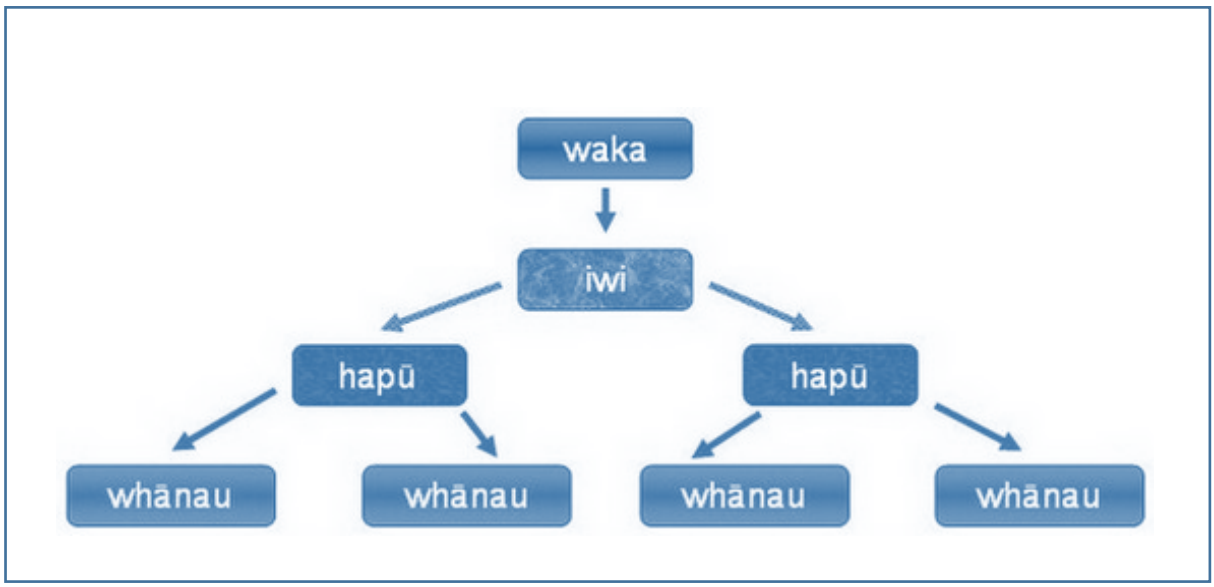
Understanding the relationship of Māori to land is essential to comprehending the context of expressive behaviours by Māori towards whenua. Land is a source of well-being across many dimensions (Cajete, 2016). This chapter explores those multiple dimensions under the category named Whenua BEINGS. A brief account of Māori customary land tenure is first given, followed by a discussion on Whenua BEINGS structured here as a six relationships – Belonging, Emotions, Influence, Nourishment, Guardianship and Spirutality. Each relationship emerged through the identification of patterns occurring in the interview data, literature on place attachment theories and concepts, (Brown & Perkins, 1992; Low, 1992; Relph, 1976), and mātauranga or Māori knowledge. Finally, a summary connects the six components as sources of well-being.

## Māori Customary Land Tenure

The traditional Māori economy was of a dynamic and fluid nature (Ballara, 1998; Metge, 1990; Petrie, 2006). Individuals affiliated to ancestral lines based on descent from an eponymous ancestor. Kin groups made up the social organisation of Māori society. For example, Porourangi is the eponymous ancestor of East Coast iwi Ngāti Porou whose members claim affiliation through descent from him. Similarly, Tahu Potiki, the eponymous ancestor of Ngāi Tahu - a South Island tribe – is the forbear of all members of that iwi. However, the neatly packaged idea promoted by early non-Māori historians, anthologists, archaeologists and ethnographers of a pyramid-like structure of iwi or hapū, and whānau, is largely a Pākeha construct (Ballara, 1998; Metge, 1990).

This view depicted Māori society as a hierarchical authority chain. (Figure 6).

*Figure 6: Static View of Traditional Māori society*




This static representation portrayed Māori social organisation as a fixed hierarchy. In reality, it was more complex, dynamic and evolving. The system was fluid, with kin ties providing the flexibility and dynamism to Māori social and economic structure. In times of stress, such as war and conflict, old kin-ties were activated, a method for galvanising support in times of crisis (Henare, 1988). Going back generations, hapū cohesion often formed under an eponymous ancestor, providing a common pillar of unity. Whānau split-offs occurred once expansion reached a size allowing self-regulation and autonomy. Thus, a new autonomous unit would form, usually taking the name of a more recent eponymous ancestor. By fostering the original link, alliances and coalitions could be formed when external pressures, such as shortage of resources, or warfare threatened survival. This allowed for a variety of groupings which could be in a constant flux of re-groupings.

## Land Boundaries and Relationships

The fluid system of this social structure also required a fluid system of land tenure (New Zealand Law Commission, 2001). Traditionally, land boundaries between hapū and iwi were not precise or exact (Kingi, 2008). Instead, the relationships Māori held with each other governed the use of, and access to resources. Nurturing relationships for the potential of genealogical alliances allowed access to resources. So rather than having distinct physical land boundaries, a dynamic boundary operated driven by the quality of relationships at that time. Positive relationships became crucial with neighbours to allow access to a variety of resources. Negative relationships created the reverse and where discouraged. Land division into distinct areas was for the most part, irrelevant. Relational rules such as the following, instead governed land use:

(i) A reverence for the total creation as one whole;
(ii) A sense of kinship with fellow beings;
(iii) A sacred regard to the whole of nature and its resources as being gifts from the gods;
(iv) A sense of responsibility for these gifts as the appointed stewards, guardians, and rangatira;
(v) A distinctive economic ethic of reciprocity; and
(vi) A sense of commitment to safeguard all of nature's resources (taonga) for the future generations.
(Waitangi Tribunal, 1992, p. 97)

The customary approach to land entitlement de-emphasised ownership, contrasting with colonial land tenure ideologies.

## Customary Land Rights

Land was held by groups of kinship, where individuals only had usage rights, "individualisation as we know it was practically unknown to Māori" (Smith, 1942, p. 48). Descent or whakapapa gave rights to land, but occupation, usage, residence and participation in the community ensured continued land access. Because individuals could claim kinship through either

matrilineal or patrilineal descent, individuals had genealogical links to more than one iwi, whānau and hapū. This meant that land rights required the sustained use and occupation over time (Kingi, 2008). Communally held ancestral estates and traditional customary land tenure gave rights to no one individual. Even chiefs, as Stokes (2002) noted, did not have sole rights or authority over land: "the chiefs exercise an influence in the disposal of the land, but have only an individual claim like the rest of the people to particular positions" (Stokes, 2002, p. 4). Māori land tenure had its own classifications for rights and usage, usually taking some of the following forms:

| | |
|---|---|
| *Take Taunaha*<br>Land by Discovery | The process of owning land through discovery, which may have previously been unoccupied. |
| *Te Ahi Kaa*<br>Occupation | Ahi kaa –keep the home fires burning – was the right to land through long-term or continuous occupation. I kaa tonu taku ahi, i runga i tōku whenua/my fire still lives upon my peoples land. Often proving the right to occupy an area through reciting whakapapa or genealogy, showing the unbroken connection of occupation. Residence, occupation, and use were the key measures for the continued land rights. |
| *Take Tūpuna*<br>Genealogical Connection | Land claimed through whakapapa or genealogical connection and being able to prove an unbroken ancestral connection. |
| *Take Tuku*<br>Gifted Land | Gifting was common, and often gifted in thanks, or to create strategic alliances, usually made by rangatira or chiefs. |
| *Take Raupatu*<br>Land by Conquest | Land taken through conquest or displacing the original owners. |

*Table 5: Traditional Māori Land Tenure Classifications*

(Asher & Naulls, 1987)

## Whenua BEINGS Wheel

The surmounting evidence linking land relationships and Māori well-being prompted an examination of its relationship components. Six themes emerged from extant literature and empirical data that underpin tangata Māori as Whenua BEINGS. Whenua BEINGS typologies the unique Māori relationship with their place or whenua as: Belonging, Emotions, Influence, Nourishment, Guardianship, and Spirituality. The six components refer to how people attach, relate and engage to whanau and whenua.

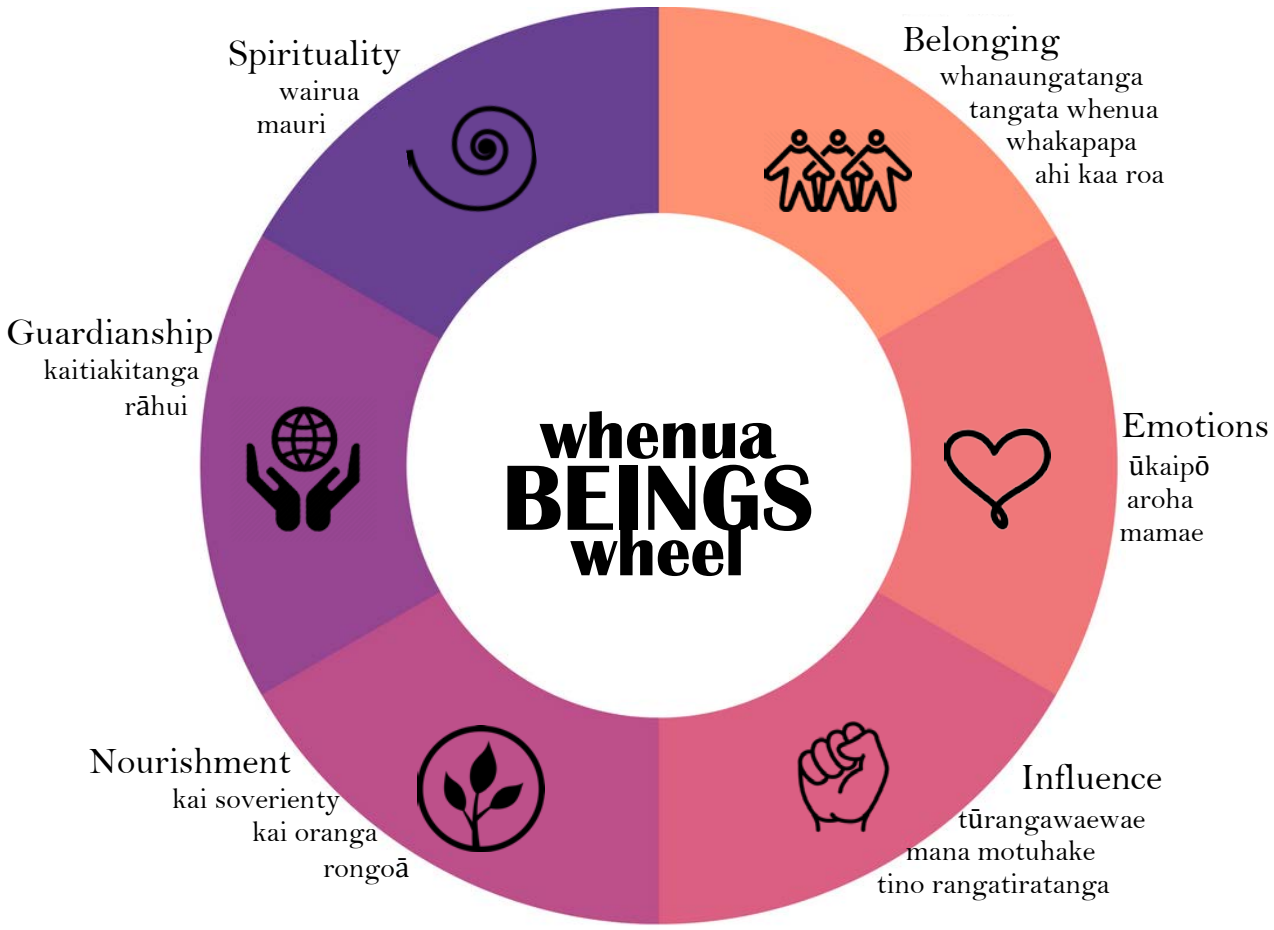



*Figure 7: Whenua BEINGS Wheel – The Six Relationships for Māori Potentiality*

The wheel advocates that when all six of the relationships are active, Māori well-being thrives. Each relationship is referred to as an attachment, i.e. belonging attachment, emotional attachment etc. Attachments is a concept referenced frequently in this thesis and refers to bonds that become the driver behind social, emotional, cognitive processes and human understandings of the world. Attachments to places have been described as "the symbolic relationship formed by people giving culturally shared emotional/affective meanings to a particular space or piece of land that provides the basis for the individual's and group's understanding of and relation to the environment" (Low, 1992, p. 165).

The links between Māori being unwell and connection to land disruptions are well documented (Durie, 1998; Walker, 2004). In 1932, Sir Apirana Ngata, respected Māori advocate and Minister of Native Affairs expressed the connection between the decline of Māori economic, social and physical well-being and land alienation. He wrote:

> "There is no doubt about the seriousness of the position. I agree that the problem is an economic and social, as well as a medical one. Hawke's Bay is a district that has seen much better days, when revenues from rich lands, high wages and abundant work on farms supported a high standard of living … Meantime land resources have dwindled by sales (mostly private sales) without the Māori population having acquired command of other resources." (A. T. Ngata to Minister of Health, 22 October 1932, H1, 194/1/24, cited in Boast, 2008).

Other scholars and historical commenters made similar associations between land alienation, attributing Māori depopulation with the land sales of the Native Land Court. The Māori population statistics had dropped to an all-time low of 39,663 by 1896. Sorrenson's (1955) work called into question Native Land Court actions as 'sociological disturbances' and 'demoralising atmospheres' and a contributing factor to Māori population decline. Respected

elder and tohunga Hohepa Kereopa describes the fatality of disrupting the human-land relationship and that humans exist in a dependant relationship with land:

> *"Ko te whenua i noho ai i roto i te wahine, ko tāna mahi, hei awhi i ngā whakaira tangata i whakanohea ai e te ure ki roto i te kōpū o te whaea. Ka tipu ake, he tangata. Nā, i te ngaro tēra whenua, ā me pehea ai te tangāta? I te ngaro hoki tēra whenua, me pehea ora ai te tangata*".
>
> "The whenua that sits in the womb of a woman supports the making of a life force that is set into place by the male with the womb of the mother. Therefore bringing life to a human. If that whenua is lost, how can humans be created? If that whenua is lost, how can humans survive?" (Pouwhare, 2011)

Whenua BEINGS describes where the many sources of Māori well-being in connection to land. This is derived from the relationship and bonds that Māori individuals, people and communities have with a particular piece of land. The six relationships are now discussed.

## Belonging

> "Have you ever heard of a culture, or group of people, race, that doesn't have a view around territorial domain? I don't know any. Everyone's from somewhere" – Tītoki.

This quote from research participant Tītoki segues into the connection of the basic human need to be from somewhere; a compelling human need to belong. Land is a source of that belonging. Durie speaks of this view:

> "[Māori] did not seek to own or possess anything, but to belong. One belonged to a family that belonged to a hapū that belonged to a tribe. One did not own land. One belonged to the land" (cited in Whitt, Roberts, Norman, & Grieves, 2001, p.713).

The belonging attachment with land becomes the first of the Whenua BEINGS wheel. Anant (cited in Hagerty, Lynch-Sauer, Patusky, Bouwsema, & Collier, 1992) defined belonging as

“the experience of personal involvement in a system or environment so that persons feel themselves to be an integral part of that system or environment” (p. 173). A persons who feels placed into the fabric of surrounding people and environment, creates a sense of value and worth in life. Often belonging relationships are built up and nurtured over centuries and are embedded in the language of geographical idiom, for example, *el pueblo* in Spanish means both place and people who belong to an area. Similarly, the Japanese term *ie* encompasses the physical (house), the social (lineage, family and kinship), and the cultural and symbolic inferences of procreation (Low, 1992).

The connection between a strong identity, a sense of belonging and knowing your land has been established by other scholars. Land can be integral and fundamentally tied to shaping and determining a person’s understanding of where they belong and who they are as an individual within groups (Brown & Perkins, 1992). Western scholarship addresses this as land attachments. Land attachments, as Brown and Perkins (1992) explain, entwine to create havens of stability, security and familiarity, and provide “a stable sense of self in connection with the environment.” (1992, p. 282). Knowing a place, especially intimately, enhances familiarity leading to the security of predictability (Brown & Perkins, 1992). Relph (1976) describes the security of knowing oneself, in relation to place. He expresses “to be human is to live in a world that is filled with significant places: to be human is to have and to know your place” (1976, p. 1). When severe disruptions occur to this source of belonging, as Brown and Perkins (1992) suggest, “the changes become so great that humans must work hard to define the thread of continuity or stability in life” (p. 282). When belonging attachments are disrupted, individuals struggle to recover an aspect of themselves tied to their sense of stability, security and continuity. Aligning or identifying with land or places is one-way individuals define themselves, thus “disruptions threaten self-definitions” (Brown & Perkins, 1992, p. 280).

Moeke-Pickering (1996) picks up on the theme of 'attachment to location', noting its importance and links with security and belonging for Māori. And interviewee Mingimingi also reflects on this aspect too:

> "We were talking last night, and I was saying about self-identity because I think many Māori walk onto their whenua, their marae [ancestral home] and feel at home, and the confidence comes out eh" – Mingimingi.

A persons land can become their environment of acceptance and belonging. Mingimingi describes her connection with land as feeling at home and manifesting as confidence. The ancestral home, she suggests, is a place connected to felt security.

Mātauranga Māori also supports the belonging attachment through a number of concepts, such as tangata whenua, whakapapa, ahi kaa roa, tūrangawaewae and whanaungatanga. Tangata whenua, in Māori, translates to people of the land, or people who belong to the land. Under these concepts, land and people are entwined. When the belonging attachment is strong, which is often the case for Māori, land is felt as inseparable from the self. To separate a Māori from the land is to separate a Māori from themselves, or their sense of belonging. Cultural expert Sir Tamati Reedy describes this relationship, of being known through place:

> "*e mōhiotia e ia a tāua maunga, o tāua awa, e mōhiotia e ia etahi atu iwi e wai ake ranei, anei te ahuatanga kei te pupuri i tēnei tangāta ki tōna ake whenua/* others know us by our mountains, by our rivers, and we are made known to others as these things, holding people into land" (Pouwhare, 2011).

Physical landmarks of mountains, rivers or lakes represent further extensions of the self. For example, Ngāti Porou assert their identity as:

| | |
|---|---|
| *Ko Hikurangi te maunga* | The mountain is Hikurangi. |
| *Ko Waiapu te awa* | The river is Waiapu. |
| *Ko Ngāti Porou te iwi* | The people are descendants of Porou. |

Identifying oneself by landmarks is a common practice amongst Māori families and tribes. A number of Māori proverbs, for example *Ko au te whenua, ko te whenua ko au* or I am the land, and the land is me, reinforce the inseparability of people and land.

Whakapapa to land signifys long-term bonds between people and their environment, where they attach to land through historical identification. Whakapapa or genealogies link Māori to land (Te Rito, 2007). As described earlier, land occupation or rights to usage were determined by whakapapa or genealogical links, such as ahi kaa roa or the long generational occupation (Kawharu, 1977). The cherished Māori–land relationship continues to be consistently and explicitly reinforced by Māori to this day, (King, 1992; Salmond, 2009). Māori academic and politician Pita Sharples explains:

> "Māori identify ourselves by the relationships our tūpuna formed with the lands…We are the people of this land. We are born of this land …It is this intimate connection which gives meaning to what it is to be tangata whenua. It is a relationship which transcends arguments of ownership in a commodity sense; a relationship which reinforces a sense of belonging shared between those who have passed on, the living and those yet to be born." (Dewes et al., 2011, p. 4)

Thus, Māori land provides stability of an unbroken connection to ancestors and future generations.

## Emotions

Evolutionary psychologists belive that humans have developed a set of emotional states and reactions to respond to environmental cues that signal either danger or security and safety

(Cosmides & Tooby, 2000). Evidence of emotional attachment to place comes from literature on displacement. When events of natural disasters, relocation, and colonisation transpire, emotional stress occurs (Friedman, 1970; Fullilove, 1996). In short, people develop intense emotional feelings towards things that are of importance. The more essential the object is to immediate human survival, the more intense the emotional attahcment becomes. For example, physiological needs, such as access to food, shelter and love tend to develop into deep attachments. Acknowledging the deep emotional tie of Māori and land, provides insight and understanding into the intense behavioural and expressive responses Māori exhibit towards land. Thus, emotional attachment refers to innate survival instincts or attachment behaviours that people are biologically predisposed to (Ainsworth & Bell, 1970; Bowlby, 1969). Land was an intergal and vital part of survival, long term connections evolved as strong emotional attachments activating a type of protective behavioral attachment system, so when land relationships are under threat the 'fight or flight' mode triggers.

Mātauranga or Māori knowledge explicitly supports the emotional attachment to land through the concept of Ūkaipō. Ūkaipō, literally means 'to be fed by the breast at night'. Symbolically, it references the spiritual, emotional and physical nourishment given through the comfort and intimate bond between the mother and child, one of the most powerful relationships existing between two humans (Bowlby, 1980). The bonds or attachment, and connections that transpire and metamorphose are nature's evolutionary forces built in, and physiologically coded to ensure the survival of humanity (Cajete, 2016). Without the love and affection (and usually the responsibility) of the mother, the baby will die. Thus, human evolution and survival are ultimately contingent on this connection. Disruptions to those bonds and connections, especially across whole cultures and mass populations, cause devastating effects as a powerful universal force becomes disordered (Haskell & Randall, 2009).

Similarly, from a Māori perspective, land and people interact in a parallel, evolutionary bound relationship of equally natural forces in the human–land relationship (Pere, 1982; Royal, 2003) traditionally conceived as, whenua ūkaipō (Ministry of Justice, 2001). This Māori sentiment asserts *Ko te whenua te ūkaipō, ko te ūkaipō te whenua*/land is my nourishment and the sustainer of life (Stewart-Harawira, 2006). In fact, whenua has a dual meaning, not only translating to land but also meaning placenta or afterbirth. Customary Māori practice buries the baby's placenta back in the earth, usually in a place of ancestral significance. Across several realms – symbolic, philosophical, spiritual, emotional, physical and evolutionary – the action of returning whenua ki te whenua or placenta to the land re-enforces the similarities of the mother–baby and Māori–land connection. Metaphorically, the placenta represents the tree of life, the mother's womb sustaining her baby, and in parallel all life, such as humanity, trees, rivers, oceans, land, is born, nurtured and sustained from the womb of Papatūānuku or earth mother ("Whenua to Whenua," 2014). The desire to maintain a closeness to a place is an attempt to evoke conintued positive emotions associated with that area (Giuliani, 2003). The emotional attachment refers to how people feel towards land.

## Influence

Influence is the capacity to have an effect on something. The term influence within the Whenua BEINGS wheel refers to the degree of autonomy and self-determination people and communities have to enable them to act from their own authority. Influence allows people and communities to have control of their life, giving them a sense of hope to overcome situations of powerlessness and lack of empowerment. The ability to make decisions about the direction of one's life reflects opportunity to freedom (Sen, 2001). Therefore, influence within this

typology is about people having control and power over their lives to realise their potentiality. As a critical resource land is a mechanism to achieving interests in a self-determined way.

Land provides access to resources and assets, and therefore is a source of influence. Māori land rights are particularly crucial, as secure access to land and other natural resources is a basis for sustainable livelihood and a key factor in assuring economic security. The ability of individuals and groups to access land and to utilise its resources is contingent on having influence. When Māori have secure rights to land, they can engage in economic driven initiatives (Stevenson, 2008). Land provides Māori with an opportunity to exert real influence over the development of their communities – and the right to control the course of their own lives. Increasing Māori land empowerment decreases vulnerability to poverty and reduces social and economic marginalisation.

The ability to influence one's own life is represented in a number of key Māori concepts, tūrangawaewae, tino rangatiratanga, and mana motuhake. The Māori concept of asserting oneself through place is tūrangawaewae, directly translated as tūranga or standing place and waewae as legs, literally meaning 'places to stand' (Mead, 2003). Tūrangawaewae provides a person or community with a deep sense of security about their rights to be in a place. Tūrangawaewae is a territory where Māori feel connected and empowered to stand (Royal, 2012). Tītoki recognises the association between knowing ones land and a sense of positive empowerment: "I think the energy of people is really lifted when they go to a tūrangawaewae [standing place]". Tītoki contrasts a person's energy from when they are on their tūrangawaewae – their place of standing – from 'other' places.

Having influence over land, required authority. Authority was asserted via whakapapa and naming. Reciting whakapapa or genealogies assisted politically with asserting a person's or a family's long-term occupation and use of a piece of territory. Tītoki speaks to the whakapapa link to land:

> "Our land was owned by my grandfather, and before him, his father, and before him, his father who happened to have his name put on the title to that land, by way of the Māori Land Court process, and that land ... ultimately ended up in the name of [our ancestor]. [Our ancestor] gave part of that land to one of his sons" – Tītoki.

The primary functions of genealogy is the intergenerational transmission of the ownership and authority of land. Tītoki's knowledge of his whakapapa is a personal testament: an oral verification of his connection, bond and claim to that piece of territory. Genealogies provide layer upon layer of narratives, ancestral tales and stories of origins, binding through time, both spatially and temporally, a sense of place (Whitt, Roberts, Norman, & Grieves, 2001). Whakapapa is one of the most cherished forms of Māori knowledge. For Māori, to know someone or something is to locate it or them in place and time (Smith, 2000).

Stories become powerful political statements about influencing land rights and entitlements. *Nōku te whenua, kei a au te kōrero, nōku te whenua, ko au te rangatira*/I am the land and I have all its stories. I am the land and I make all the decisions (Mahuika, 2014), asserted Dr Apirana Mahuika at the Te Ture Whenua Māori land legislation meeting, in his public statement about mana or authority over land. Helping to situate people's minds in historical times and place, their narratives, oral traditions, histories, myths and storytelling link people to their landscape (Basso, 1988). As Low (1992) writes, "Narrative, that is, the telling of stories, usually origin myths, but also family histories and political accounts, can function as a type of cultural place attachment in that people's linkage to the land is through the vehicle of the story

and identified through place naming and language." (Low, 1992, p. 174). Kōrero tukuiho or histories passed down, are accounts told and retold to fit evolving and changing circumstances. Tānekaha reflected on the powerful connection of land and kōrero or dialogue:

> "It's not just land, it's you know he whenua he kōrero [the talk is in the land], so land is never just an asset because it holds 30 or 40 generations of a family's history. It is the source of belonging in a really practical way, land carries kōrero [talk] and people, so you can't really think of land without all of those layers of relationships and history that get you to that point" – Tānekaha.

Naming was also an authoritive action over land. Many examples exist between Māori place naming and the narratives of political assertion attached to them. For example, Whakatāne, a town in the eastern Bay of Plenty region commemorates an event occurring after the arrival of the waka or canoe, Mataatua. The story goes: the men made their way on shore, then the canoe began to drift; Wairaka, a chieftainess, called out *kia whakatāne au i ahau*/make me like a man, and with the help of the other women, commenced to paddle to save the canoe. The retelling of this story connects the people of Mataatua with the place of Whakatāne.

Although some conceptual overlap occurs, tino rangatiratanga and mana motuhake are key Māori notions meaning to have influence. The concept of tino rangatiratanga evolved from interactions of Māori with Crown and Christianity. Used in the second article of the Tiriti o Waitangi it was translated as full exclusive and undisturbed possession. The phrase is now often translated as absolute sovereignty and related to self-determination. The meaning for Mana motuhake described by Māori activist Tame Iti as, "I am in control of my own faculties. I am in control of my inner and my outer thoughts … We [are] in control. Ā-hapū, ā-iwi, ā-whānau and taku reo, aku waiata, aku korero (Williams, 2011, p. 18). Similarly, according to Tāmati Kruger, mana motuhake is "… saying we take responsibility and we do not want you

to pay for it, we want to pay for it ourselves…Mana motuhake exists to do one thing and that is to avert poverty, ignorance and powerlessness and secondly it is there to encourage prosperity" (Williams, 2011, p. 19). Both tino rangatiratanga and mana motuhake are part of the Māori empowerment movement which have influenced Māori to assert land rights. Philosophically orientated around the concepts of self-determination, it challenges state interventions that block Māori development, to encourage pathways for Māori to realise opportunities that determine the future they desire.

## Nourishing

> "The recovery of the people is tied to the recovery of food, since food itself is medicine: not only for the body, but for the soul, for the spiritual connection to history, ancestors, and the land" (LaDuke, 2005, p. 210).

Nourishment is the basis of life and land is a source of that physical nourishment. Traditionally, land provided Māori with the physical sustenance and nutrition essential for human survival. Key Māori concepts in relation to nourishing include kai sovereinty, rongoā and oranga. Pragmatic recognition of vital signs and seasonal cycles meant the difference between being hungry and being fed. Understanding land as a kāpata kai or food cupboard, required intimate knowledge of sequences, timings, patterns of activities of food sources including kererū/pigeon, kākā/native parrot, pikopiko/fern shoot, kūmara/sweet potato to extract food (Mihinui, 2002, p. 27). Survival commanded attention to physical spaces. A nourishing attachment has a dimension of a more temporal immediacy and a utilitarian function.

More recently, Māori have experienced a disconnect from the source of food, which is part of the wider colonial story of land alienation. Material dependence on the land is no longer a

survival necessity of many Māori who now live in modern realities. The urban drift, or the urbanisation of Māori from rural communities after the Second World War (Belich, 2002) altered Māori populations still residing within their ancestral lands. Tānekaha speaks of the changing connection for Māori who used to live on land, to Māori who moved away:

> "And people move, so they don't live on the whenua anymore, by the 1950s and 60s, half of them were gone, by the 80s three-quarters, now 85% don't live there right, and that changes the connection with it"– Tānekaha.

Tānekaha suggests that living on the land maintains and sustains land connections and for many Māori, physical engagement with the land has declined. The forces of colonisation disconnected Māori from intuitive and inherited relationship with the land. Tī Kōuka also reflects on the same phenomenon, but from a slightly different angle from one of 'living on the land' to one of 'living off the land':

> "We live in cities, a long way away from the land. As a rule, [land is] not the sustenance anymore. Previously, pre-European, we lived on the land, hunted the bush, caught fish in the sea, and it was important - that particular bit of dirt, cultivated kūmara [sweet potato] in the soil. So it was all part and parcel of us surviving. We changed the model, we learned how to farm dairy cows in small numbers back then, or sheep and cattle, and so again the land was connected to our sustenance. But then we moved to the cities, and the land was no longer part and parcel of how we lived on a daily basis"– Tī Kōuka.

Both quotes suggest that an altered Māori economic dependence and decreasing physical relationship on land changes the connection.

Considerable amounts of Māori land are leased to non-Māori, especially in the horticultural and agricultural industries (Kingi, 2008). A recent Māori land aspiration report (Dewes et al., 2011) noted the consequences of the changing dependence, explaining that "where [land] has been leased out to Pākehā or farmed by incorporations – has effectively taken the land out of the everyday consciousness of the [Māori] owner to the point that they have become disassociated from the land" (p.18). Altered economic reliance changes the intensity of

attachments because survival dependence diminishes. Tītoki acknowledged this changing dynamic of land dependance. He links the lack of not only physical engagement with land (dis)connection but a lack of responsibility and obligation that previously existed;

> "All of a sudden I don't own the land ... So actually, I don't have any responsibilities for the land, I'm just to appoint a governor, and that governor can look after the land, or that governor can appoint a manager, and the manager can appoint the herd manager, and that herd manager can appoint, well, can look after the animals that are on that land. So you become more and more distant from that physical engagement within that"– Tītoki.

Tītoki's comment is aimed at organisational structures that separate and distance Māori from their land connection. He indicates that governance structures hand over the relationship to a governor or a manager, resulting in what Tītoki refers to as a more distant physical engagement.

Many Māori living in urban environments are increasingly distanced from the source of their food and dependent on industrialised products largely controlled by a few major corporations. The globalisation and the shift from localised labor-intensive food production to mass-produced corporate food systems reduced Māori economic land reliance. It shifted Māori to an income-earning, dependence paradigm, where food is predominantly purchased from supermarkets. The modern reality is one of a decline of Māori land as a source of physical nourishment. Land, traditionally was a source of physical nourishment, and for some Māori, it still is, however, modern Māori attachments to land are more likely to be ideologically constructed.

Although Māori relationships with food and land have become compromised, recently global movements have developed under the term food sovereignty or kai sovereignty as it is known to Māori, which seeks to reclaim access to food (Moeke-Pickering, Heitia, Heitia, Karapu, & Cote-Meek, 2015). Kai sovereignty attempts to confront the challenges of climate change, oil

pressures, and rampant consumerism. Kai sovereignty movements emphasise placing the control of food back into local communities, encouraging Māori to reconnect with land. Māori believed land had healing powers which they called rongoā. Rongoā is traditional medicine accessed from the land. Māori land relationships represents a respect for natural resources and all living things that coexist with humanity, especially for the preservation for future generations.

## Guardianship

Māori viewed humanity as part of nature, not separate. Kaitaikitanga is guardianship whose role is to safeguard and protect whenua. Kaitiaki derives from the word tiaki, which means to care, nurture and watch over. The prefix kai denotes the doer of the action, transforming the word to caretaker, nurturer or protector. Kaitiaki are localised roles, usually pertaining to a group of people who have a sense of attachment to an area or piece of land, their role becoming the guardians of that area, often in an endemic relationship. Kaitiakitanga stipulations, practices, and conditions are most commonly locally defined and enforced.

A dynamic relationship exists between Māori and the natural environment. The traditional practices of kaitiakitanga are associated with keeping the balance. Therefore, kaitiakitanga is the interface between the spiritual and physical (Durie, 1998), regulating human activity with the environment. The practices of kaitiakitanga assist Māori with caring for the environment in a sustainable way. Practices included rāhui or restrictions; for example, a temporary ban on taking food from a specific area. Moumou or wastefulness was actively discouraged while taking only what was needed was encouraged. The seasonal timing for food collection was

emphasised, so that resource gathering and hunting were done only when birds and fish were not breeding or vulnerable to complete annihilation.

The concept has been adopted into everyday vernacular, and legal documents too. Statutory definitions play a role in environmental management and sustainability. The Resource Management Act 1991 (RMA) endorses kaitiakitanga as "the exercise of guardianship by the tangāta whenua of an area in accordance with Tikanga Māori in relation to natural and physical resources, and include the ethic of stewardship" (section 2 RMA). The Fisheries Act 1992 states that "the exercise of guardianships; and, in relation to any fisheries resources, includes the ethic of stewardship based on the nature of the resources, as exercised by the appropriate tangāta whenua in accordance with Tikanga Māori" (section 2, Fisheries Act 1992). More recently, Te Whangānui River gained its own legal identity, with all corresponding rights of a legal person under Te Awa Tupua (Whanganui River Claims Settlement) Act 2017. The land–people connection imbues within Māori a responsibility to safeguard Papatūānuku and protect her from exploitation, becoming kaitiaki or caretakers of the land (Kawharu, 2000; Marsden & Henare, 1992; Roberts, Norman, Minhinnick, Wihongi, & Kirkwood, 1995). Whakapapa, the inter-relationship between all forms of existence is the paradigm of Māori preference for understanding the guardian relationship between humans and the environment.

## Spiritualty

Land is a source of spiritual connection. Spiritual attachment can refer to a community's mythical and religious conceptions and metaphorical communication with the landscape. Representing the cosmo, the physical presence of landscape becomes the concrete evidence of cosmological beliefs (Low, 1992). Māori spiritual attachments are substantiated by the

Papatūānuku mythologies. Papatūānuku represents the personification of earth or our earth mother. Across numerous cultures and peoples, the frequent reference to land as the mother universally acknowledges the integrated and bonded humanity–land relationship. For example, 'Gaia', the personification of earth in Greek mythology, and 'Pachamama', the fertility goddess, from the Inca mythology translate to Mother Universe (Mamani-Bernabé, 2015). Other references include the Western usage of 'Motherland' and 'Mother Earth'.

Mātauranga believes land is a medium from which spiritual connection can be accessed. Spirituality is a sense of being connected to something bigger than ourselves. Tānekaha's statement captures this idea:

> "You get to the point where you are at peace there, more than anywhere else, that's that idea of ūkaipō, and I don't know, there's just a great depth of beauty in that, that's greater than the physical presence of the whenua itself" – Tānekaha.

Mauri is a key Māori concept that expresses spirituality. This was discussed earlier in chapter four. Wairua is also another key concept. When land is regarded as the mother, a person or culture does not see themselves as a separate, disparate identity, but instead living out a spiritual relationship with it.

## Conclusion

Sources of Māori well-being also extend to include reo or language, whānau or community, tikanga or culture and traditions, and the topic of this thesis, whenua (M. Durie, 1994). However, colonisation caused disruption to all of these sources of well-being; many Māori became separated and detached (Walker, 2004). Each source of well-being, in its own right and as an interconnected network, requires in-depth discussion and analysis. The topic of this

research placed the focus on land, although I acknowledge the wider linkages between the various sources they are an interrelated and complex system, making it difficult to completely separate land as distinct, isolated components. Land also has a dynamic interplay. Where one is impacted, positively or negatively, the others suffer or flourish too.

This chapter explored the multiple dimensions of well-being between land and people. These six relationship types – Belonging, Emotions, Influence, Nourishment, Guardianship, Spirituality – demonstrate land as a significant and vital source of well-being and potentiality for Māori. The purpose of focusing on land as a source of well-being offers a rational, and historical context for the current disruptions to the modern management of the Māori land trust. Understanding the nature of land well-being is essential to understanding the nature of disruption to Māori land trust management. The word well-being is mostly used as a generic term for the condition of an individual or a group. It refers to the extent a person or community manifests their holistic aspirations for living a meaningful existence and healthy life.

**Māori Land March 1975**

What will I wear? What can I afford to wear?
Will my landlord keep my flat for me in Dunedin?
This long walk. What a hell of thing.
I need to have sack. Who will lend me one?
I might have to carry my gear in a sugar bag
with flax tied to the bottom corners. No sweat.
I need a rain coat. Who will trust me with one with the immense time of spring when the showers bless the earth?
I'm old. Already wrinkles sprayed inexorably.
Inching, inching. And not all of them laughter lines
What a hell of walk. It won't be a lonely walk.
People all around, and mostly young.
From blue, brown, with bits more added, right on up to off-white.
Jesus. How self-conscious can you get?
Like man, I only want to walk the last distance right.
Yeah. And all the different people worrying differently, separately about the decision and the action of commitment.
They each have taken to grab the burning but elusive star together.
And together, not knowing what lies at the end of the star's reach.
Together, not knowing whether they will get a punch in the face at the end of the road, with much pain, learned it is just the beginning.
My feet are begining to ache already
The cracks on my Maori feet are begining to widen
My blood turned on. Do not laugh.
Laugh only when the blisters fade with the jaded politicians and their cunning.
Laugh only when the small spy's, soft pies, pie eyed freckled ladies and their mafia men with dark glasses are dug out like bed bugs from a mask.
Watchful, watchful.
I need to have a sack. Who will lend me one?
I need a raincoat, who will trust me in the time of spring when flower clamour for the yellow and the blue, the red, the green the life giving earth.
What a good time to take a walk.

Hone Tuwhare

Poem written by Hone Tuwhare on the eve of the 1975 Māori land march led by Whina Cooper. The primary aim of the hīkoi was to protest the continued alienation of Māori land.

# Chapter 6: Aims and Objectives

This chapter describes the findings emerging from this thesis and a theory of disrupted Māori management. Gathered and accumulated evidence from participant data, mātauranga or Māori knowledge and a literature review form a multi-level theory that bridges micro-, meso- and macro- levels and shed light on the relationship between individual, organisational, and societal processes in the Māori land trust. The three levels clustered together generate disrupted Māori management theory. This chapter gives an outline of each level and a conceptual identity for the theory. To synchronise with the overall concept of the Ūkaipō Equation, later addressed more fully in this thesis, disrupted Maori management theory is also termed the Tapahi Block. However the two phrasings disrupted Māori management theory and Tapahi Block are interchangeable. As a term, disrupted Maori management theory is utilised more in this chapter to represent the scholarly process involved with its formation.

## The Tapahi Block

The interview process in this research revealed the severing or rupturing of a connection to attached land relationships, felt, reflected and commented on by all participants. The notion of severance appeared many times both in the data analysis and literature review. Most of the interviewees talked about their feelings and experiences:

- I think [my whānau are] very disengaged and detached from [the land]; their memories are fading, and they're more in reminiscence mode – Tītoki.
- We've become disjointed and disconnected from the marae [community] back home – Pōhutukawa.
- For the majority of things that I see in this job it goes past [healthy conflict] and becomes destructive, very destructive, almost to the point of splitting, tearing families apart – Maire.
- [Māori] completely have been detached from their whenua for a long time ... I really dislike those words [shareholder and stakeholder] because it has a strong element of detachment

> and I feel that detachment, it never heals unless we change the view of Māori land ... I feel like the [Treaty] settlement process is just another layer of further detachment – Ngutu Kākā.
>
> - We've lost a lot of the connections to the whenua and to tikanga Māori [customs], to who we are – Mānuka.

These examples, and many others used powerful words such as severing, detachment, splitting, cut off, being apart, lost connections and disconnection. Interview participant Kōwhai also highlights a disconnection through a metaphorical interpretation of the umbilical connection to land, and the feeling of himself and his children being cut off or severed from it:

> "When you look at the word whenua, its umbilical connection, some people, have had that umbilical severed, until some time, when we can reconcile that connection, that umbilical to all people who can whakapapa [geneology] to this place, to this land, to the mana whenua in this land, we will always carry that grievance, and the land will always be a fight. Why, because it becomes a symbol of dispossession, that umbilical, that whenua has been cut for me, and my children, and my children to come" – Kōwhai.

This 'disrupted discourse' recurred through all interviews, strongly suggesting the need to probe further the theme of disruption.

The word attachment also threads through all the research for this thesis. Attachments are vital relationships that individuals and communities attach to, or bond to, for survival and well-being. They can be both tangible – family, land – and intangible – culture, customs, and language. In psychology, attachment is the emotional bond between the infant and primary caregiver (Bowlby, 1980). This intense bond is vital for a child's normal behavioural and social development. The attachment system is a biologically predisposed function of evolution, where the relationship is vital for infant survival.

This research employs attachment in a similar way, but includes a broader meaning of any relationship and emotional bonds that occur at multiple levels by individuals and communities who attach for survival and well-being purposes. Attachment can be described as the emotional, spiritual and biological attachments individuals and/or communities form with each other, their culture, customs, language and land, linked to survival and their well-being. Attachment relationships therefore need to be safeguarded and protected and the concept embodies terms such as connection and belonging. Mate (2010) describes attachment as a psychological term for love, a bond that involves a desire for regular contact with a person and the experience of distress during separation from that person. Attachment in this research is an all-encompassing term for the complex system of fundamental human relationships needed for survival.

## A Multi-level Theory - Theoretical Dimensions

Disrupted Māori management theory is a multi-level theory. Disrupted Māori management theory consists of three aggregate theoretical dimensions. While each dimension comprises some unique qualities, overlapping properties also exist. Similar to interlacing threads, the dimensions interweave with each other in complex ways. The separation into three dimensions attempts to assist with the analytical and conceptual clarity. Interview data indicate this conflict occurs at multiple levels. Conflict can occur horizontally within each level, and also vertically across and between levels.

Disrupted Māori management theory describes the antecedents and consequences of Māori land disruptions, and makes an explicit link to barriers and obstacles to the current organisational management of that land. Understanding the causes and antecedents to the

conflict that reside within Māori land-based organisations is complex and must be considered as a multi-level phenomenon.

The management of Māori land consists of an ecosystem of mutually interdependent relationships across multiple levels. Disrupted Māori management theory explains human behaviour within an ecosystem of actors, activities and resources. It is, therefore, a bio-psycho-social-cultural phenomenon. Grasping all these dimensions is complex. The bio element concerns the physiological aspect of humans. The psychological component relates to the emphasis on the emotions, cognitions, thoughts and behaviours of the self. The social component refers to the way populations and communities experience disruption. The cultural aspect indicates strong individualistic feelings embedded in a cultural milieu. Conceptualising disrupted Māori management theory is not something that can be exclusively psychological, social, biological or cultural. Disrupted Māori management theory must be considered as an ecosystem or web of these interrelated components.

Figure 8 represents the data analysis process and shows the data structure, highlighting the categories and themes from which the theory has developed. The process began with the grouping of codes into first order categories. Axial coding was then used to search for and identify relationships between and among first-order concepts (Corbin & Strauss, 1990). First order categories collapsed into a smaller number of second-order themes. Data analysis was not a linear process but proceeded iteratively, moving between and among data from mātauranga and the literature to find emerging patterns. This took place until the themes became refined enough to form conceptual themes (Eisenhardt, 1989). The result is a synthesis anchored both empirically in the data, supported by mātauranga and theoretically in the

literature. Three levels of disruption also began to emerge in the data, leading to three theoretical dimensions at the macro-, meso-, and micro- level.

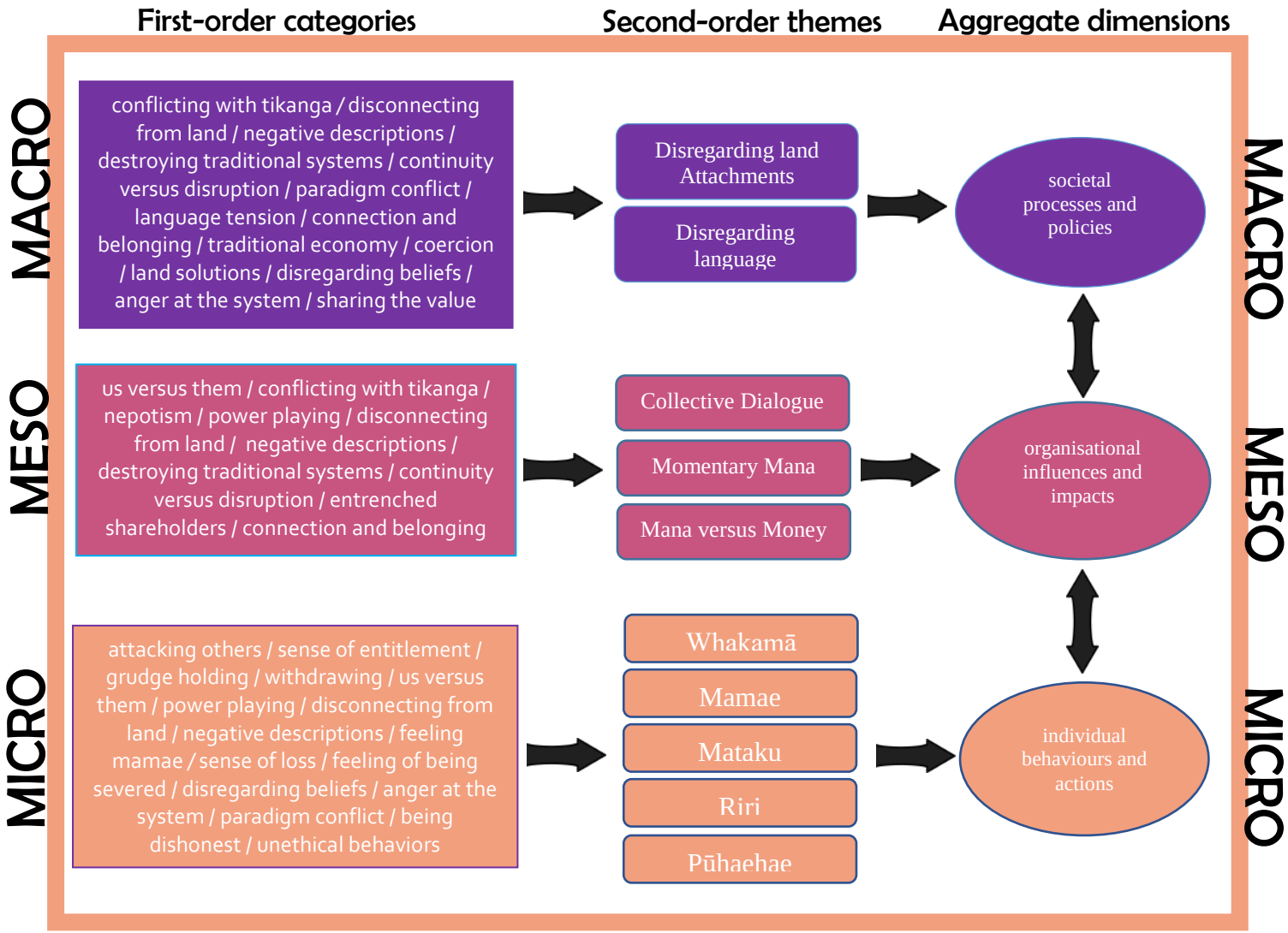



*Figure 8: The Tapahi Block - Disrupted Māori Management Theory*

## Transference Across Generations

Disrupted Māori management theory attempts to link current management issues and complexities with the past.

> "Māori land it can make or break you, it can divide families and unite subtribes, when we inherit land, sometimes we inherit debt, sometimes we inherit feuds, but it is our birth right, lest we forget, people will perish, but the land remains forever." (Morehu, 2016)

Several research participants spoke of the notion of inheriting the multifaceted elements that come with land and the past, such as feuds, debt, mamae or pain, which can continue over a lifetime and through the generations. Tōtara commented, "that generation who saw and felt and were a part of that loss, it's still there", and Tītoki stated "within our own families, those [negative] experiences still materialise to this day." Similarly Harakeke spoke of how "people want to resurrect the past", and Karaka noted "all those historic grievances, sort of come out, and play out". Other theorists who support the transference or inherited legacies include Duran, Firehammer and Gonzalez (2008), who note, "If the historical soul wounding is not effectively dealt with, each person, as well as her or his descendants, is doomed to experience and perpetuate various forms of psychic and spiritual suffering in the future" (p. 288). Understanding the causes for perpetuation and continued cycles of disruption requires an unpacking of the varying complex social, cultural, biological, neurological, psychological and sociological factors that combine to generate negative expressions, behaviour and manifestations of trauma (Haskell & Randall, 2009).

> "what human beings cannot contain of their experience — what has been traumatically overwhelming, unbearable, unthinkable — falls out of social discourse, but very often on to and into the next generation as an affective sensitivity or a chaotic urgency." (Fromm, 2011, p. xvi)

Legacies are passed on through such means as subconscious cues or affective messages. These can be stories recounted from one generation to the next, neurological transmission and adoption of parenting styles. Emotions triggered in the present may have a bearing on an individual from the past, affecting choices made towards the future. 'Transferred disruptions' refers to the transmission of macro-, meso- and micro- disruptions at the individual level, in collective populations, and across generations.

Advances in the disciplines of psychology, psychiatry, neuroscience and medicine have helped to understand better how transference occurs, as well as the pervasive and far-reaching effects of macro-, meso- and micro- disruptions across generations. This supports the notion of intergenerational transmission of macro-, meso- and micro- level disruptions, providing links to historical events, land disruption and the present management of Māori land. A brief description of each dimension follows and how it transfers across generations, but more elaborate descriptions of their properties and characteristics are discussed and clarified over the next three chapters.

## Macro-level disruptions

Macro-level analyses are large scale social processes that trace the outcomes of interactions, such as economic or other resource transfer interactions over large populations. Examples of macro-level units of analysis include, nation, society, civilisations and global phenomena. Macro-level disruptions refer to the deliberate and systematic practices, policies and actions imposed by a dominant population upon a community or population through force, suppression and subjugation. Macro-level transmissions explain the role of social institutions or society on

disruptive transference across generations. It refers to the ways that a group of people tend to pass on information, or how a culture socialises knowledge and learning. Macro-level processes of colonisation are the forced practices, policies and actions on people that disregard and disrupt individual or community attachment relationships. This dimension explores the macro-level disruptions to the Whenua BEINGS relationships, through the formalisation of the Māori land trust. Two key components are addressed: the underlying imperialist British ideology behind the institution now known as the Māori land trust, and the perpetuation of disruptive actions, through current processes, policies and terminology first implemented by the Native Land Court. Evidence from the data and literature shows that Māori land alienation practices and policies was a tool that disrupted Māori ties with land.

A number of terms and concepts exist to explain macro-level transmissions. Structural violence is a macro-level analysis that refers to social and economic inequalities reproduced by the complex structure of political, educational and health systems. Disparate access to resources, capabilities, education or health care, for example, are forms of structural violence. Structural violence exposes the role of large-scale embedded forces of political and economic organisations on individual suffering and distress. These structural designs become violent because they constrain individual agency, restricting the development of resources which enable social progress (Farmer et al., 2006).

Coined by Johan Galtung and other liberation theologians in the 1960s, structural violence described the constraint on human potential by social structures. For this thesis, structural violence is used to describe actions preventing Māori from reaching whānau potentiality. Economic, political, legal, religious and cultural institutions inhibit, hinder and prevent

individuals, groups, and collectives of people from reaching potential. According to Galtung, it is the "avoidable impairment of fundamental human needs or…the impairment of human life, which lowers the actual degree to which someone is able to meet their needs below that which would otherwise be possible" (Galtung, 1993 cited in Farmer, Nizeye, Stulac, & Keshavjee, 2006). Inequality is perpetuated across generations when societies deny responsibility. Society plays a role when it continues to disregard Indigenous values and belief systems and refutes any obligation to apply policies that seek to address and remedy the dysfunction. Haskell and Randell comment on this:

> "One of the more insidious ways that marginalization and relative social powerlessness get reinforced and further entrenched is through the mainstream tendency to deny any social responsibility for producing the very conditions producing this marginalization and powerlessness, while simultaneously holding those so affected responsible for their own situation." (2009, p. 66)

Without political and societal acknowledgement, resources and energies are not afforded to addressing inequality and the root cause, becoming yet another form of structural violence. In relation to whānau potentiality, structural violence is often embedded in longstanding "ubiquitous social structures, normalised by stable institutions and regular experience" (Christie & Winter, 2008, p. 123). Structural violence can be an invisible force, seemingly ordinary, normalised and commonplace.

## Meso-level Disruptions

The meso-level analyses a population size that falls between the micro- and macro-levels, such as tribes, clans, community or an organisation. Meso-level may also bridge analyses and reveal connections between micro- and macro-levels. In this thesis, meso-level analysis of the data revealed tension in the Māori land trust at the organisation level. I present the themes within

the tensions on a continuum: collective dialogue versus elected governance, momentary power versus absolute power, and mana versus money. Each theme contains sub-themes. The data coding process identifies and labels these as 'frictions'. Māori land trust frictions are discordant and grating actions, processes, and structures between two different organising systems, rubbing against each other and leading to dysfunctional conflict or animosity.

Meso-level transmissions can occur in family systems perpetuated through communication between generations.

> "We get learned behaviour, through the whakapapa [genealogy] experience because you poked me in the eye last century, I've got issue this century. When I was growing up I remember specifically people who were whānau members talking about other relative families, about, oh, those people always take the cutlery from the marae [communal centers], or plates always go missing or that family never pays their debts. Now I know that that's a kōrero tukuiho [passed down conversation], I know, that was somebody making a comment, about somebody before them, who has made that comment, and someone made that before them, and so it manifests, and I see that behaviour being passed down" – Kauri.

Kauri's comment reflects the transmission of a negative experience with another whānau, and how that message resurfaces and repeats over time through subsequent communication through generations. Each whānau has patterns of interaction that pass down the norms, values, attitudes and behaviours specific to land blocks. The key element of meso-level transmissions are learned through participation, or enculturated learning:

> "I've seen that kind of clash it's usually to do with historical things. If there's issues that have come out personally because one family had a raruraru [problem] with another family that can come in between, to actually grind the trust to a halt" – Rimu.

Whānau systems play an important role in providing the context for many land issues and problems. They become the bearer of past and historical knowledge. Based on a shared

whakapapa or genealogy from a common ancestor, the concept and experience of whānau carries much broader and wider understandings that cross generational and temporal dimensions. The classic Māori whānau of the 18th and 19th centuries has been described as an autonomous socio-economic unit that worked together on a day to day basis and was tied by kinship. However, contemporary understandings have broadened even further, which can now include collectives of people who share common values and goals (Cunningham et al., 2005).

## Micro-level Disruptions

The smallest unit of analysis is the micro-level, representing the individual in his or her social setting. Micro-level disruptions are the injuries, harms and wrongs done to an individual and can explain the myriad and innumerable ways in which Indigenous individuals, populations, and communities experience trauma, grievance and frustration. This chapter addresses individual behavioural consequences of disrupting Māori as Whenua BEINGS. Interviews and other data showed that whakamā/shame emerged as a primary driver of negative behavioural and emotional consequences of disrupting Māori from their land. Four other emotional states emerged at the micro-level disruption: pōuritanga/grief, mataku/fear, riri/anger and pūhaehae/mistrust. I discuss each and their implications for whānau potentiality and Māori land trust management.

Micro-level transmission of disruptions are best explained by psychodynamic theories. These emphasise a study of the cognitive and emotional aspects of human behaviour, both at conscious and unconscious states. These theories commonly hold that childhood experiences shape personalites. An important milestone in the study of psychodynamic behaviour and

human development was John Bowlby's 'attachment theory'. Bowlby (1958, 1969) suspected an evolutionary force underpinned child and primary attachment relationships (usually with the mother), explaining that because an infant is born altricial and completely dependent, innate, primal behaviours drove their interactions, or what is commonly referred to as the attachment system. To increase chances of survival, a child's proximity to a primary caregiver became vital, especially as a form of providing protection from predators, a source of nourishment, and learning social interaction needed for development. From an evolutionary perspective, infant and primary caregiver became biologically predisposed to attachment behaviours encouraging interactive closeness to each other.

Attachment was discovered as a biologically evolved phenomenon (Cassidy, 1999). Mary Ainsworth later joined with Bowlby, becoming the first researchers to study attachment empirically. Attachments later became defined as "an affectional tie that one person or animal forms between himself and another specific one – a tie that binds them together in space and endures over time" (Ainsworth & Bell, 1970, p. 50). The quality of an attachment relationship impacts and effects an individual's ability to relate to and trust others. The discovery of quality attachments and their pervasive impact across a person's lifespan is attributed to the work of Bell and Ainsworth (1972). They showed how upset children, who were responded to more quickly and regularly over time, cried less frequently than those of less responsive and reactive mothers. Applying ethological principles, they conducted two naturalistic observation studies driven by a need to understand why some babies cry less (Salter, Bell, & Stayton, 1991). The quality of the attachment was determined by the sensitivity responsiveness of the primary caregiver and defined as the "ability to perceive and interpret accurately the signals and communications in the infant's behavior and, given this understanding, to respond to them

appropriately and promptly" (Ainsworth, Bell, & Stayton, 1974, p. 127). The discoveries became renowned for identifying different strategies in infants and their patterns of attachment (Ainsworth, Blehar, Waters, & Wall, 2015). However, these patterns of attachment, formed early in the infant years, also influence a person's subsequent relationships in adulthood. Ainsworth identified secure and insecure attachment styles, formed by the early experiences of childhood and related to the primary caregiver's maternal sensitivity and responsiveness. Attachments behaviours, classify into several categories, each with unique characteristics: securely attached, insecurely avoidant, insecurely ambivalent, and disorganised attachment (Main & Solomon, 1986).

Other micro-level analysis includes neurophysiological studies that have made advances in linking chemical changes and adaptions in trauma victims (Yellow Bird, 2013), where "the survival response system will become chronically activated, resulting in long-term effects on the developing brain and body" (Haskell & Randall, 2009, p. 56). The transmission is thought to predispose a person's trauma because of their genetic and/or biochemical etiology (Kellermann, 2001). Parents can pass to children acquired or epigenetic characteristics, especially traumatic occurrences, such as the effects of starvation or persecution. (Kellermann, 2013).

### Macro-, Meso-, Micro- Disruptions

Historical trauma theory is an example of a multi-level theory incorporating macro-, meso- and micro-level analyses. It shows how all three levels can integrate both sociological and psycholgical phenomnena to describe and explain collective trauma. Historical trauma theory is a relatively new concept which attempts to incorporate sociological perspectives with past

trauma (Brave Heart, 2003; Brave Heart & DeBruyn, 1998, 1999; Pihama et al., 2014; Sotero, 2006; Wirihana & Smith, 2014). The intellectual roots of applying historical trauma theory to Indigenous populations stem from the investigation of Jewish Holocaust survivor literature by Brave Heart and DeBruyn (1998). The concept is mostly theoretical and qualitative in nature, and some researchers believe it lacks empirical evidence to support validity (Whitbeck, Adams, Hoyt, & Chen, 2004). Yet its explanatory power for human behaviour resonates with Indigenous communities intuitively making sense of their experience (Sotero, 2006).

The theory explains how mass trauma stems from heinous and unjust acts such as slavery, war, genocide or colonisation. Such acts create trauma symptoms, such as higher incidences of disease, depression or suicide, including across generations after the event has occurred (Sotero, 2006). Defined as "the cumulative and collective psychological and emotional injury sustained over a lifetime and across generations resulting from massive group trauma experiences" (Brave Heart, 1999, p. 60), the theory has accounted for the appalling Native American "legacy of chronic trauma and unresolved grief across generations" (Brave Heart & DeBruyn, 1998, p. 60).

A number of Māori scholars have used historical trauma theory to account for events in Aotearoa New Zealand (Pihama et al., 2014; Wirihana & Smith, 2014). Whakapapa, or Māori genealogical knowledge refers to the layers of generation built upon one another. Whakapapa is also a macro-, meso- and micro- level framework for understanding the relationship of people to the entire world. Whakapapa was associated as tapu or sacred to protect its oral transmission. Patterns or genetic and hereditary traits were observed over generations, and held as knowledge to inform behaviour:

> "There's aspects of us that we know that a part of our tipuna [ancestors] are here with us. Even our mannerisms, when you look at the mokos [grandchildren], sometimes you see, that kuia [grandmother] in that mokopuna [grandchild], and the bubba's only about that high. Those are wairua [spiritual] things, they come from that space" – Kauri.

Whakapapa is a recognised body of knowledge that accounts for Māori understandings of biological transmissions from one generation to the next.

## Conclusion

The purpose of this research was to generate a theory grounded in data that explains the management dysfunction pervading many Māori land trust across New Zealand. However, considerable complexity exists with the management of Māori land trusts attributed to a number of intricate and multi-faceted issues. This chapter presents the empirical foundation for disrupted Māori management theory, a new multi-level theory for understanding dysfunctional management and its impact within the Māori land trust. The theory is divided into three broad categories: macro, meso and micro. Macro level analyses is the large scale effect on entire communities and systems. Meso level happens on an intermediate scale, involving tribe, communities, institutions or other smaller groups. Micro level disruption happens directly to individuals. Disrupted Māori management theory attempts to understand conflict in the Māori land trust by understanding the disruption at each level and how it can affect across and between the levels. Essentially it is a bridging theory, offering a holistic and whole encompassing explanation for Māori land trust conflict. Transmission theories help to provide some understanding of where behaviours operating in the Māori land trust stem from. Thus, land issues in the present are often rooted in the past, handed down by generations. The Tapahi Block is an overall term used to describe the disruption process of the Maori land trust.

# Wāhanga Tuawhitu

## Disruptions: Macro – level

*He kau ra. He kau ra! U—u!*

*He kau Kāwana koe.*

*Kai mīti mai te raurekau*

*A he kau ra. He kau ra! U—u—u!*

You're an animal. A cattle beast. Moo! moo!

You are a bullock, O Governor,

munching up the lowland forest.

A beast oh, a beast! Moo—oo—oo!

A ngeri of the 1860s' Kingite movement, mocking the Pakeha's greed for land.

# Chapter 7: Aims and Objectives

Whenua BEINGS describes how land was a vital survival connection and sources of well-being for Māori. This chapter considers macro-level disruptions to explore how those sources of well-being were cut. It introduces as a macro-level disruption various lands acts and the Native Land Court. Land alienation is already the subject of considerable scholarly attention, however much of it is as a legal-historical critique (Boast, 2008; Gilling, 1994; Kawharu, 1977; Stokes, 2002; Williams, 1999). In this chapter the focus is on how the Native Land Court disregarded Māori land relationships. This chapter, examines the role of the Native Land Court in severing the Māori–land tie. It addresses two key components: the British imperialist ideologies underpinning the historical formation of what is now known as the Māori land trust; and the perpetuation of those severing actions, through current processes, policies and terminology, still implemented in the Māori land trust today.

Although, this research highlights the negative and demoralising experience of the physical, spiritual and emotional loss, Māori were not passive victims. Fighting for tino rangatiratanga or self-determination and autonomy, resisting colonisation, empowerment movements, and revitalisation have always been, and remain, a key focus of Māori (O'Malley, 1998). In this ongoing struggle, Māori have long displayed incredibly innovative and adaptive capabilities to changing environmental circumstances (Petrie, 2006).

## Macro-level Disruptions

Macro-level disruptions have their roots in colonisation. They refer to systematic practices, policies and actions deliberately imposed upon a community by a dominant population through

force, suppression and subjugation. The disruptions can be historical and contemporary – the effects of colonisation are long-term and pervasive.

The progression of colonisation usually began with a metropolitan center or foreign power which ruled a distant territory through implanting settlements into a new colony. In the form of legal, political and/or physical domination, colonisation established control and power in a territory by subordinating the local population. The colonisation process covers four phases: a forced, involuntary entry; the alteration or complete annihilation of the colonised culture; the governance of the colonised by representatives of the dominant group; and the buttressing of the new system through institutional structures (Marger, 2014).

Colonisers use a number of tools to subordinate groups. Examples endured by Indigenous cultures include forced residential schooling, removal and displacement from native lands, punishment and chastisement for speaking native languages and ethnic genocide. Of particular interest in this research is the Native Lands Act 1862 which eventually morphed into the Te Ture Whenua Act 1993, and the Native Land Court, established in 1865 (now known as the Māori Land Court). The Native Land Court provided for the conversion of traditional communal landholdings into individual titles, making it easier for the Crown to purchase Māori land. These are a macro-level disruption of forced practices, policies, and actions that sever people from land relationships.

Whenua BEINGS, as discussed in the previous chapter, connect and centre the human experience to a particular territory. Colonialism is the desire of a dominant culture to acquire new territory, often resulting in obtaining land previously occupied or owned by other people.

The acquisition of New Zealand land facilitated valuable resource procurement and essential labour to support the growing colonial economy (Gilling, 1993; Williams, 1999). Legislation, along with land acquisition and accumulation, assisted the colonisers' need to establish power and authority, and to provide resources for waves of British migrants hungry for land (Williams, 1999). This would, it was believed, "greatly promote the peaceful settlement of the Colony and the advancement and civilisation of the Native" (Stokes, 2002, p. 11). Most contemporary authors consider the Native Land Acts 1862/1865, and the Native Land Court, an institutional product of these acts (Gilling, 1994; Stokes, 2002; Williams, 1999) as a brutal instrument (Kawharu, 1977; Stokes, 2002; Williams, 1999). Boast (2008), and Williams (1999) have described the various processes by which the Native Lands Act 1862 and 1865 facilitated the mass transfer of Māori land into Pākehā ownership. Māori became the 'chief sufferers' (Sorrenson, 1955), paying the heavy social, cultural and economic cost of imperialist notions of human advancement and civilisation.

## The Native Land Court

Sir Edward Durie, a former Māori land court judge, once said, "Should the story of Māori land be kept from the children … lest they learn not the love of land but only the painful reality of severance"? (Asher & Naulls, 1987, p. 2). Emotional pain is linked to the severance of the Māori–land tie. Modern historians and especially Māori claimants to the Waitangi Tribunal pinpoint the Native Land Court as one of the tools responsible for that disruption. The Court was famously denounced by Sir Hugh Kawharu in 1977 as "a veritable engine of destruction" (p. 15); Williams (1999) provocatively titled his book *Te Kooti Tango Whenua* (The Land Taking Court), and Māori historian Professor Ranginui Walker called it "an artifice for legalised theft" (Pouwhare, 2011).

The New Zealand settler government's dominant colonial ideologies and desire for land led to the establishment of the Native Land Court in 1865. The primary function of the Native Lands Act 1862 and 1865 was to extinguish Māori customary land tenure and transfer it to individualised titles that would become identifiable and recognisable in British law. The Native Land Court, established under the Native Lands Act 1862, was key to this. It was part of a wider British colonial policy rooted in a belief in the superiority of British civilisation. The colonising process sought to help 'civilise' the 'semi-barbaric' Indigenous occupants of New Zealand (Loveridge, 1996), by ridding them of their 'beastly communism' (Williams, 1999).

Such views were based upon several beliefs and aims:

a) The belief that British institutions and culture were innately superior, and it was in the best interests of Māori to assimilate;
b) The desire to create an ideal British society in New Zealand;
c) The introduction of British laws and internalising colonial values; and
d) The settlers' desire for land resulting in land alienation from Māori.
(New Zealand Law Commission, 2001, p. 22)

The Native Land Court set about investigating title to land – a concept unknown to Māori. The investigation of a title began with a person lodging in writing a notice of their claim to a piece of land; it would then be publically notified and set down for a hearing. Everyone with an interest in that claim was expected to present evidence. The court would determine the rightful owners of that territory.

The procedure and beliefs on which it was based directly contrasted understandings of Māori customary tenure, where a block of land and decisions regarding it were held with the collective

group. The Native Lands Act 1865 instead established the 'Ten Owner System', whereby no more than ten owners could be named on the title, disregarding and discounting whether more than ten owners had rights to a block. The rights of all those who may have been disinherited through this process will never be known. Each owner then acquired individual interests in the block, which entitled them to the legal right to sell, without consultation or approval from other whānau or hapū members. An 1873 amendment extended the number of title owners (Stokes, 2002), but led to more complications of fragmentation and absentee ownership. Considerable complexities involved transforming Māori customary land to individualised title. This resulted in the passing of laws which were conflicting, contradictory, difficult to understand and apply, and further compounded by difficulties of translation (Williams, 1999).

Prior to the Native Lands Act 1865, settlers had difficulty obtaining land; the Native Land Court smoothed the way to land acquisition. Between 1840 and 1865, the Crown purchased most land under the right of pre-emption, meaning only the Crown could buy Māori land. The Crown then onsold land, sometimes gaining large profits, to private investors. The Native Lands Act waived the right of pre-emption established under the Treaty of Waitangi and the waiver enabled land agents to deal directly with individual Māori. The change is now considered a breach of the spirit and intentions under which the Treaty was agreed.

The mass transfer of Māori land passed through the Native Land Court, with 13 million acres becoming alienated through sales to the Crown and private purchasers (Williams, 1999). Boast (2008) describes the calamitous period as "a tsunami of Crown purchasing crashing over a people who were in very difficult circumstances" (p. xv). Jane Kelsey, who argues for the full recognition of the Treaty of Waitangi, claimed that "this country was built on dispossessing

Māori" (Pouwhare, 2011). Williams (1999) sums up the Native Land Court effects on Māori and their land:

1. Māori groups losing control of their land, with individuals selling land without the consent of the Māori group;
2. Individuals being omitted from land titles, and /or endured by the actions of those in who the land was vested;
3. Land titles becoming cluttered with multiple owners, each having an undivided interest, making it difficult to deal with the land. There was little provision for Māori to develop alternative ownership structures such as trusts;
4. Unfair outcomes for some Māori groups and individual owners;
5. Māori losing their land through unfair practices of government agents, or because the Crown did not adequately protect them from the actions of private buyers; and
6. Māori having to pay excessive costs to participate in the Court process. (Williams, 1999, pp. 6–7)

## Disregarding Land Relationships

Colonisation is based on a doctrine of cultural supremacy and hierarchy. The coloniser's imperialist ideologies become the starting point to understanding the nature of severing Māori land relationships. The nature of psychological states of superiority create an inability to recognise alternative worldviews, and other ways of existing and living a meaningful life. The term 'othering' has been used to describe the psychological process of reducing and excluding social groups who do not fit or are dissimilar to the self (Ashcroft, Griffiths, & Tiffin, 1998). Thus, the coloniser's practice and policies serve to re-enforce their own paradigms, while ignoring or disregarding the value of others (Memmi, Sartre, & Miller, 1991).

Colonisation becomes a form of oppression, where the Indigenous culture is often dehumanised, reduced to the status of animals; Māori were often referred to as barbaric, uncivilised savages. A view of Māori as a lower, less evolved form of humanity, justified and rationalised in the coloniser's mind, the dominating actions that repressed and removed Māori institutions, beliefs, and culture. Therefore, accounting for and recognising a traditional Māori land tenure system in the establishment of New Zealand's land legislation was neither considered nor deliberated. The coloniser perceived Māori to belong to an inferior culture, so Māori could not participate in formation of policies in the Native Land. Their own land aspirations and traditional governance structures over land went unconsidered (Williams, 1999).

Consequently, land legislation was enforced and imposed; it was neither consultative, collaborative nor co-operative. Arguably, Māori could have refused to engage with Native Land Court proceedings. However, two distressing events in New Zealand history accentuated Māori levels of anxiety and apprehension about the future of their lands: the New Zealand Land Wars and Raupatu – land confiscations.

Warfare between British colonial troops (with some Māori allies) and Māori tribes during the 1860s and 1870s became known as the New Zealand Land Wars. The settler government reacted by punishing Māori – considered as 'rebels' – through land confiscation or Raupatu. Some of New Zealand's worst land atrocities ensued. The Crown 'legally' took land under the New Zealand Settlements Act 1863, intending to re-allocate it for the settlement of British soldiers. Many tribes, especially Waikato and Taranaki, suffered massive loss from the process (Boast & Hill, 2010).

Overpowered and overwhelmed, many Māori were physically and psychologically defeated by the land confiscation experience. Even those tribes which escaped the brunt of Raupatu were left with a bitter reminder of the worst that could happen if they engaged in resistance strategies. The haunting remnants and effects of the Raupatu made most Māori anxious, forcing them to accept Native Land Court procedures. The looming omnipresence of the New Zealand Land Wars and the Raupatu created a fretfulness for Māori to secure their remaining land. An inherent fear of losing any rights to land by not participating in Native Land Court shadowed the Māori psyche. Williams (1999) ironically suggests that the Raupatu enabled a sense of collective unity, in the face of a Native Land Court that caused disruption, feuds, and contest between Māori and whanau. Under the cloud of fear and anxiety, Māori manifested undesirable behaviours when entering into court proceedings, such as greed, and false evidence to secure land.

Imperialist notions of cultural superiority meant situations requiring empathetic action went overlooked. Parliamentary debates and media reporting on Native Land Court actions and policies reflected not just a general disregard for Māori as Whenua BEINGS, but indicate a sense of neglect and disdain for Māori well-being. For example, the Court process took little account of financial pressures on Māori and the stress of court attendance (Stokes, 2002). Some contemporaries saw the effects on attending court hearings:

> "men and woman have abandoned all work and all industrious occupation … for the most part they have for years past lived in tents or slept on the ground with the shelter merely of a wind break. They have been made to do this by having to run from one part of the country to the other end after land courts. They have had to live on wretched watery foods, and the only relief from the utter misery of their surroundings is in getting

> drunk. What wonder is it that they should die like rotten sheep and the children born to them should linger out a short life?" (New Zealand Herald, 1885)

Māori sometimes experienced extreme suffering and deprivation to attend hearings, and this distress could be transferred to their children. The relationships entwined in the Whenua BEINGS wheel, and the emotional charged behaviours associated with land explain the extreme lengths Māori went to in order to protect land interests.

The price of attending these sittings contributed to the breakdown and disruption of family systems. The most capable and competent adults left the hub of tribal life, taking with them their valuable labour and daily contributions to communal living. Notwithstanding the quote noted above, the emotional, psychological and economic price paid by Māori to attend court sittings were ignored or unnoticed. Their belief in their superiority made colonisers unable to empathise with people differentiated as the 'other'. Thus Māori waiting for claims to be heard could incur enormous expense:

> "No one knows when the block in which he is interested will be called so that all he can do is wait with patience until his turn comes. In this very waiting, weeks and sometimes months are passed, and unless the land in which they are interested are of considerable value, more money is expended in securing them than they are worth." (New Zealand Herald, 1883)

Court processes and policy around surveying became a discriminatory device against Māori, creating prejudicial bias towards settlers wanting to purchase land. Onerous and expensive surveying was at a direct cost to Māori, usually debited against the land block from which they were claiming title. (Gilling, 1994). Qualified and licensed surveyors were needed to map out the land, with the cost to be met entirely by Māori, and many were forced into debt as a consequence. Other associated costs included living expenses such as food and accommodation

to attend lengthy court sittings. “When the debts were called in, Māori paid in land” (Waitangi Tribunal, 2002, pp. 307–308), creating yet another cycle of deprivation.

Sorrenson’s (1955) research exposed the wastefulness and exploitation Māori suffered due to rapacious opportunists waiting for claims to be heard in court; the Native Land Court was a ‘scandal’, he suggests. Cases were long, going on for months, where enormous amounts of wastage in the way of expense, time and energy incurred. Māori sometimes maintained themselves by advances from land-buyers. At the conclusion of court hearings, many Māori had entirely divested themselves of land and spent large amounts of money. Ironically then, fearful of losing land by not defending it in court, Māori engaged with the system to retain their land, but by the same stroke, those same procedures also alienated Māori from it. Many subsequent grievance cases attest to the land loss through debts paid by surveying costs and the paradox of losing land by attempting to retain it.

While problems of financial pressures amassed, actual physical attendance at the Native Land Court sessions also placed Māori at serious risk through contact exposure and susceptibility to illness and disease. Politician Robert Bruce noted:

> “I was perfectly astonished at hearing that a subject of conversation at each hapu I visited was the number of natives dying in consequence of attendance at the Native Land Court at Wanganui.” (New Zealand Parliamentary Debates, 1885, p. 515)

Viewed by some as a breeding ground for sickness and disease, appearance at the Native Land Court left Māori vulnerable to the spread of diseases, thereby reducing Māori capacity to apply any substantial remedies to maintain land. Additionally, Sorrenson (1955) statistically confirmed a correlation between the fate of Māori and their severe decline in population with

Native Land Court attendance. He documented that physical attendance in court seriously threatened the health of Māori through exposure to disease and sickness. Parliamentary debates showed awareness of the devastating consequences for Māori caused by attending sittings of the Native Land Court:

> "We could not devise a more ingenious method of destroying the whole of the Māori race than by these land courts. The natives come from the villages in the interior and have to hang about for months in our centers of population … They are brought into contact with the lowest classes of society and are exposed to temptation; the result is that great numbers contract our diseases and die." (New Zealand Parliamentary Debates, 1885, p. 515)

Sorrenson (1955) argued that the Native Land Court dismissed the demoralising and destructive atmospheres, where "nobody troubled themselves much". Whether Māori illness and disease contracted through attendance was deliberate or an unfortunate by-product of the Native Land Court, the failure of the settler government to integrate Māori concerns, issues and apprehensions into the system, perpetuated and extended its negative effects. The impacts of psychologically holding a superiority status inhibited the settler government's ability to view Māori as peer equals, worthy of collaborating in discussions and co-creating legislation and policies.

The theme of being disregarded resonated through many interviews conducted in this thesis. Reflecting on a Pākehā ancestor, Harakeke noted how professionals took advantage of the dire consequences in which some Māori found themselves:

> "Oh, my grandfather's brother was a lawyer in Wairoa and the only thing that I could see that he got, was a lot of land that wasn't his. Well he got them through people [who] couldn't pay their bills, so the only thing they had to pay for was their land. And that, you know, if you do a lot of research, you'll see that in all our minute books, their shopkeepers or hotel owners because people couldn't pay their bill" – Harakeke.

The quote shows that people used the disadvantage of a vulnerable group as an opportunity for exploitation. Again the settler government's inability to fully understand and incorporate Māori land needs and requirements left Māori susceptible to mistreatment and manipulation. Ample evidence supporting the historical disregard of Māori as Whenua BEINGS exist (Gilling, 1994; Kawharu, 1977; Stokes, 2002; Williams, 1999), however, some participants interviewed still felt this disregard continued to plague modern Māori land issues and aspirations;

> "I do think that the model that comes out of parliament, dominated by Pākehā who don't want Māori to succeed in economic endeavor via the use of their land, that's my hypothesis" – Kahikatea.

Kahikatea challenges the current system of land management, as suppressing Māori economic success, the dominant model, he suggests, disregards Māori aspirations to flourish economically.

In recounting a confiscated family land block story, research participant Rimu explained a long history of the family attachment to land as being disregard and disrespected;

> "The saddest thing about doing the research on this bit of land was how it wasn't really our bit of land ... around about the beginning of the century, our whānau protested about taking our land, so the Government gave us this pittance of this bit of land, and it was the crappiest bit of land and said oh there you go, there's your grievance. And of course we accepted that, and we accepted that it was crap. Compared to our luscious farmland, it was a little bit of land, squashed up against a hill, nothing really can grow on it, swamp as" – Rimu.

The first point Rimu makes is that her family was inadequately compensated; they were returned a tiny land block in exchange for the huge tracts of rich, fertile lands previously confiscated. The inadequate compensation disregards not only the economic value of the land, but fails to acknowledge or recognise the multiple dimensions of land relationships; this insults the mana or integrity of those being compensated. She continued with her story:

> "From 1908, I've been doing the research. I've seen toxic waste, without us being consulted, right behind our marae [communal space], where our eels used to go, dumped around about the 1960s right through to the 1980s. So we've got high toxic pollution over there, covered up. And so now we can't live on it, can't grow anything on it. I think we can possibly live on it. But you know, we take the risk of getting sick and getting cancers" – Rimu.

Rimu's second point reflects how over time her family land continues to be mistreated, and to her, that feels like a direct mistreatment of the landowners themselves. The toxic waste is symbolic of being 'dumped' on personally. The quality of the land relationship has been compromised because the landowners cannot physically engage in activities directly on the land. Lastly, she states:

> "I've also seen on this little stretch of dirt behind our marae [communal space], the power company dumping power, or just without asking to make a road and call it a Pākehā road. And I asked the Council, so who said that you could name it that road, who paid for that road? Oh they did, the Pākehā next door who bought the land next door. And I thought oh, okay and then I saw the power company put some power poles. I go okay well we want rent for those power poles, Oh no, before 1969 you can't do that" – Rimu.

Rimu's third point illustrates how her family do not seem to exist in the eyes of authorities, institutions and neighbouring Pākehā. This interview gave a sense of someone feeling invalidated and unworthy of being properly valued. Invalidating a person or community disrupts the potential of positive and enriching relationships; it creates polarising identities or 'us' versus 'them' scenarios. Again, there is a lack of acknowledgment and consultation, from the past to the present, of wrongs inflicted on these people and their land.

Accounts of disregarded land relationships followed a similar theme in many interviews. Raupō reflected on a historical event in her family:

> "Māori Land Court was the one reason how we lost all our land here. Yeah, so [our ancestor] he was our crown grantee. You know how you had to have six grantees nominated before you could go to the Māori Land Court, they'd only recognise six grantees. The judge would

> choose who those six were. So [our ancestor, became a prominent Māori activist's] right-hand man, who used to kill off a lot of, you know, the enemies, so to speak, and because of his association with [this prominent Māori activist], the [other] crown grantees here were kind of backstabbing [him]. And through that association, that's how our lands were taken from our whānau and given to the loyalists. We suffered through that. And after that battle, when [our ancestor] got home, land had already started to be passed through Māori Land Court. And this is how we lost that whole [land] block, was through the Māori Land Court process" – Raupō.

Although this account is likely to have occurred in the mid-1850s, Raupō's comment – "we suffered through that" – highlights suffering still felt by the current generation. The disregard and invalidation remains a reality. What has occurred in the past is a felt reality of the present descendants of this land.

A key priority of the settler government was to ensure settlement. Part of this process aligned with the practice of colonisation as a sociological process, Māori were to be assimilated or, according to the dominant views of the time, 'civilised' into Pākehā culture (Stokes, 2002) and to abide by the new laws of the settler government (Gilling, 1994). Without exception, every participant in this research had an intense story to tell about the history of their land blocks and of being disregarded by the dominant system. This supports prior Māori land research also showing disruptions and disturbances enabled by the Native Land Court. For example, the Pouakani Report – a historical claim lodged with the Waitangi Tribunal, concerning the operations of the Native Land Court and law in the 19th century – addressed the grievance of 95% or 40,469 hectares of Pouakani land alienated through the courts. Today only a fraction (2387 hectares) remains in Pouakani ownership ("Pouakani History," n.d.). The report notes "the system of Native Land Court investigation of title and individualisation of interests in land, which could be sold piecemeal, contributed largely to social disruption, dissension over issues of mana and territory, massive debts, costly mistakes" (Waitangi Tribunal, 2002, p. 307).

The 19th-century Minister of Justice Henry Sewell summed up the overall intention of the Native Land Court:

> "To bring the great bulk of the land in the Northern Island…within the reach of colonisation and the detribalisation of the Māori – to destroy, if it were possible, the principle of communism upon which their social system is based and which stands as a barrier in the way of all attempts to amalgamate the Māori race into our social and political system." (New Zealand Parliamentary Debates, 1870, p. 361).

According to many interview participants, Sewell's intention that the Native Land Court "destroy … their social system", has been somewhat successful. Research participant Kahikatea reflected on the removal of the safeguarding mechanisms:

> "All the safeguards of a normal kinship system, types of hui [gatherings], rangatira [leaders], tohunga [experts], kaumatua [elders], the ranked people and the status, the old wise old people, all that's been systematically taken apart" – Kahikatea.

The Native Land Court detribalised customary Māori land tenure, and with it, many of the protections and securities deeply embedded within Māori and their land relationships. It replaced – and displaced – what Māori considered to be well-functioning systems. The replacement of traditional Māori land tenure system with colonial legislation, a process continuing to the present, creates tensions and rifts in the functioning of the Māori land trust.

## Disregarding Language

The language of business presents some problems for Māori land management. Such language is characterised by linguistic instrumentalism, which priorities pragmatism and activities that achieve some practical purpose, rather than ideological or relational well-being understandings

of land. A notable aspect of the interviews conducted for this thesis was the inability of the English language to appropriately express the sentiments about Māori as Whenua BEINGS. Ngutu Kākā articulated her concern about the trust structure causing detachment, which directly opposes Māori values of connection and belonging:

> "Being tangata whenua [people of this land], as iwi taketake [Indigenous people], as iwi [tribal nations], as mana whenua [the authority over this territory], is totally different to being a shareholder or a stakeholder. I really dislike those words because it has a strong element of detachment and I feel that detachment is massively associated with this idea of capitalism which is quite the opposite of my understanding of how we've been raised" – Ngutu Kākā.

Ngutu Kākā sees the connection between language and terminology as a form of severing Māori land relationships. Business or management language, she indicates, is a detached language which can perpetuate even more detachment. Research participant Maire also stressed the inability of the language of business to convey a Māori relationship with land:

> "It comes down to the words owner, you know, I'm an owner in this block, who the hell are those trustees that tell me that I can't stand, you know. Then you have to explain to them yes you're an owner of the shares, the actual owner of the land is the Trust. And that concept, where did that come about? It's that one-word 'owner'" – Maire.

The business lexicon treats land as an asset. Assets are most likely to be thought of as objects or resources which generate income, returns or other rewards. For example, assets can be land, buildings, machinery, and equipment (Russell et al., 2012), an item of property owned by a person or company, regarded as having value and available to meet debts, commitments, or legacies. Treating land as an asset reduces it to an object, and it differs from Māori understanding which views land as a mutual maternal relationship. The Māori lexicon supports this relationship, with numerous terminological references to the mother–land combination.

## Conclusion

This chapter shows how various pieces of legislation and the institution of the Native Land Court severed Māori land relationships. Viewed mostly in a negative light by interview participants, the forced land tenure system, structures, and processes were regarded as a form of disconnecting Māori and their intimate relationship with the land. The detrimental aspects of the British colonial system disregarded Māori as Whenua BEINGS, and paid scant heed to policies and actions that severed land attachments. This continues to be an issue, even after 150 years.

# Wāhanga Tuawaru

## Disruptions: Meso-level

**Maranga Ake Ai**

There's a movement, a movement on the street
People moving, they shuffle to the beat.
I hear them talking, they're talking on the street,
Words like 'freedom from oppression'
Cos that's what my people need.
Akuanei, maranga ake ai.
Akuanei, maranga ake ai.
Tū ake maranga ake ai.

How much longer must we keep on talking?
A million miles already and were still walking
All my life I get told about the life of the great
I said how much longer, the more we get up and say
E te iwi, maranga ake ai.
E te iwi maranga ake ai.
Tū ake maranga ake ai.

No more knockin', knockin' on closed doors,
I said Maori people gotta wake up, gotta take up the cause.
Can you feel it coming, a brand new time?
I said Aotearoa maranga ake ai
Aotearoa, Maranga ake ai.
Aotearoa, maranga ake ai.
Tu ake maranga ake ai.

I said Maori people gotta wake up, gotta take up the cause.
All my life I get told
How much longer
No more knockin', knockin' on closed doors.

Joe Williams, protest song, 1984, banned by Radio New Zealand when it first came out because of its social activist message to young Māori to be proud of their cultural roots.

# Chapter 8: Aims and Objectives

This chapter describes meso-level disruptions occurring in the management of the Māori land trust at the organisational level. The previous chapters laid out historically imposed colonial structures and actions that disregarded Māori values and beliefs in the Māori land trust management system. Although these actions and activities occurred in the past, dysfunction echoes through to the present. This chapter explores how traditional systems of Māori social order, values, beliefs and behaviours antagonise and conflict with Western systems in which they are forced to operate. This creates conflict that pervades the organisation across multiple management functions of the Māori land trust. The chapter begins with scholarly contributions to the conflict literature and Māori perspectives of conflict. It then describes three points of friction: governance; authority and values.

## Meso-level Disruptions

Meso-level disruptions are the obstacles and inhibitors that place barriers between effective management and the realisation of an organisation's aspirations and goals. This research identifies organisational conflict as a major barrier to the realisation of and attainment of management goals in the Māori land trust.

The conflict literature is extensive and diverse. It is testament to the continued existence and inevitable nature of conflict within human civilisation and organisational life (Wall & Callister, 1995). Conflict, according to Wall and Callister (1995) is a process where a person or a group negatively feels affected by another person or group. It occurs across and between many levels – interpersonal, intrapersonal, intragroup and intergroup (Rahim, 2011). Academic

contributions to conflict theory traditionally come from philosophy, sociology and political theory. Other disciplines such as psychology, anthropology and organisation studies have also made significant scholarly contributions. Rooted in Western intellectual traditions, organisational conflict literature favours Western-centric understandings of individual and societal norms. Wall and Callister (1995) remarked that conflict and conflict management theories have been predominantly influenced by economic theory, which stresses personal utility. As a Western viewpoint, individual personal gain is emphasised above interpersonal relationships. Therefore, research findings in the literature on the antecedents, consequences, and outcomes of organisational conflict philosophically embody Western values and worldviews.

Māori thought and philosophical understandings of conflict, however, are located within the ancient mythologies, beginning with the creation story of the primeval parents Ranginui, the sky father and Papatūānuku, the earth mother. Thus the entire universe is personified. Minor tribal variations of the creation story exist, but essentially the narrative tells of a spark springing forth, creating the heavens of Ranginui and Papatūānuku. The couple lived in a tight embrace, creating many, many children who grew to live inside their unified bodies. The children grew restless over the cramped and closed space they lived in between their parents. They quarrelled over, debated and discussed potential solutions. Each child used his or her particular and specialist skill to try and part the parents. It took Tane to lie on his back and thrust up his legs to split his parents, in the process also creating the first light – Te Ao Mārama. Thus the world we know of today came into existence. The story guides a Māori perspective of conflict as growth. It reinforces conflict as a necessary ongoing process, of emergence from dark to light, or otherwise known as enlightenment.

## Meso-level Organisational Conflict

Ancient Greek philosophers such as Plato and Aristotle believed that to maintain social order, conflict needed to be controlled, avoided or eliminated (Shipka, 1969, cited in Rahim, 2011). Then much later, the work of organisational theorists such as Fayol, Weber, Taylor and Mayo, made implicit assumptions about conflict as undesirable, and a behaviour that impeded organisational efficiency (Rahim, 2011). Not until nineteenth-century philosophical understandings, particularly those of Hegel and Marx, was conflict explored as healthy and productive, inspiring research attention and focus towards a more functional view.

Although interrelated and overlapping, the organisational conflict literature can be dissected into three main shifts: productive conflict, managing conflict and the context of conflict. The first shift, or idea that conflict could be a productive force, rather than inhibiting organisational harmony, signalled a move towards distinguishing and eliciting its more constructive elements. Early studies that highlighted conflict as a dysfunction called it "a breakdown in standard mechanisms of decision-making" (March & Simon, 1958, p. 112). Conversely, Whyte (1967) began to recognise that organisations were actually limited and restricted by conflict avoidance. He viewed too much harmony as "an undesirable goal for the functioning of an organisation". The objective, he emphasised should not be to build harmonious organisations but ones capable of recognising problems and able to develop ways of solving these (p.25). Others scholars such as Coser (1964), Pondy (1967) and Thomas (1976), helped shift the view of conflict as dysfunction. Critiquing structural-functionalism, the main sociological paradigm of the time, Coser's (1964) seminal work, *The Functions of Social Conflict*, argued "that conflict is a persistent phenomenon and therefore serves some latent social functions" (Nepstad, 2005, p. 335). And in developing his well-known staged process model of conflict, Pondy (1967) stated

that conflict "is not necessarily bad or good, but must be evaluated in terms of its individual and organisational functions and dysfunctions." (p. 319).

Normative prescriptions of conflict were significantly influenced by Deustch's (1949) theory of co-operation and competition. The theory predicated group behavior on individual beliefs about how well personal goals aligned with and related to those of the group. Research of normative prescriptions addressing how conflict should be managed viewed that people should; consider the position from the antagonists' perspective (Eiseman, 1978), look internally and within to manage and resolve conflict states (Kottler, 1996), respect that other people have a right to openly express opposing views of dissent (Tjosvold, 1991), face conflict by focusing on interpersonal dynamics of conflict (Deustch, 1990).

Organisational conflict literature then began to shift, moving away from normative prescriptions of what should be done, to research on de-facto management styles. Alternatively, the shift examining and investigating conflict as it occurred produced research of a new line of enquiry. How conflict is handled formed research on; informal conflict patterns in hierarchically structured corporations (Morrill, 1989), accepting the inherent paradox of conflict as opposed to controlling it (Murnighan & Conlon, 1991), understanding that conflict can be interpreted and framed in different ways (Pinkley & Northcraft, 1994) and trial and error strategies for how people engage in conflict (Pruitt, Rubin, & Kim, 2003). The most well-known organisational conflict research to emerge from this shift is the managerial leadership grid developed by Blake, Mouton and Bidwell (1962). This model determined two behavioural dimensions: concern for people – the degree to which a person considered other needs; and concern for production – the degree to which a person emphasised the accomplishment of a

task. A two-dimensional model of conflict styles emerged. Rahim (1986) redefined these as concern for self and concern for others, leading to his two orthogonal dimensions frame of five styles of personal conflict management: forcing (assertive, unco-operative), avoiding (unassertive, unco-operative), compromising (moderately assertive, moderately co-operative), problem solving (assertive, co-operative) and accommodating (unassertive, co-operative). Although this framework gained currency within work environments, universities and research more generally, Wall and Callister (1995) criticised its over-emphasis on dyadic interpretations of conflict:

> "The use of a two-dimensional instrument has generated two-dimensional thinking, and the discussion or investigation of five styles has conducted many researchers into thinking these five are all-inclusive" (p. 539).

Such criticism encouraged researchers to explore a more contextual consideration of conflict.

The third shift places conflict within an organisational system, bringing wider acceptance of conflict as a normal part of organisational life. Studies in this area moved from the traditional dyadic view of conflict to one of understanding conflict as an intra-organisational phenomenon. This also signals an alternative research direction, from functional, psychological analyses towards including impacts on conflict of social relations, institutional structures, and organisational culture. Methodologically, this field tended to be dominated by laboratory studies and survey instruments, primarily exploring conflict as dyadic interactions of behaviour and cognitive processes (referencing Barley, 1991 in Naima Mikkelsen, 2012). The isolation of conflict to laboratory conditions reinforced conflict as asocial; the disputants under study had no history or future outside of the experiment and real life conflicts "rarely have limited temporal boundaries. Rather, they tend to unfold as an ongoing series of skirmishes that

continually ebb and flow." (Naima Mikkelsen, 2012, p. 20). Critics were concerned about too much emphasis on the individual as the cause of conflict, at the expense of the organisational context, which was often omitted or considered blameless. The development of a more organisational view of conflict gave greater emphasis to context, involving a range of social and cultural phenomena.

## Māori Land Trust Management Frictions

Conflict in the Māori land trust exists at the organisational level. This came through in a number

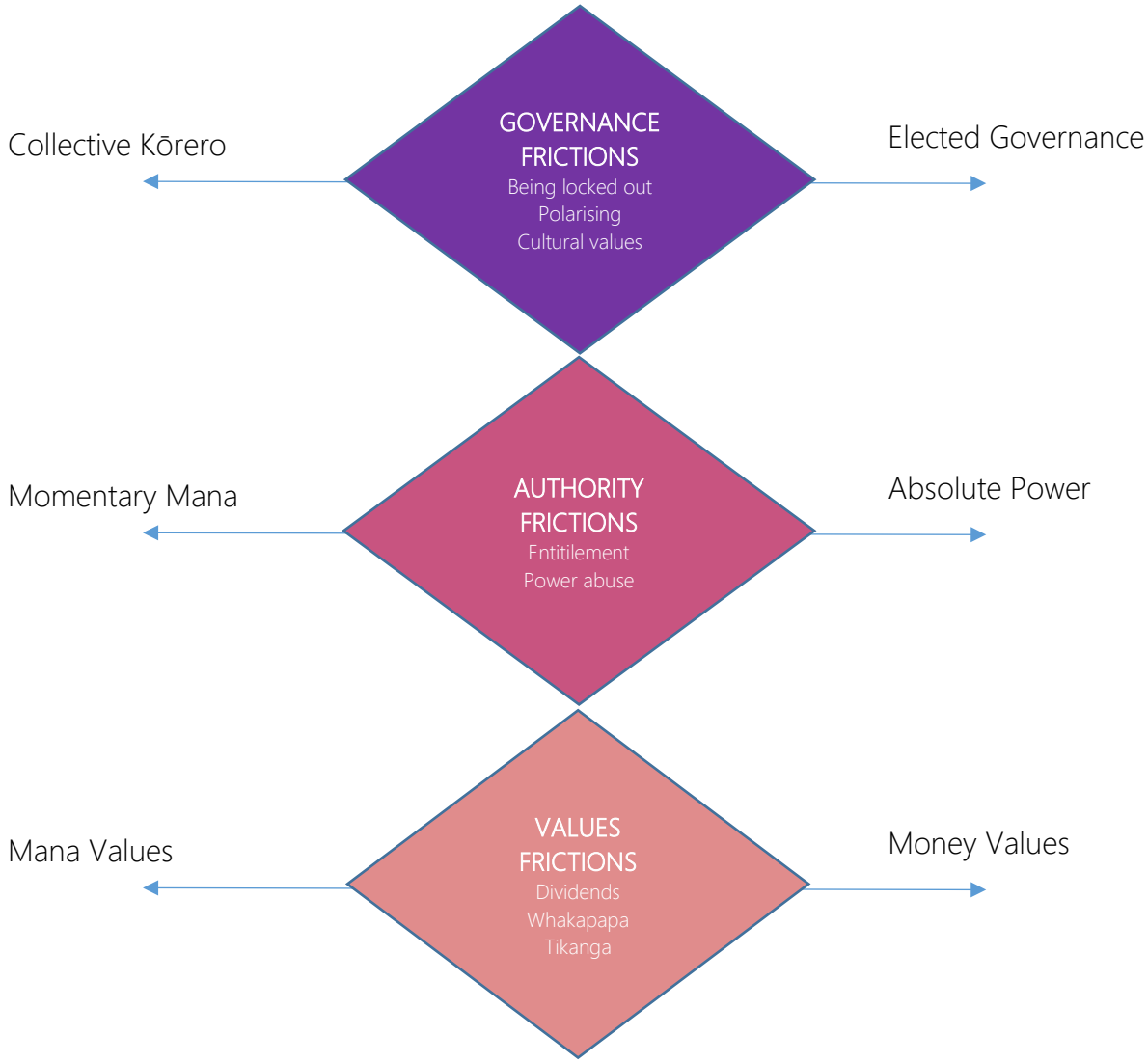



*Figure 9: Maori Land Trust Frictions*

of themes in this research, presented here as frictions. The different systems rub against each other creating dysfunctional conflict or animosity. The data coding process identified and labeled the friction themes: governance, authority and values. Māori land trust frictions are discordant and grating actions, processes, and structures.

## Governance Frictions

This section examines the first of the two opposing tensions evident in the Māori land trust – collective kōrero and elected governance. Collective kōrero is associated with a customary inclusive Māori process of discussion and debate. Elected governance is a Western organisational form that gives power and authority to a select few or elected members to decide land issues.

The proverb *ko te kai ō te rangatira, he kōrero*/talk is the food of chiefs, conveys the importance of kōrero or dialogue as a highly valued activity within Māori society. Traditional Māori forums of hui or meetings and wānanga of intense learning sessions, allowed for collective kōrero over land issues. Affiliated tribal members had a chance to contribute in open discussions on hapū or whānau land issues. Māori as Whenua BEINGS, create intense emotional energies and passion towards territorial land spaces. Traditionally, land management processes and governance methods needed to accommodate this vigorous relationship. Consequently, customary Māori land management operated around the concept of collective kōrero. This allowed for inclusive participation and an outlet of expressive emotions.

A relatively flat, as opposed to a hierarchical structure, accommodated the two defining characteristics of collective kōrero: consensus and equality (Love, 2007; Ngata, 1959). Collective kōrero usually endured until a consensus emerged. Every member of the whānau or hapū had equal rights to speak on issues, and reciprocated the respect of listening. Members diligently listened to comprehend and interpret the meaning behind speeches:

> "In this process speakers need to listen very carefully to all previous speakers, rather than jumping up to counter points throughout the discussion. In this process a speaker must be able to capture their thoughts and then try to add something to the total dialog". (Love, 2007, p. 2).

This open, inclusive process focused on listening to all perspectives. Collective kōrero re-enforced and strengthened whanaungatanga or group connections and bonds. By being listened to and understood, members felt enabled by and connected to the process. The method of articulating issues collectively acknowledged individual perspectives. Collective kōrero guided consensual whānau and hapū land policies, influencing the decision-making and strategic direction forged by elders, chiefs and tribal members. Because strategies were centred and fuelled from a pool of shared-meaning and understanding, collective participation facilitated unified action and co-operative alignment. Thus, through quality, engaged conversation, thinking and action transformed collectively.

Elected and/or appointed governance sits on the opposing side of the spectrum. A dominant method of organising economic activity is the corporation, which structures itself to produce shareholders. Shareholders provide the corporation with capital, usually in the form of finance. In the case of the Māori land trust, the capital is land interests. In return, shareholders receive an equity interest and the right to elect the board of directors, which serves as the decision-making body. Currently, the Western company-like structure dominating most Māori land

organisational forms creates a system where power and authority reside in a few individuals. Typically, shareholder voting selects the few. This process is referred to here as elected governance.

The governance board or trustees jointly oversee the activities of the Māori land trust. Its powers, duties, and responsibilities are determined and usually conferred by the trust shareholders. Such matters are usually detailed in the organisation's constitution. Common organisational structures utilised by Māori land trusts are Ahuwhenua Trust or Whenua Tōpū Trusts, which vests the legal responsibility for the administration of the land in trustees. A Māori incorporated structure has similar arrangements to a company structure. It "becomes the legal owner of any lands or assets vested in it" ("Your Māori Land," 2017), giving individual shares to Māori for their land interest. The corporate body then seeks to produce dividends for its shareholders (New Zealand Law Commission, 2006, p. 27).

Collective kōrero and elected governance embody philosophically different orientations. In this research, the frictions created by those different orientations covered four major areas, discussed in turn below.

### The Friction of Being Locked Out

A number of interviewees spoke about a feeling of being left out, cut out or prevented from engaging in land affairs, "that trust structure creates that ability to ring-fence control and power – quite easily". Tōtara's statement signifies how the power and authority to make decisions resides in elected trustees, or committee members. The idea of being locked out refers to the shift in emphasis of land decision-making. Elected governance situates authority with a

nominated power or a designated few. This body then becomes legally entitled to make choices and resolutions regarding land. This is a contrasting notion from customary and inclusive forms of governance management. Traditionally, affiliated tribal members were welcomed to voice their concerns. Interviewees also spoke of being locked out from the entire structure of participation. The kuia or elder woman Kawakawa highlighted how some Māori landowners feel prevented from participating:

> "So [management] are allowed to do whatever they want to do on the land without notifying the landowners" – Kawakawa.

Māori land shareholders or beneficiaries, she explained, legally only have power to choose the governance representation; they do not have decision-making powers. Kawkawa voices her concern for landowners who feel uninformed by management and left out of the process of contributing towards discussions. The process diverges from the traditional participative structures of Māori society. Customarily, individuals carried a high degree of autonomy and independence within the collective, and could express free thought and alternative opinions.

### The Friction of Polarising

Once landowners start to feel locked out from participating, the organisation starts to polarise and divide. A sense of separation and discord between the Māori land shareholder/beneficiary and the elected governance is created:

> "When you have a trust structure, it's almost perceived as the trustees are up here, and we're the beneficiaries, so we don't feel like we are benefitting, we don't feel like we are part of it, our input into how it all works is quite limited you want to feel like you're on the journey with them, not just have them turn up to the AGM and say that we went from $100 million to a 105 million or a 110 million" – Tōtara.

When people become polarised, they divide sharply into opposing factions, which sometimes causes them to adopt extreme antagonistic positions. Some Māori landowners, particularly ahi kaa or long-term land occupiers who retain strong attachments to their land blocks, tended to value high-quality interactions of communication and engagement. They seek engagement and interactions that enhance, re-enforce and nurture them as Whenua BEINGS. Tōtara, for example, indicated that landowners want to feel they are a valued part of the process, that is, a function of the traditional process of collective kōrero. When this emotional energy and validation is minimised, polarising friction can occur. Polarising then can lead to 'us versus them' mentalities, causing members to act combatively and unco-operatively.

### The Friction of Cultural Values

Chapter Seven identified successive settler government attempts to displace Māori systems with Western ones. However, that procedure was unable to supplant implicit, deeply ingrained Māori doctrines.

> "You know, the tools will change, but you will never change inside, what's in your heart, what carries you, and what identifies you as Māori, as Ngāti Whakaue, Ngāti Porou, Ngāti Mahana, never changes and those core values will never change, you know" – Kōwhai.

Some Māori landowners still operate from a traditional modus operandi and continue to do so, regardless of how the structure legally directs them to behave. Their behaviours can be driven and governed by implicit cultural understandings of Māori as Whenua BEINGS. "When your beliefs are that ingrained, not even an earthquake's gonna shake that", Maire proclaimed in her interview. Thoughts, feelings, actions and habits stem from ingrained beliefs that operate automatically.

Data codes emerging from multiple interviews show the organisational structure to be, at times, incongruent with Māori ideological systems. The Western structure did not, or could not, always supersede or completely supplant Māori customary ways of functioning and operating:

> "[Landowners] all think they've still got a say about everything, they want to interfere with whatever committee or trust is trying to manage the land, they can't accept that certain structures actually reduce the amount of say they've got. No matter what structure is put in place, the whānau members just still regard themselves as owners and carry on behaving just as they have before, so the structure makes no difference" – Ponga.

The friction occurs between the operation of a traditional system that resides deep in the psyche and emotional connections of Māori to their land relationships, and the operation of a Western system, legally recognised, that treats land as an asset and resource to be manipulated for profiting shareholders. Research participant Ponga refers to the behaviour as 'interference'; in actuality, it is representative of a clash between the two systems of 'collective kōrero' and 'elected governance'. Other participants spoke of this often dominating and overriding implicit Māori system:

> "[In land trust meetings] people adopt a tikanga structure. By default, they will kōrero [talk] first, like a marae [communal setting] and they will be given the chance to bring any 'take' [issue] to the table" – Tōtara.

This example shows that traditional structures and etiquettes of tikanga and marae protocols may take preference over the typical legal format and procedures that define the actions of operating Māori land trusts and incorporations. The tension between structure and tikanga can conflict and clash.

## The Friction of Grudging

> "People want to resurrect the past and who stole shares from who" – Harakeke.

Patterns of grudge holding surfaced in the data, where conflict or tension stemmed from historical events. Informant Harakeke reflected the chaos caused by dividing land into a share system. Many Māori were left with unfair land distributions, and those grievances kept bubbling up and manifesting themselves in Māori land management gatherings: "I've been to hui [meeting] where people have said oh I don't trust them because their grandfather stole my tractor, you know", Mānuka said during his interview. Tōtara also noted:

> "Well it could be a previous incident that happened 10 years ago, like that fulla borrowed my chainsaw, he still hasn't given it back, you can't trust him. Or that whānau ripped us off in the past, you can't trust them or you might just not like that whānau (laughter). They've always been dodgy. You could have a list of a 100 reasons why people don't trust or like each other, and when they are family they are not afraid to say so" – Tōtara.

Some of the reasons for the grudges – a tractor or a chainsaw not returned – may seem quite trivial and reactions out of proportion to the 'offence'. But past wounds could stay open for a long time. A deeper psychological investigation shows that patterns of overreaction are likely to have a historical component (Hazan & Shaver, 1994). People who live with past experiences of pain inhibit new experiences and the opening of new pathways. Tōtara had this to say:

> "It's very hard to work around a history of whānau politics or dynamics, it not like we have a blank piece of paper when we set up a trust. A lot of trustees and whānau themselves, bring a lot of that past and history to the boardroom or the kitchen table, that can have a negative effect on how the trust operates and how things can be done. If there is history in the past you go into the room already with a degree of mistrust" – Tōtara.

Some of the highly charged interviews recounted stories of emotionally fraught scenarios, of people who felt as if they needed to hold and keep their grudges intact. Grudging thus became a strong affirmation of who they were, and what they represented – a person who fights against those who are out to do wrong. The fight becomes part of their identity, and, in a cyclical and self-fulfilling pattern, their identity becomes strongly tied to a person who has been 'wronged'.

There exists a kind of rightness and strength in the identity of fighting against those who do wrong. The grudge seeks empathy for what has happened; suffering declares itself to be recognised and rectified. Sympathy, understanding and support can be received through this 'wronged' identity. Letting go of that identity can be a difficult process. Anger and victimhood can therefore provide a sense of solidarity and purpose. Holding a grudge can be an attempt to gain comfort and compassion for an event or incident that occurred in the past. And in the end, the injustices of the past can work against what an organisation might aspire to:

> "I've seen that kind of clash it's usually to do with historical things. If there's issues that have come out personally because of one family had a raruraru [conflict] with another family, that can come in between when it comes to actually grind of the trust" – Rimu.

The collective nature of Māori society means that offence against an individual might escalate to take in whole whānau. Actions that diminish the individual may be perceived as diminishing the whānau (Quince, 2007). The grudge holders may try to rally whānau support for their cause. An individual or faction of landowners can feel solidified, strengthened and purposeful, but as Rimu pointed out, the division can bring the organisation to a halt. Members become unable to make decisions. With the past brought continually to the boardroom, the grudge holder develops patterns that seek to continually prove suffering and pain, instead of resolutions of healing and soothing. "Yeah, some of it is they've held on so tight to an issue for so long that they've lost perspective", Maire observed in our discussion.

Māori land trusts and incorporations have none of the internal formal dispute mechanisms of traditional Māori society. The removal of collective kōrero as a dispute resolution process leaves a gap in mediation and conflict resolution processes. The key dynamic in tikanga is to maintain balance between all parts of the human and non-human world. When things get out of balance, redress or utu was sought. The principle of utu, discussed earlier, means to balance

or reciprocate. Utu directly addresses a slight or wrong that may have occurred, or breaches to human integrity. Processes of utu acknowledged wrongs that sought to rectify and settle the dispute. Bringing back more attention to utu processes and understandings could help to serve the resolution of conflict occurring in the Māori land environments.

## Authority Frictions

The opposing forces deriving from two inherently different systems arise with 'momentary mana' and 'absolute power'. Power and authority were never absolute in traditional Māori society (Petrie, 2006). Consequently, leadership needed to constantly prove itself as representative of the people, mandated from one issue to another, or momentarily. Contrastingly, absolute power refers to the shift in power and authority to more extended periods.

Momentary mana recognises leadership as dynamic, where mandated authority depended on the strength and expanse of a person's mana at a specific point in time (E. Durie, 1994; Henare, 2001; Shirres, 1997). If the tribe or whānau developed unsatisfied feelings at any time, they were not bound to accept the recognised authority; members could direct energies and attention to mandating an alternative leadership. Williams (cited in New Zealand Law Commission, 2001, p. 34) explains the dynamism of Māori power and leadership:

> "Rangatira continually were and are required to affirm the consensus of the people in public fora. Thus the institution of the hui and the rūnanga, when people gather to discuss issues of moment, were and remain the real seat of power and law-making. A leader taking the people in a direction which is not supported will quickly be corrected or, at length, abandoned in favour of a contender more willing to lead to where the people wish to go." (p. 34)

Māori society was relatively classless, with a dynamic mobility in class stations (M. Durie, 1994, p. 33). As traditional leadership was never absolute, leaders had to work constantly in maintaining their position of influence (Petrie, 2006; Salmond, 2009). Rangatiratanga and authority depended upon community support (M. Durie, 1994, p. 34). Leadership could not make decisions unless it was sanctioned to by the community. Communities could not be dictated to, but had to be convinced:

> "the strength of cohesion and degree of control exercised by leaders depended upon their personality, power of persuasion, and economic wealth. If these were lacking, the inclination of the individual might be more powerful motivators than chiefly coercion." (Petrie, 2006, p. 14).

Because leadership was momentary, rangatira had to have skills of persuasion. "Chiefs or rangatira, maintained their position of authority and power through a flexible system of consent and coercion" (Petrie, 2006, pp. 11–12). Skilled oratory became a crucial tool for chiefs. Leadership exercised low levels of executive authority, and high levels of accountability. This tension moderated, tempered and curtailed the usage of uncontrolled and unbridled power.

Traditional Māori leadership has often been depicted as autocratic (Mahuika, 1992). However early European observations described otherwise. Explorer James Cook noted that "the head of each tribe, or family, seems to be respected, and that respect may, on some occasions command obedience; but I doubt if any amongst them have either a right or power to enforce it." (Cook, 1879, p. 160). Similarly, Manning noted "the natives are so self-possessed, opinionated and republican that the chiefs have at ordinary times, but very little control over them, except in very rare cases, where the chief happens to possess a singular vigor of character,

or some unusual advantage, to enable them to keep them under" (Manning 1863 in Salmond, 2009, p. 36).

Early colonists viewed Māori as a highly conflicted and violent people (Thompson, 1997). For example, Cook observed war to be the 'principal profession' of Māori. William Anderson, the artist on Cook's second voyage to New Zealand, wrote, "No people can have a quicker sense of injury done to them, and none are more ready to resent it" (Reed, cited in Salmond, 2009, p. 13). Early ethnographer Elsdon Best, suggested "suspicion and caution are ingrained in the Māori" (Best, 2001, p. 19). He described Māori variously as 'uncultured,' 'savage,' 'neolithic folk,' a 'barbaric society,' (Best, 1924) and 'intensely revengeful nature' (Best, 2001). Several scholars (Pihama, 2001; Smith, 1999) caution researchers about using these observations of European settlers, noting the slanted and one-sided framing stemming from a singular Western outlook of the world. Early New Zealand commentators portrayed Māori as overly sensitive, quick to react, possessed of an unforgiving nature, and who constantly engaged in warfare and revenge. In reality, Māori life was predominantly concerned with the simple activities of food gathering, requiring co-operation in activities such as the intense labour of gardening, fishing, hunting and preserving food (Best, 1924)

These priorities and activities consumed Māori life because they were vital to everyday survival, but that does not mean there was no conflict. Due to resource scarcity, Māori society had evolved into a competitive tribal society. Dispute resolution, mediation and conflict management processes became vital and fundamental for day to day unified functioning, and living. Survival ultimately depended on social cohesion and harmony. Individuals relied on group interdependence for continued existence, becoming nearly impossible for individuals to live independently and self-sufficiently. This research acknowledges that inter-hapū war and

fighting was some part of Māori life, however, the nature of surviving, demanding attention to food gathering and preparation, required more emphasis on collaborative, collective and co-operative processes. Early Europeans failed to perceive this more complete system ordering Māori relationships and behaviour known as tikanga or a Māori way of doing things that controlled and regulated behaviour.

### The Friction of Entitlement

The behaviour of the entitled individual, as the interviews for this thesis revealed, often played out in the Māori land trust. The data code 'entitlement' populated as a common behaviour of people looking after individual needs over the collective necessities of the group. The sense of entitlement was often unrealistic or held unmerited expectations. Interviewee Pōhutukawa commented on an experience where "every shareholder's asking, oh when are we gonna get some money back for this and this". Similarly Tōtara noted, "there is a perception that [trustees] are there just to get paid and there for a free ride". Landowners who inherently felt they deserved privileges or special rights from land blocks were framed negatively in participant comments. Mānuka reflected on "a culture of entitlement, and then you get trustees like me who are trying really hard to break that, and I feel getting a lot of support for that, but it's still very entrenched, so whānau are still angry that they feel they're not getting their due". The individualised and self-maximising behaviours noted within Māori land trusts pointed towards an organisational culture fundamentally contradicting the values of kaitiakitanga:

> "the first time they met they spent all day discussing what fees they're going give each other, you know this sort of shit. Oh yeah people accusing that the current trustees are syphoning off the money that's come from the 20 million. And you get the sneaking suspicion that a hell of a lot of the money's already been used by an office, paying off people, and no one's doing anything, I've come across that so often" – Kahikatea.

There are varying degrees of entitlement. At one end of the spectrum, people anticipated being paid, which others saw as demoralising to the land relationship. Land had become merely a transaction for shareholders. Some participants complained that the shareholder system had become entrenched and engrained within Māori land trust culture. This suggests the practice of expecting financial gain from land blocks is a successful element of colonisation. Some Māori felt the land owed them something.

> "The other half of my uncle's are sort of just waiting for their cheque, never participated. And I'd be sitting there 'oh excuse me Mr Chair, can I say something'? No, you can't. There used to be a culture like that, where a lot of, particularly the Trusts I was on, a lot of the older committee or trustees didn't or wouldn't participate and basically would just wait for their cheques" – Harakeke.

Caretaking or kaitiakitanga is one of the principal value systems of traditional Māori society, emphasising actions and policies that protect and guard land. However, this only works, if the social structures supported it:

> "Once you individualise title you remove the communal ethic, the collective ethic. People think 'me', not 'us', in a way that they never could before. [Traditionally] they were stuck together. Being an individual was never an option because if you didn't belong you didn't own, your access to the wealth of that whenua was because you had access to that whānau and that hapū. So you take that away and say well now you're an individual owner with a share that you can commodify, that changes attitudes. It did, you know, right from the early days, from the 1870s on. So that change of attitude took a long time to bear its bitter fruit, but by the end of the 20th century people were thinking as shareholders rather than hapū members more. And they were less willing to accept the dictates of leadership" – Tānekaha.

The 'bitter fruit' of the traditional tenure change can now been seen in an entitlement culture emanating within Māori land trusts. Shareholding refers to the exclusive rights of shareholders as the only constituency and priority of the corporation. Therefore, as a general rule, stakeholders, such as employees, customers, creditors or governments have no say over its profits or decisions. In a theory of the corporation developed by neoclassical economists

assuming primary motivation is wealth maximisation, shareholder primacy retains the fundamental assumption that the corporation is an individualistic entity, of which individuals come together to pursue their own interests (Friedman, 1962, 1970).

### The Friction of Power Abuse

The shareholder system of the Māori land trust creates behaviours incongruent with Māori values, which are mostly concerned with individual entitlement. However, the abuse and manipulation of traditional sources of power was difficult. Traditional leader–follower dynamics regulated power control. However, modern day leadership within the Māori land trust remains vunerable to the exploitation by those who wield power. Power is the ability to do something and permission is the mandate or authority to act on that power. At its best, mana leadership entwines the two, where authority and power inextricably operate harmoniously together (Royal, 2003).

Problems arise when leadership exerts power without authority or the permission to act. Harakeke comments:

> "You know, these are guys that are paying themselves money when they had no authority to pay themselves money. They had no mandate or, you know, after the meeting they go to the pub, and they're drinking top shelf whiskey all night, and the shareholders are paying for it" – Harakeke.

Harakeke saw such actions as the self-indulgent behaviours of some people in positions of power. Such individuals authorised decisions and behaviours that 'pay themselves' or 'act on no mandate'. Such behaviours contradict the principles of mana leadership.

Many of the research participants described the abuse of power and leadership. Examples of entitlement, greed, and sometimes even malfeasance emerged. "[Colonial structures are] so entrenched, and it's entrenched because of the advantages given to a few", Mānuka commented to illustrate how elected trustees have begun to embrace a power dynamic because of the private advantage it affords them. Power positions can channel or direct favourable outcomes towards the personal agenda of trustees. Traditional systems of mandating authority moderated individual, self-gratifying behaviours that operated outside of the collective good. Customarily, mis-used authority was quickly curbed, as people shifted their investment and energies from leaders who became self-absorbed.

> "These people, and this power and control - horrible, it's horrible. We fight about it. I'm disgusted at it. The poor marae [communal spaces] they're dilapidating, but the trustees on there are making a mint, they up their wages, up their meeting fees, especially if the block is doing well. I don't mind people getting paid, but when they start making decisions that are against your tikanga [protocols] that you were raised with, when they don't research the trust that they sit on and understand what the people went through to get this far, then, they're only there for themselves. Self-gain. Their own immediate family. Like, take care of the whole hapū" – Raupō.

The nature of the Western structural system of trusts gives a more absolute form of power and authority to governors or trustees voted in for a term. This differs from a mana perspective of power, which *momentarily* authorises and mandates in times of key decision making. Elected governance is not a complete form of absolute power, as trustees are re-elected after a term set out in the constitution, but it does give longer terms of power, than traditional Māori systems used. Interviewee Raupō wonders "how can one man, one little body, have the mana that supersedes the hapū?" She found it almost unfathomable that one person or a select few should have so much power and authority over a shared land taonga or resource. Raupō's comment directly challenges the essential trust structure as shifting mandated authority from the hapū or collective and placing it in one person. The concept is contradictory to Māori notions of mana,

which collectively held authority until a person was mandated to act on that issue. She went on to add:

> "People just have to go to the trust or the chairman to get their authority. [Traditionally] we always used to say, bring [the request] back to the marae, you've gotta tell us what's happening, so that we can tell them more or less how we're attached to the land. Now, you can't do that" – Raupō.

## Values Frictions

> "I think there's two limiting factors; a mana and a mōni aye? Some of those people are on there for mana reasons, they go on there to represent their whanau, and that's it. Some of them are just there to collect their committee fees, don't really add any value" – Karaka.

Interviewees frequently talked about mana and money as two fundamentally different concepts. Generally, the interviews placed mana and money on opposite ends of a spectrum. Mana represented strong, Māori traditional values of collectivism and holism; money, represented neoliberal capitalist ideals of individualism and separation. Mana seeks to enhance the dignity of people. Traditionally, mana accrued in people who distributed wealth, and not in those that absorbed it for their own individualistic purposes. The essence of mana led to co-ordinated activities where leadership understood the needs of the people, and the followership mandated their authority to act on their behalf. High levels of answerability meant leadership always understood the needs of its people.

## The Friction of Dividends

Ongoing tensions between Māori values and traditions on the one hand, and colonial structures on the other, were apparent in many of the interviews. In a variety of ways, most participants voiced the view that the imposed system is destructive to traditional understandings of land. The current structure placed a focus on revenue and profit distributions. For instance, Rimu linked undesirable selfish behaviors to dividends:

> "The worst thing you could start doing is start giving out dividends because then it becomes oh where's my dividend? I didn't get my dividend. Even a dividend and thinking dividend is a colonised whakaaro" – Rimu.

Dividends became a blaming point for selfish and entitled behaviour within Māori land trust environments, carrying negative connotations that changed the nature of the Māori–land relationship. Land came to represent something that owed dividends to people; instead of being something people actually paid through a sense of duty and obligation. The shareholder/dividend structure inverted and reversed the nature of a traditional Māori attachment with the land. Mānuka commented on the expectations of the modern day Māori land owner:

> "So our model is broken, but that's because the share distribution process is so entrenched ...Whānau expect dividends, they expect education grants, they expect tangihanga [funeral] grants, and they expect their insurance to be paid at the marae [communal spaces], that everything is covered, that when you need money for something you write an application form, you know, and so what that creates is a real breakdown of the traditional structures ... And so [colonial structures have] killed the different values" – Mānuka.

Shares, dividends and ownership kept emerging as negative aspects of the Māori land trust, Tītoki relayed the connections between owning land shares and the separatism that could be created: "For a lot of them, they don't care; they just want to get a dividend at the end of the day, you distance yourself, once you start owning a share". He critiques the concept of being paid as a shareholder which he thought had become a priority for some landowners. Such views illustrate the shift from traditionally viewed duty and obligation back to the land and its collective ownership to the idea of being compensated for simply being a land owner. Tōtara shared Tītoki's viewpoint: "[Dividends is a] post-colonial construct, which was designed to separate us from our land".

These examples expressed dividends as creating a detaching relationship to Māori as Whenua BEINGS. The dividend system pays the shareholder a percentage of the profit accumulated by the collective ownership of shares. It rewards owners as individuals. Theoretically, owners are not required to form any relationship with the land; their role is to hand over authority over to an elected governance.

The modern landownership and management system reinforces psychological notions of hierarchical superiority – a concept, fundamentally different from customary Māori practice, which reinforced duty and obligation to maintain land attachments. Mānuka observed the decay of traditional values on Māori themselves, which she attributes to the imposed structures:

> "if I have more shares than you then, I have a bigger say in how this whenua should be managed. I struggle with that the most because some whānau miss out and I don't believe in a system that breaks us up" – Mānuka.

Mānuka saw a failing model of land ownership, yet Māori have become entrenched in its processes and policies. The expectations of land and collective ownership have changed, from being a kaitiaki or protector and caretaker of the land, to owning land as an asset. As Mānuka went on to note, a person's value or worth in the land block has become equated and associated with the number of shares they own.

### The Friction of Whakapapa

Whakapapa is a core tradition of mātauranga Māori, a genealogical body of knowledge assisting the relationships and connection of people to each other. Tuākana and seniority lines, such as kaumatua to mokopuna (elder to grandchild), whaea/matua to tungāne/tuahine (aunty/uncle to nephew/niece), and mātāmua to pōtiki (eldest to youngest) are examples of

familial relationships and power dynamics that operate with Māori land issues. However, research participant Tōtara commented on what he considered to be the constraints of relational power dynamics. As a highly accomplished accountant and man in his 40s, Tōtara, felt that despite all his commercial achievements and business acumen achieved outside of his whānau environment, his whakapapa or genealogical position, meant his capabilities, expertise and talents remained unrecognised and invalidated:

> "I'm still considered too young, and I'm old, (laughter) and yet I have worked quite a bit in this area, I have a degree, worked in a [professional] firm, am a partner in a [professional] firm - one of the largest in New Zealand, and it doesn't matter. There is still a lot of that. Whakapapa determines composition [of Māori land trusts]" – Tōtara.

Family businesses are noted for problems that can arise when moving power from one generation to the next (Barnes & Hershon, 1989). Relational power dynamics is a central aspect to whanaungatanga or connections and bonds. Land trusts comprise many familial layers of power dynamics, differentiating them from mainstream corporate and institutional entities. Senior members, who represent matua/uncles, whaea/aunties and kaumātua/elders, have a power dynamic over younger tribal members and teina/younger genealogical lines. This dynamic can be exercised as authority, and some interviewees viewed this authority as stifling human agency in land trust environments. The word power, from the Latin *poder*, means "to be able'. However, junior members often felt powerless, that is, not 'able' or allowed to be 'capable', thus losing a sense of personal power towards being in charge of their future.

Under optimal circumstances, processes that support a back and forth between a power and peer dynamic occurs (Barnes & Hershon, 1989). Seniority that dominates over younger relationships loses opportunities for mutual empowerment. Alternatively, shared involvement

opens up the exchange of ideas and new pathways. Instead of helping younger members to express their talent and capability, seniority exercises authority to control and/or totally discount junior input. Human potential can be constrained and stifled when seniority solely takes an instructive or dictator role. A mutual growth process flourishes when, at different times, the relationship assumes different meanings. For example, a mutual relationship can shift at times to a learning relationship, and then perhaps to an instructive relationship. In the process, power balances fluctuate between dependency and independence.

Tōtara's comment refers to senior inability to shift the relationship dynamic, strictly locking-in a hierarchical dynamic (Pfeffer, 1981). The whakapapa friction occurs between the elder generation wanting to hang on to power and the younger generation getting power.

> "It is quite difficult to work with trustees who were put there by traditional means, by customary means. Their representation of that land is a representation of their whānau, toto, whakapapa" (Dewes et al., 2011).

Some researchers consider nepotism, or the practice of giving jobs or positions to relatives, as an epidemic amongst Māori in positions of power (Dewes et al., 2011).

Whakapapa also aggravates other tensions. A conundrum can exist between land affiliates choosing what the elders say or what Pākehā knowledge informs:

> "Some of the key things I've noticed through my family, is you have those in a family, that have been brought up on 'granddad, or grandmother always said... ', and you've got the other side of the family that go 'no in the Māori Land Court records it states this... '. And that's where the tension is lying, between believing what your grandparents said as gospel, or believe in the Pākehā system effectively" - Maire.

This statement represents the many dynamics and positions that individuals bring to the Māori land trusts and incorporations. What they prioritise can be contingent on many factors, can change over time, relate to geographic location, and mood of the day. Created and reinforced by environment and experience, decision-making often operates at a level of unconscious biases. Our cognitive processes constantly assess information, often without conscious awareness. Unconscious biases fill the gaps when all relevant data cannot be presented, influencing perceptions, choices of interactions, product decisions and strategic direction. Acute unawareness of unconscious bias can negatively impact decision making. Decisions may be based more on family psychological influences rather than business logic.

### The Friction of Tikanga

Some interviewees commented on what they considered an inappropriate use of tikanga. Tikanga can be described as Māori philosophy in practice (Mead, 2003) which emerges and is created through accumulated intergenerational knowledge. The Williams Māori dictionary provides a range of meanings for the word tikanga, referring to it as a 'plan', 'method', 'rule', 'habit' or 'custom'. Mead (2003) defines tikanga as "the set of beliefs associated with practices and procedures to be followed in conducting the affairs of a group or an individual" (p 12). Tikanga, he adds "are tools of thought and understanding. They are packages of ideas which help to organise behaviour and provide some predictability in how certain activities are carried out. They provide templates and frameworks to guide our actions" (p 12). Tikanga Māori are the collectively held beliefs and values about what is right and what is wrong, and these beliefs guide interpersonal relationships.

Those with in-depth understandings of tikanga are steeped in knowledge of whakapapa and historical events. People with cultural knowledge and capability are therefore often in positions of power, over those who have had a disconnection from their culture. This can be a potential for a misuse of power. "There are those who use [tikanga] as a sword, to manipulate the proceedings in their favour either by shutting people down" noted Tōtara in his interview. Interviewee Taramea also gave an example of its effects:

> "Tikanga is used as a weapon. I've seen our people do it all the time, I know my tikanga, you don't know my tikanga. You don't know our tikanga; I know our tikanga. Therefore, I'm gonna use our tikanga as a way of having power over you. Mana munchers was another word that used to go around years ago. And that's really, really bad. Fortunately, our people have caught onto that, and they don't take that bullshit anymore. It's changed. But yeah, where tikanga is a tool. It is not the kaupapa. The kaupapa sits within a tikanga 's sphere. And so if it's used as a weapon, fortunately, we've got some leaders now who stand up to people who try to do that. And again, it comes from people who are feeling threatened in some way or not secure with who they are. But that actually comes, from their insecurity. So they lean on it. They absolutely lean on it"

## Conclusion

Colonisation systematically disintegrates the acknowledged, accepted, and reliable survival framework a people have established for living. Intergenerational knowledge transference becomes disrupted, leaving gaps and breaks in the system, and the known and familiar pathways to fulfilment are lost and obscured. Out of this obscurity, chaos and dysfunction emerge, and the system tries to correct and discover new forms of itself. This chapter has discussed this as a meso-level disruption, manifesting as current tensions and conflict in the Māori land trust as three points of friction; governance, authority and values. This chapter explored how traditional systems of Māori social order, values, beliefs and behaviours are not

reconciled withing Western systems in which they are forced to operate. This creates conflict that pervades the organisation across multiple management functions of the Māori land trust.

# Wāhanga Tuaiwa

## Disruptions: Micro-level

| | |
|---|---|
| E pā tō hau he wini raro, | *The wind from the north touches me* |
| He hōmai aroha | *bringing loving memories* |
| Kia tangi atu au i konei; | *so that I mourn* |
| He aroha ki te iwi | *in sorrow for my kin* |
| Ka momotu ki tawhiti ki Paerau | *lost to me in the world of spirits* |
| | |
| Ko wai e kite atu? | *Where are they now?* |
| Kei whea aku hoa i mua rā, | *Where are those friends of former days* |
| I te tōnuitangā? | *who once lived in prosperity?* |
| Ka haramai tēnei ka tauwehe, | *Separation enters* |
| Ka raungaiti au, e. | *Leaving me desolate* |
| | |
| E ua e te ua e tāheke | *O sky, pour down rain* |
| Koe i runga rā; | *from above* |
| Ko au ki raro nei riringi ai | *while here below, tears* |
| Te ua i aku kamo. | *rain down from my eyes* |
| | |
| Moe mai, e Wano, i Tirau, | *O Wano, sleep on at Mt Titiraupengā* |
| Te pae ki te whenua | *overlooking the land* |
| I te wā tūtata ki te kāinga | *near our village* |
| Koua hurihia. | *that has been overturned* |
| | |
| Tēnei mātou kei runga kei te | *Here we are beyond* |
| Toka ki Taupō, | *the cliffs of western Lake Taupo* |
| Ka paea ki te one ki Waihi, | *stranded on the shore at Waihi* |
| Ki taku matua nui, | *near my great ancestor Te Heuheu Tukino* |
| Ki te whare kōiwi ki Tongāriro. | *lying in his tomb on Mt Tongariro* |
| | |
| E moea iho nei | *I dream of* |
| Hoki mai e roto ki te puia | *returning to the hot springs* |
| Nui ki Tokaanu, | *so famous, at Tokaanu* |
| Ki te wai tuku kiri o te iwi | *to the healing waters of my people* |
| E aroha nei au, ī. | *for whom I weep* |

a famous waiata tangi, or lament grieving land loss of Ngāti Apakura, a tribe of Waikato. Te Rangiamoa – 1864

# Chapter 9: Aims and Objectives

This chapter primarily addresses behavioural and emotional consequences transpiring from macro and meso-level disruptions. The interviews for this thesis showed five emotional states and these form the third theoretical dimension for disrupted Māori management theory: whakamā/shame; mamae/disenfranchised grief; mataku/fear; riri/anger; and pūhaehae/envy and mistrust. These are discussed as micro-level disruptions, and their implications for whānau potentiality and Māori land trust management explored.

## Micro-level Disruptions

Trauma, the source of micro-level disruptions, comes in many forms. These include simple trauma (Herman, 1997), complex trauma (Herman, 1992), betrayal trauma (Gobin & Freyd, 2014), historical trauma (Brave Heart et al., 2011; Sotero, 2006), and post-traumatic stress disorder (Yehuda, 2002). Simple and complex trauma are related, but carry distinct characteristics. Simple trauma typically involves a one-off traumatic incident, whereas complex trauma can be ongoing, repeated exposure to traumatic circumstances. Betrayal trauma is when a person or institution on which an individual relies on for survival violates that individual's well-being (Gobin & Freyd, 2014). Post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) is the effects continued long after the occurrence of the traumatic event (Yehuda, 2002). Historical trauma is cumulative emotional and psychological wounding over a lifespan and across generations, emanating from massive group trauma experiences (Brave Heart, 1998).

The underlying facet or premise behind all trauma theories is an individual's or community's experienced moment/s of powerlessness. The trauma literature describes variously as feeling captive, unable to flee, being under another's control or the incapacity of ending a horrifying experience (Herman, 1997). Mate and Levine (2010) explain that "fragility is part of our nature and cannot be escaped. The best the brain can do is to shut down conscious awareness of it when pain becomes so vast or unbearable that it threatens our ability to function" (p. 40). Dulling emotional awareness protects the person against an immense overwhelming physical or emotional threat.

Disrupted attachments are micro-level disruptions. The literature generally employs the term loosely rather than as a well-defined theoretical construct (Ayoub, Fischer, & O'Connor, 2003; Beyer, 2005; Brown & Perkins, 1992). In discussing the trauma of Canadian Aboriginal people, Haskell and Randell (2009) use disrupted attachments to explain the myriad and innumerable ways in which Indigenous individuals, populations and communities experience trauma. The traumatic dislocations of Aboriginal communities from their culture, land and traditions, Haskell and Randell (2009) argue, "have profoundly severed attachments to not only relationships with other individuals, but also to community and to sense of cultural identity" (p. 80). These authors begin to conceptualise disrupted attachments as an alteration in relationship with one's sense of self, as well as an alteration to relationships with others (Haskell & Randall, 2009, p. 48). Disrupted attachments damage the ability of an individual to positively shape their relationships with others and their connection to their community.

Some Indigenous communities use the phrase 'soul wounds' to describe what theorists would term as disrupted attachments (Duran, 2006; Duran, Duran, Brave Heart, & Yellow Horse-Davis, 1998; Duran et al., 2008); they use it interchangeably with collective unresolved grief,

collective trauma, intergenerational trauma and multigenerational trauma (Reid, Taylor-Moore, & Varona, 2014). Derived from Greek origins, the word psychology means soul, yet only rare instances of the words are evident in modern psychology (Duran et al., 2008). Soul is the incorporeal essence of a living being, without physical presence or form. Māori traditions recognise soul as wairua (Mead, 2003; Pere, 1982). Pere (1982) describes this as a "powerful belief in supernatural forces [which] governed and influenced the way one interacted with other people and related to the environment" (p. 14). The word vulnerability, from the Latin word *vulnerare*, is 'to wound,' or the susceptibility to be wounded. Thus, a soul wound, or disrupted attachment is a vulnerable injury or harm to the core essence of a living being; it is "a wound where the blood doesn't flow" (Duran, 2001).

Disrupted attachments become the reactions or alterations to protect the threatened self or ego. A person or population survives traumatic moments by physical, spiritual and emotional responses and adaptations, or defense mechanisms. Painful emotions are automatically repressed to enable an individual or population to endure trauma, which would otherwise, in that moment, be physically or emotionally devastating. Through adaptions a person's inner defense quickly triggers, initiating a type of internal guard, protection and shield to cope. The result of these coping adaptions are alterations. Alterations are behavioural responses to trauma and may include any or all of the following:

| | |
|---|---|
| Alterations in systems of meaning | a loss of meaning and hope, or a sense of purpose in life, expressed by overwhelming hopelessness |
| Alteration in regulation of affect and impulses | difficulties modulating and dealing with emotions and impulses, including aggression against themselves |
| Alteration in attention or consciousness | detachment or dissociation from immediate reality |
| Alterations in self-perception | deep sense of shame, guilt, depression and self-hatred, destructive behaviour or, conversely an exaggerated sense of responsibility |
| Alterations is relations with others | difficulties establishing emotional connections with others, inability to develop and maintain satisfying personal relationships |

*Table 6: Alterations of Trauma*

(Haskell & Randall, 2009)

This chapter explores alterations and behaviours occurring in the Māori land trust and further develops micro-level disruptions as a theoretical concept. The concept is advanced by categorising five types of emotions that emerged from the interviews conducted as research for the thesis. These types represent the consequences of macro-level disruptions. The first theme, whakamā/shame, is known as a master emotion (Scheff, 2003), and it is the core driver of destructive behaviours in the Māori land trust. The other four themes – mamae/grief, mataku/fear, riri/anger, and pūhaehae/mistrust – stem from the dominant emotion of shame. Brown (2006) proposes that affective states such as anger, fear, grief and anxiety are presumed

to originate from shame. Such divisions are, of course, artificial for the emotions interweave and interrelate with each other.

## Whakamā: Shame

The debilitating and central influence of shame in the Māori land trust is first explored. A definition and explanation of whakamā or shame is given and, then the impact of shame behaviours on managing Māori land addressed.

### Defining Shame

Scheff (2003) described shame as 'the master emotion of everyday life' (p. 239). Empirical findings in this thesis also identify shame as a dominant emotion influencing behaviours which then inhibit whānau potentiality within the Māori land trust. The interviews for this thesis revealed that whakamā or shame-based behaviours caused inefficient and ineffective management practices, damaging progress towards realising land aspirations.

As a behaviour and emotion, shame has strong connections and associations with trauma (Matos & Pinto-Gouveia, 2010; Stone, 1992; Wilson, Droždek, & Turkovic, 2006). Whakamā – the closest Māori translation to shame – has been defined as "the sense of feeling inferior, inadequate, diffident and with self-doubt, [and] represents the feeling state in a person when he or she has felt dishonored in the eyes of others" (Sachdev, 1990, p. 434). The psychology literature describes shame in a similar way: "an intensely painful feeling or experience of believing we are flawed and therefore unworthy of acceptance and belonging." Brown (2006, p. 45). Silvan Tomkins (in Sedgwick, Frank, & Alexander, 1995) called shame "a sickness of the soul" (Kaufman, 1992, p. 12), an inner self-criticism of someone who perceives themselves to be bad. Similarly, psychological expert Kaufman (1992) says to "live with shame is to feel

alienated and defeated, never quite good enough to belong. And secretly we feel to blame. Intense shame states can catastrophise the sense of self. The deficiency lies within us alone" (p.12). Consisting of a mixture of conscious and unconscious thoughts and attitude, shame is the damage to the self, negatively impacting a person's view of themselves (Mate & Levine, 2010).

Responses to shame, or a perceived weakening of the self, are varied and complex. People possessing high levels of shame might develop unconscious behaviours seeking to hide perceived ugly or defective parts of themselves. Shame states are physiological/psychological reactions. They create an internal conundrum as individuals 'choose' coping strategies: internally accept, externally project or divergently reject (Brown, 2006; Kaufman, 1992; Scheff, 2003; Stone, 1992).

The first two, internally accept and externally project, represent unconscious responses that are automatic, evolutionary designed reactions. Internal acceptance internalises shame and the belief of the self as flawed. Here the individual accepts the defeat of self-criticism. Behavioural responses of internal acceptance include seeking to hide from others, removing and detaching oneself from connecting with others. A denial of or disassociation from self-criticism is known as external projection. This reaction resists and struggles against the shame, in order to shift or project the feeling on to others or external objects. Via anger, domination and aggressive behaviours, shamed individuals attempt to control people and the surrounding environment. The 'healthy' alternative in a psychological sense, is that of divergently reject. This response goes in an entirely different direction, moving away from the expected reaction or standard response to shame. It means not identifying with the shame criticism (Kaufman, 1992; Scheff, 2003). Here an individual comes to a state that fully senses and brings conscious awareness of

something external having gone wrong; it is fundamentally different from percieving the self as being inherently wrong.

Shame responses are survival strategies or adaptions used to cope with the overwhelming present moment (Mascolo & Fischer, 1995). They are manifest in multiple ways, including various addictive behaviours (obsessions about work and success, alcohol and drug abuse), dominating behaviours of aggression and hostility, and finally apathetic behaviours of withdrawal, indifference and disinterest.

The physiological function of shame creates a physical energy to act protectively. In this unconscious act, the trauma usually is protected by splitting off the experience through numbing, dulling or repressing the overwhelming moment. The unfortunate consequence of repressing painful feelings also dulls other positive emotional states. Mate and Levine (2010) explain the phenomenon as an adaption in the present that at some point was a response to help endure pain, fear or trauma. A person cutting themselves off from extreme trauma inadvertently creates a separation from that individual's positive emotional states.

Some distinct differences occur between Māori understandings of whakamā and Western psychological understandings of shame (Sachdev, 1990). Māori understand and accept whakamā as both an individual and collective phenomena, placing it contextually and linking it to surrounding environmental circumstances. Rimu, interviewed for this thesis, exemplifies how shame is experienced in an interpersonal context of relationships, tied to whānau pride:

> "Cos at the end of the day if I stuff up it's not just my stuff up, it's my family's stuff up, and I think, that thing about whakamā, is a thing for us, being, you know - we're a proud whanau, so we have our integrity, and we want to keep that" – Rimu.

Rimu's statement shows, from a Māori perspective, how whakamā is influenced at collective group as a result of the actions of an individual. Therefore whakamā, although felt at the individual level, cannot be purely isolated and understood as an individual-level phenomenon. Whakamā is acknowledged as a multi-level phenomenon that operates within a system. Psychological interpretations of shame have often been highly decontextualised, understood at only the micro-level (Kaufman, 1992), disengaging shame as inextricably linked with broader social contexts.

### Impacts on Management

Whakamā is the fear of disconnection, and is a connective disorder inhibiting people from meaningful connections (Brown, 2006). The interviews revealed shame on a spectrum of intensity (Brown, 2006). On one end of the spectrum, extreme actions of physical violence represent high levels of shame. On the other end is hōhā or nuisance behavior. This section draws empirical links between colonisation, shame and the effects on Māori land management. Colonisation and the act of appropriating a people and their land are shaming actions towards an entire culture (Freire & Macedo, 2000).

Evidence of whakamā-based behaviours in the Māori land trust surfaced throughout the interviews conducted for this thesis.

> "But that's that whakamā thing, [the landowners are] trying to prove that they're relevant. Instead of actually saying I'm awesome anyway, I don't need, to like prove that I'm awesome, coz I'm awesome. But that's our own insecurities, and you know that's colonisation too" – Mānuka.

Mānuka's statement identifies a link between whakamā and colonisation. Colonisation invalidates entire cultures and communities, making their ways of living and expressions of life irrelevant. The cultural mechanisms that traditionally allowed for, and sanctioned a tangata or a person as being a valid, accepted member of that group become eroded (E. Durie, 1994).

Kaufman (1992) describes shame as an experience at "the very essence or heart of the self as wanting" (p. 9). The wanting represents an unsatisfied state that needs and searches for more. The internalised sense of 'wanting' becomes a powerful driver of human behaviour. It pushes people to conduct themselves in self-centered ways that validate their individual needs. Therefore colonisation, as a shame-based crusade, creates and perpetuates the 'wanting'. There is unsatisfied feeling both for coloniser, who need, via control to constantly assert and check their sense of power and authority, and the colonised who seek to escape feelings of being weaker, inferior and inadequate (Memmi et al., 1991).

The disregard of Māori traditions, values, and beliefs through land alienation, discussed in Chapter Seven, presented Māori people as inherently defective and flawed, problems to be 'solved'. The colonisers believed assimilation, annihilation or land alienation to be the answers (Walker, 2004). Freire and Macedo's (2000) work explains how colonisation processes can cause the colonised to internalise the shame. The colonised psychologically take on the belief that they are inherently flawed, and then manifest that as destructive behaviors. Whakamā, Mānuka implies, causes people to "try to prove they are relevant". Mānuka offered further insights about how whakamā affected Māori land trust behaviours:

> "[They-re] whakamā because a lot of the issues that we're dealing with are beyond the capacity and capability [of] the whānau around the table, and because they're embarrassed, that they don't know enough, they will squash the ones that do - because they're embarrassed". – Mānuka.

Mānuka draws attention to the adverse effects of whakamā-based behaviours on the Māori land trust operations and management. 'Squashing' is a behaviour where a person seeks to prevent another from appearing superior. The capabilities, skills, and connections that another might bring to the Māori land trust are thus stifled, becoming missed opportunities. 'Squashing' others corrodes the ability of people to act, often working against the realisation of whānau potentiality. Maire has a similar comment, "I think what happens is what I call the tall poppy syndrome". Tall poppy syndrome is often used to describe a phenomenon of diminishing high achievers and is thought to be immersed in New Zealand culture (Kirkwood, 2007). The results can be damaging, both to the individuals and the wider community. Talent and skills may be lost, and it can take more effort to accomplish things. Those who feel incapable and inadequate in a role might attempt to hide perceived weaknesses. If in positions of authority, they might redirect significant resources to areas that help maintain a false sense of superiority. They manipulate, sometimes unconsciously, behaviours that coerce the group to act in a way that validates the individual as distinctive and important.

> "So instead of being open and supportive of people who can provide the capability, they would (1) rather get a Pākehā to tell them, or (2) spend a lot of the time chipping at those people who have the experience - because they don't" – Mānuka.

The statement of getting a "Pākehā to tell them" infers that only external experts are percieved as a valid and reliable source of skills, knowledge and capabilities. The undermining of related skills possessed by others in the Māori land trust stems from a lack of self-belief in individual capability. Self-doubt means the internalised negative messages about someone's ability to accomplish and achieve set goals. Collective doubt is the re-enforced, doubtful and negative messages, shared and perpetuated by the group. Strong collective identities of whānau and hapū tie individuals together. They perceive themselves to be one, or synonymous with the group. Individuals who show or demonstrate skills and capabilities may not be able to acquire the belief and confidence of the group. Perceptually, the individual is an extension or part of the

collective. The collective doubt overpowers optimistic attempts to transform. Others are 'squashed' because the collective is unable to believe in the hope of its own transformation, a type of collective shame.

Mānuka's comment also shows the result of fear. Some individuals may feel inferior and inadequate at having others in the organisation flourish and excel through their exceptional talents and skills. Therefore the collective aspirations of the organisation often become secondary, subsumed under individuals who prioritise their personal needs.

Mānuka further suggested how older people lack some of the skills and capabilities required to operate in globally complex, and commercially driven environments:

> "I think that's that whakamā around the [older] generation, that it's now their turn, but they don't have the capability to address the really complex economic and social issues that are being raised around a table, and they get embarrassed" – Mānuka.

Whakamā becomes tied to the shame of not knowing when the kaumātua or elder feels a duty and responsibility, which they perceive as a role at which they should be expert. Shame is the emotion that negatively voices that the self is not good enough. Traditionally, the kaumātua role provided wisdom and guidance (Mead, 2003) but the changing circumstances of a complex and dynamic world alters their ability to foresee and guide the future through appropriate advice. The hiding and denial of this changed circumstance can create senseless actions and discussion.

To summarise, shame is a disconnective emotion. It is a feeling that something overwhelming forces a person to retreat, hide, or be alone (Kaufman, 1992), or it can be projecting negative energy onto others. Shame disconnects a person from others. Prosperous and flourishing human communities rely on connection, belonging and acceptance. Shame that goes unidentified

reduces chances of flourishing. As an evolutionary function, shame is an innate, primal response where the self believes itself to be under threat, that is, the belief of the self as fundamentally flawed.

## Te Mamae: Disenfranchised Grief

Shame disables a person or community from engaging in the free expression of emotions. Repressed or unexpressed grief can be articulated as shame (Kaufman, 2004). Colonisation removes or erodes known ways and familiar frameworks for Indigenous communities to process and understand their grief. The grief becomes 'stuck', forcing groups or individuals to act in ways that are not truthful expressions of themselves. Brave Heart and DeBruyn (1998) note:

> "When a society disenfranchises the legitimacy of grief among any group, the resulting intrapsychic function that inhibits the experience and expression of the grief affect, that is, sadness and anger, is shame." (p. 67).

The unallowed expression of grief turns into feelings of helplessness and powerlessness, negatively impacting an individual's sense of self, as well as relationships with others and the community (Kaufman, 2004).

Loss is a common human experience. Māori expressions of grieving states include pōuri, which is a psychological state of grief or sadness ranging in intensity from slight feelings of anxiety or disappointment to extreme emotions of deep suicidal depression (Waretini-Karena, 2014). Mamae is a broad general word for both physical and emotional pain, sore, hurt or ache. Whakamomori is a type of extreme pōuri, and although its modern interpretation has come to be associated with suicide, the more traditional meaning is an intense form of grieving, likened to severe depression. By situating this in the grief literature, specifically that of disenfranchised grief (Bento, 1994), this thesis addresses how study participants identified and took on the pain

of the past, including around management issues in the Māori land trust. Numerous participants commented and reflected on how land separation and displacement caused – and continues to cause – grief and suffering.

### Perpetuated Grief

Historical indications of grief and loss associated with land alienation appear in traditionally composed laments. *E pā tō hau*, a traditional chanting composition known as a waiata tangi or lament, voiced an early expression of land grief and loss. The well-known mōteatea or chant retells of the innocent eviction of the Ngāti Apakura people by the settler government. The people were punished for an incident at Ōrakau in 1864, in which they took no part. Te Wano, an elder of the hapū, climbed a ridge to look back at his evicted ancestral lands. He, "began to weep with tears flowing down his face, and with mucus coming from his nostrils. He became so distraught and overcome that he collapsed and died from a broken heart" (Karetu, 1984, p. 114).

During the battle of Ōrakau, composer Te Rangiamoa laments the death of her cousin. Her song probably mourns the fate of all her people (Higgins & Loader, 2017). Te Rangiamoa's words express the intensity of her anguish and grief at the physical separation from and loss of land. "*Kia tangi atu au i konei, he aroha ki te iwi, ka momotu ki tāwhiti ki Paerau*/I mourn in sorrow for my people, lost to the afterlife". There is agony in the lines "*ka haramai tēnei ka tauwehe, ka raungaiti au, e*/separation has come, and I am shattered to my core". The words continue to convey her stress, depiciting distraught sobbing, "*ko au ki raro nei riringi ai te ua i aku kamo/*tears rain down, streaming from my eyes". Towards the end of the song, she yearns for a return to the golden era and happier times: "*Kei whea aku hoa i mua rā, i te tōnuitanga*?/Where are the days when life was flourishing with friends". "*E moea iho nei, hoki*

*mai e roto ki te puia/*and only through dreams can she return to the warmth of her familiar hot springs".

As this and other traditional chants show, the physical separation of Māori from land causes an immense sense of loss and grief. In connection to land, all of the interviewees in this thesis remarked on an overwhelming sense of despair, of 'something' lost and an unresolved grief. Kahikatea commented "there's a bitter experience that goes back you see; it's an appalling history; our people suffered". Tutu similarly said, "there was just so much loss, the loss from land wars, the loss of land, the loss of confidence, and dysfunction of the whanau." A notable characteristic of many interviews was how land grief and loss is still felt, individually and intergenerationally. Some interviewees connected the loss directly to the present. Kōwhai stated, "we're seeing hopelessness, we're seeing homelessness, and we're seeing poverty now". Raupō noted:

> "so our lands were taken from our whānau and given to the loyalists. We suffered through that. Yeah, but that's the saddest thing, it's like the homeless people, we're still homeless, and our people are still suffering" – Raupō.

For most participants, land loss alienation occurred before their era, but their grief still reached back and continues to reside in the present.

Two stories, one from Ngutu Kākā and another from Taramea, exemplify family and land histories. Both stories carry elements of disenfranchised grief, a sense of longing for a place to which one cannot return. Taramea retells an incidence of his father having to sell land, due to financial debt incurred through a Māori trustee loan. A yearning came through in our discussion, expressed as land loss and the wounding of a part of his soul:

> "If anyone should have animosity, it should be my generation, me and my sister, because this beautiful piece of land we will never get back, as a kid, running through the bush with my dog, you know, going down doing the eeling, doing the fishing, the floundering, you know, with my grandmother, my grandfather. I'm really lucky to have some [land]

> memories, one day I'll be able to tell my children about [our land] what it is and where it is. But yeah, part of our heart and soul was sold on that day, and that bit we'll never get back in that same way" – Taramea.

At this point in the interview, I felt a shiver down my spine which academic literature failed to explain. However, discussions with tohunga suggested that spine shivers are a corporeal experience, a feeling of sensing some universal 'other'. Some called it ancestral presence, a sign that tūpuna or ancestors are present. I interpreted the encounter to mean that the land loss had a profound spiritual loss on Taramea and his family. Taramea's historical retelling of the family land block conveyed a continued sense of regret. He had ongoing sorrow for his deep affection and disrupted attachment for this land, and a regret for not being able to pass the land on to his children.

Ngutu Kākā also spoke of something wrong having occurred with land loss, something yet to be corrected and righted. She described a similar type of regret, concerning her deceased father and his relationship with land. She spoke of the weighted effect of seeing her father returning to work their land during his lifetime:

> "So he lived in this shitty little caravan, him and his brother and they cleared the gorse off of this land and he was, like, so happy. It was unreal. We were, I'd say, products of the seduction of luxury and so we wouldn't go back and help him because he lived in a shitty caravan and I really regret that now because I would have experienced that with him" – Ngutu Kākā.

At this point, emotionally overwhelmed and weepy, we took a few seconds, pausing to give space to accept and take in the moment. It was not unusual for the research interviews to have moments of tears expressing grief.

The recurring theme amongst these statements is that suffering, loss and hopelessness attached to land perpetuates over generations. Disrupted land attachments cause grief. Henare (2001) also reflects on the tragedy of land loss and its deep affective implications for Māori:

> "At a deeper affective level the tangi, the weeping, is a declaration about and a reference to the tragedy of land loss and loss of cultural identity. Tangi flows from the remnants of land in which resides the wounded soul handed down by ancestors. Such weeping is not just for the immediate material loss, but also for lost potential and the diminution of spiritual and cultural identity." (p. 205)

Commentary in recent documentaries and other land loss cases supports the proposition that unresolved historical grief perpetuates. Joe Hawke, one of the leaders of the 1977 occupation for the return of Ngāti Whātua land at Bastion Point, comments, "while Bastion Point is back in control of the Ngāti Whatua Trust Board, I'm saddened by the fact that my parents and my whaeas [aunties] and my kuias [grandmothers] and my chiefs are not here to stand and be gladdened that we have restored the ancestral rights of our people, and that sadness I'll carry for a very long time." Joe Hawke (Pouwhare, 2011). Joe spoke of a continued emotional suffering even with the return of the land. He indicates how remnant grief lingers.

### *Identifying with parents*

Three methods have been identified in which trauma transmits to subsequent generations: children identifying with their parents' suffering; children being influenced by the style of communication caregivers use to describe the disruption; and children being influenced by particular parenting styles (Doucet & Rovers, 2010). Māori understandings and interpretations of land are passed down through parents. The Ngutu Kākā interview tells of her parents' experiences with the land, where she identifies with family's grief:

> "The pain associated with their loss, and the pain associated with our loss, of not having that connection, sometimes it's too much, and when I'm with [my family], I can feel their... deep mamae [pain]"– Ngutu Kākā

Ngutu Kākā identifies with the suffering of her family. Her words illustrate how unprocessed or unacknowledged trauma is transferred and transmitted to subsequent generations, via parenting.

The initial work of Kaplan and Main (1985) sparked interest in the intergenerational transmission of attachment styles. Children, they premised, unconsciously identified and therefore adopted their parents' attachment styles. Parents who have experienced disruptions may have an insecure attachment that inhibits and constrains trust and intimacy, which then provides challenges for developing healthy attachments with their children. Interviewee Tītoki also represented how a child could be influenced by the actions and experiences of a parent. Recounting the aspirations for and challenges of re-acquiring family land, Tītoki told a comprehensive story of how he identified with his father's struggle.

> "So during that time my father, and his brother were growing up and being led to believe that they were going to inherit the land. Well, all of a sudden, that's not the case. A third goes to my grandmother, who's not from this area. And the other two thirds get split up into one-eighth each for the children. So that's about 1971. Over the course of the next thirty to forty years, my father takes it upon himself to go and buy out his brothers and sisters from their interests in the land. And so that keeps on going, for thirty years. And he's able to secure six of his seven siblings' land over time. One of his siblings decides, well, he's going to sell his land, and the family homestead, and my father acquires half of that. So my father ends up with seven and a half out of eight of the children's interests in this land, through his own hard work and getting money to get together to buy it. And then my grandmother, who's still got a third of the land, in her name, well I then buy her out. And spend a considerable amount of money to do that. Sort of two hundred k cash. Well, ultimately, my dad spent thirty years, and I spent eight years, trying to get this [land] interest back" – Tītoki.

Tītoki's interview represents how a person is born into a story with its own particular background effecting emotional, social and spiritual growth. Tītoki had effectively taken on the story of his father, and continued his legacy of reclaiming land.

Many examples from broader Māori literature repeat the same types of stories as the interviewees recounted. The family of Mokomoko spoke of the soul-destroying consequences that befell Te Whakatohea tribe after the hanging of their tipuna or ancestor in the 19th century, leading to the killing of many people defending their lands and homes (Amoamo, 1990). "We the family of Mokomoko are the confiscation, we have been confiscated bodily, and in spirit, our soul has been destroyed." (Royal, 1996). Tai Mokomoko reflected on the incident and its impact in the present. Sonia Te Papa reflected on how her family members identified with the pain of past: "Mum and them have always been ostracised all their lives, for the supposedly wrong doing that the tipuna Mokomoko did. And I've been back in Opotiki for 7 years, and in these last 7 years that I've learnt and felt the pain that they've all grown up with." (Royal, 1996). Many in the community ostracised the descendants of Mokomoko and blamed him for the fate of the community.

Respected elder and tohunga Pōhutukawa conveyed how deeply embedded the Māori identity and sense of self is tied to land. Disruption, she argued during her interview, creates an immense sense of pain and anguish;

> "[Land loss] takes you away from your grassroots and from your land, and culture, and reo [language] and everything like that suffered from it ... People, they've got no connections anymore with their land, it's killed everything actually, especially the spirit of the land. [Land loss] had a sad impact too on relationships" – Pōhutukawa.

Pōhutukawa's reflections speak of a suffering and sadness accompanying past land grievance and how it has 'killed' the spirit and connection with the land. Stokes (2002) writes that "grievances about loss of land are really symbolic of a break up of traditional society, a feeling of having missed out somewhere along the line, that there was some value in a communal way of doing things in the past" (p. 8).

Grief is a powerful indicator of where attention must flow. Disrupted land attachments cause grief. If that loss turns into disenfranchised grief, the experience is perpetuated intergenerationally. Grief is a person's response to an object, relationship or person/s, from which a bond or affection was formed, but became lost, altered or disrupted. Grief becomes stuck "when a loss cannot be openly acknowledged, socially sanctioned, or publicly mourned" (Doka, 2002, p. 160); this is also referred to as disenfranchised grief. Indigenous or colonised communities are more likely to experience disenfranchised grief because the actions that caused it are not socially or politically recognised as a legitimate cause for grief

## Impacts on Management

> "I just feel spiritually there must be 'take' [issues] in that land, I don't know, you just keep thinking why can't we round the table find a common purpose" – Mingimingi.

Impacts of disenfranchised grief on management have been linked to decreases in motivation, productivity, and performance. It may also decrease long-term commitment and loyalty to an organisation (Bento, 1994). When people have not grieved, they feel like they do not fully belong. "The disenfranchised griever is alienated. The sense of alienation may be self-originating or based in actual social rejection of the individual." (Kollar cited in Bento, 1994, p. 40). The research Stein and Winokuer (cited in Eyetsemitan, 1998) conducted to determine the relationship between the workplace and grief identified several effects: mental lapses, decreased energy, difficulty in making decisions, anxiety, helplessness, inability to

concentrate; all are costly and expensive to organisations, especially, profit focused businesses. Eyetsemitan (1998) also argued that stifled grief has adverse implications for workers and workplace productivity. Unresolved grief, therefore, may have disruptive implications for productive work; for the purposes of this research, this can mean inhibiting the realisation of whānau potentiality.

## Te Mataku: Fear of Failure

Grounded in the experience of shame (Elliot & Thrash, 2004), fear of failure is a lack of motivation for achievement. Early work by Atkinson (1957) made initial links to shame and the painful experience of feeling one's entire self as a failure (Lewis, 1995). Fear proclivity forms early in human development and the first development of attachments (Bowlby, 1980). A child develops a comprehensive and coherent view of the world, containing assumptions about self, others and the future. Children exposed to threatening or neglectful environments develop fearful assumptions within their cognitive framework that tend to over-calculate the prediction of disastrous outcomes. Their mental schema formed at a young age, is naive and insubstantial, but it becomes a cache from which all new propositions are valued and assessed. The mental schema predisposes the child to act in ways that align with fearful beliefs.

The theme of mataku surfaced in a number of the interviews done for this thesis, illuminating some barriers and obstacles towards actualising whānau potentiality. Mataku, meaning to be afraid, frightened, intimidated or alarmed (Moorfield, 2005), is an unpleasant emotion, triggered by a threat from danger, pain or harm. This section explores both the nature of fear as a historical anxiety perpetuated in the present and its effects on successive Māori land trusts management.

### Where does fear come from?

The interviews included many accounts of ‘feeling blamed’, ‘making mistakes’ and ‘doing something wrong’ which clearly interferred with the cognitive and emotional processing of land management matters. A theoretical explanation can be linked to the fear-based system of attachment theory (Bowlby, 1969). Two behavioural systems linked to attachment theory include the exploratory based system and fear behavioural system. Exploratory behaviour, essential to human development for the primary function of learning, activates only when the attachment system is in a state of contented equilibrium. When engaged in exploratory behaviour, a child perceives that the attachment figure will be available and accessible if needed. This trust programming evolves as the child’s needs and distress calls are repeatedly met and responded to with reciprocal maternal behaviours. The child develops a sense of felt security (Bowlby, 1973). Its opposite, the fear system, activates when the child perceives fear is imminent and threatens its emotional or physical self. Developed through an unresponsive and unavailable attachment figure, who shows inconsistent responses, the child develops low trust and remains in a fearful state. Becoming clingy and demanding, the child is less likely to develop exploratory behaviours.

Perceived access to the primary attachment figure is used as a secure base (Ainsworth et al., 2015) dependant on the ‘felt security’ of the infant. These systems also exist in adults. An interplay exists between protection and exploration. Disrupted attachments create highly sensitive and overactive fear systems and can be perpetuated into adulthood.

A basic premise of attachment theory is that when attachment needs are sufficiently met, a healthy exploration of the environment occurs. The primary caregiver provides a secure base from which the individual can explore his or her external world (Ainsworth, 1978).

> "All of us, from the cradle to the grave, are happiest when life is organised as a series of excursions, long or short, from the secure base provided by our attachment figures." (Bowlby, 1988).

Ainsworth (1978) found that styles of attachment were related to exploratory behaviour. Without a secure base, exploratory behaviours are minimised and constrained. Disruption occurred in the formation of healthy relationship blueprints of Māori land and whānau attachments. Attachment theory originally intended to explain the evolutionary development of mainly mother–child attachments, but later empirical research and theoretical advancements showed how a human navigates relationships across their entire life cycle (Parkes, Stevenson-Hinde, & Marris, 1993). Attachment theory, one of the leading perspectives and paradigm for understanding the dynamics between human relationships, explores the quality of emotional bonds that occur between people (Mikulincer & Shaver, 2003).

The initial parent–child attachment forms a blueprint for how the child will treat other relationships during their life, providing an explanation for working relationships and attachment processes in adulthood (Hazan & Shaver, 1990). Blueprints of relationship engagement are implicit, because they are formed while the consciousness is in development, and "all too often these ill-conditioned implicit beliefs become self-fulfilling prophecies in our lives. We create meanings from our unconscious interpretation of early events, and then we forge our present experiences from the meaning we've created. Unwittingly, we write the story of our future from narratives based on the past." (Mate & Levine, p. 350).

Disrupted attachments may explain the complicated and high incidences of conflict in the Māori land trust and relational complexity expressed earlier in this chapter. Over-reaction seemed to occur frequently in the Māori land trust environments. Mate and Levine (2010) explain: "What seems like a reaction to some present circumstance is, in fact, a reliving of past emotional experience....Whenever a person 'overreacts' — that is, reacts in a way that seems

inappropriately exaggerated to the situation at hand — we can be sure that implicit memory is at work. The reaction is not to the irritant in the present but to some buried hurt in the past." (2010, p. 346).

Colonisation has disrupted this secure base, or secure attachment relationships for many Māori. Risk aversion and fear permeated some of the interviews in this thesis, and these have multiple implications for management and governance.

> "Because those older people begin to feel threatened. And you know, one of the things about it is the fact that over time there's such a degree of colonisation. We're now dealing with elders who have been seriously colonised themselves. People of my age have been colonised seriously" – Kōwhai.

### Impacts on Management

The interviews showed a connection between mataku and organisational performance. Kahikatea shared his thoughts on the foreboding sense of fear and paranoia of losing land: "well yeah [there's a] fear that we might do the wrong thing, and then we'll lose the lot, and I don't wanna be the one known to have lost the last farm." The pivotal role of kaitiakitanga or guardianship places a responsibility on Māori to protect land. Kaitiakitanga embeds the notions of obligation and a strong moral imperative to take care of a particular piece of territory. Kahikatea's quote illuminates the intergenerational duty and responsibility bestowed and bequeathed upon the present generation to manage and govern Māori land blocks sustainably. Feeling blamed carries a negative sense of responsibility for a fault or wrong that has occurred and it is associated with shame, guilt, fear and anger. Assigning blame is a form of devaluing others. Being held accountable for the fault or the wrong occurring with land would bring, for many Māori, a catastrophic sense of shame.

Tōtara also commented on the loss of the land and potential consequences of making mistakes – "my God, if we make a mistake [with the land] the bank will get it." His statement exemplifies how past experiences influence present decisions and perspectives. Historically, many processes led to Māori land dispossession such as confiscation (Boast & Hill, 2010) or individualisation (Stoker & Moseley, 2010). There is another, as Tōtara suggests – "the bank getting it" (Palmer, 1988). Debt has caused the ownership of much land to be transferred. The occurrence of this in the past creates anxiety and trepidation for current landowners. There are emotional repercussions of land lost through unpaid loans or rates. The uneasiness evident in many interviews seemed to emerge from a sense of an ongoing threatening presence of an unnamed someone or something coming to take the land.

Tōtara identified fear as a contagious and stifling element for the every generation – "that fear of failure and being highlighted in a bad light can be stifling; it doesn't allow this generation and the generation before us to have a crack." The study of cross-generational continuity of social behavior links with attachment theory studies (Steele, Steele, & Fonagy, 1996). The lack of role modeling for subsequent generations to emulate attributes to the perpetuation of unproductive behaviors, thus stifling potential. The tendency is to reproduce what has been done before (Bowlby, 1969).

> "The culture of managing risk by making sure you do nothing risky, that's a recent, relatively recent phenomenon" – Tōtara.

A fearful individual perceptually and cognitively orients towards failure-relevant information in order to avoid acute pain from the experience of not achieving. Tōtara references fear as a recent, learned behaviour with the Māori land trust. Māori traditions express a counter to narratives of fear, relaying a courageous and daring people engaged in entrepreneurial pursuits (Petrie, 2006) – the Maui legends (Keelan, 2010) and Pacific ocean navigation feats (Evans,

2009), for example. Therefore, the recent phenomenon of a magnified or inflated sense of mataku around losing land, links with historical anxiety and the experience of mass disruptions to land attachments. Fear robs people of their potential and sense of higher purpose. Ngutu Kākā summed up the debilitating consequence of fear:

> "I feel like that's a real issue in our culture that people are too scared to try for fear of it not being perfect. And actually, that in itself is the failure, that way of thinking is the failure" – Ngutu Kākā.

Tōtara connected the fear of failure to embarrassment or a humiliation inflicted by others:

> "There is fear of failure too. Māori are not allowed to fail in business; you get jumped on pretty quick, if not by your own, then by media" – Tōtara.

The fear of being judged or 'jumped on' can bring on self-conscious feelings, and some landowners felt the apprehension of being scrutinised and evaluated negatively. Interviewees who spoke of mataku revealed its links with inefficient and ineffective management practices in the Māori land trust. Fearful land trusts tend to remain with the status quo. A desire to avoid being negatively evaluated – or even anticipating that – could lead to non-action, for fear that any failure might expose and uncover inadequacies. Fear of failure is an avoidance-based motive disposition, a tendency to orient towards or seek to avoid failure (Atkinson, 1957). Therefore, mataku trustees and their governance lack the courage to engage in transformative action necessary to realise whānau potentiality. Stifling productive and progressive behaviours, such landowners lack the stimulus to pursue action that may be fraught with obstacles and barriers. Given the history for many landowners, such actions can be understandable.

Fear can be a paralysing emotion, characterised by withdrawal and a reticence at being involved in new initiatives. Therefore, a pervading attitude of feeling safer by remaining with the status

quo, rather than changing, jeopardises actualising whānau potentiality. It is not as if land management trusts do not want to make change. One government report (Dewes et al., 2011) revealed a broad range of ambitious Māori land aspirations, where landowners wanted "to achieve the best economic potential through exploring the possibility of diversification into new commercial opportunities." However, emancipatory entrepreneurship requires courageous transformative action to change, adapt or address what needs to be done (Henry, 2012). Fear inhibits trustees and governors from making ambitious decisions. The paralysing nature of mataku potentially restricts entrepreneurial pursuits, because managers and governors are less likely to take up new opportunities. Dispirited landowners may lack an alertness to opportunities – a key feature of entrepreneurship theory (Kirzner, 2015) and a vital component of whānau potentiality.

Neither size nor scale is barriers to the fear of failure. Interviewee Kauri commented on the risk-averse nature that can occur at small and large land blocks.

> "There's a mataku, a scaredy cat almost, a very risk-averse nature going on in the way people invest or the way people acquire. It doesn't matter whether it's one million or a hundred million or five hundred million" – Kauri.

Kauri recognised that fear is a phenomenon occurring across many Māori land entities, regardless of their asset and resource size. Individuals seek to protect themselves from failure by "escaping the situation physically (quitting) or mentally (withdrawing effort) or by pushing hard to succeed (in order to avoid failure)" (Elliot & Thrash, 2004, p. 958). Fear of failure is not always characterised by paralysing behaviours. Its reverse or antitheses are obsession and domination, which may translate into commercial success, but may trade off sustainability and eclipse the quality of relationships. People who pursue initiatives, stemming from fear and shame, engage in the process of wanting, where the bar continues to be reset, never quite

reaching or attaining the desired place. Obsession may result in fatigue, damaged relationships and a decrease in productivity.

## Te Riri: Unproductive Anger

Links between anger and shame are well documented in the clinical literature (Hejdenberg & Andrews, 2011). A protective function or defensive survival response of the body is to very quickly convert shame to anger (Lewis, 1971). Anger can become a disconnected emotion that keeps people separated and disconnected. Anger shifts the blame towards another, allowing a sense of control and relief from the impaired experience of shame (Tangney, Wagner, Fletcher, & Gramzow, 1992).

Riri, the Māori word for anger, is to fight, quarrel, rage, wrath, or battle (Moorfield, 2005). The people interviewed for this thesis used emotionally charged language, phrases, stories and incidents that suggest harsh, critical and sometimes violent settings that characterise the Māori land trust. For example, there were many statements describing patterns of anger and aggression:

- "you are the punching bag coz they can take their frustrations out on you"
- "you do take some big punches"
- "whether you can weather all those negative arrows that keep being shot in your back all the time"
- "sometimes you have to wear a bulletproof vest
  and yeah the challenges were just too huge, the fights with the families and stuff like that, we had heaps of run-ins, with my uncles and that, and yeah, you get threatened"
- "A trustee that has been living in Australia for 6 years finally turns up to his first AGM, and he's [verbally] firing bullets at everyone"
- "you just get ripped to shreds"
- "some of those lands go back a long way in that family, so any sign that you're doing something mischievous, or illegal there, all the knives come out"

Such discourse represents a metaphorical battlefield. The Māori land trust becomes a place or situation of conflict or strife. Anger in the Māori land trust is expressed towards two different groups: externally at the system (represented by the government, colonisation, and Western imposed structures), and internally, where landowners fight with each other.

### Perpetuated Anger

Externally directed anger is not a new phenomenon in the history of Māori land management. Māori long directed irritation and protest towards the Native Land Court, in a number of ways (Ward, 1997). Haka of verbal and choreographed compositions and expressions of protest and anger was one way. Te Pūru, a Tuhoe haka composed in 1864, reacted to the encroachment of the colonial invasion by settler armed forces. Te Pūru literally means 'the bull'. Metaphorically, it belittles colonial forces by symbolising them through the imagery of a bull. '*Whakatangatanga ki runga i whakatanga ki raro*/the bull's arrogance takes everything in its sight', the haka condemns. Referencing emotional suffering, the words convey disgust, "*pukawautia koa*/they are a lost people." It mentions the feeling of being cut off, "*o te whītau tapahia*/severing the heart of our community".

The haka of Ngāti Porou tribal chief Tuta Nihoniho, first performed in 1898, also protested the policies and procedures of the Native Land Court. Nihoniho communicated anger and disapproval in the aggressive and explosive haka titled, Te Kiringutu. In confronting and challenging prose, it protested Crown acquisitions of Ngāti Porou land (Deed of Settlement of Historical Claims, 2010). In dramatic, poetic form, Nihoniho expressed his frustrations, opening with the words "*Pōnga rā, e pōnga rā*!/My days are dark", juxtaposing *pō*/night and *rā*/day. Nihoniho conveyed a sense of darkened days, attributed to "*Te Whare ō ngā Ture, ka whiria te Māori*/governments tying up Māori" and "*Ngā Mema ra te kōhuru*/ the murderous

members of parliament". Extreme in its imagery of anger and frustration, the haka seeks to expose government greed – "*i haramai tonu koe ki te kai whenua*/come to eat all their land". Te Kiringutu means upon the skin of the lip, a metaphorical reference to a person who greedily brings food to his or her own mouths. Nihoniho contrasts the gluttonous and greedy behaviours conveyed in the haka with the bleak situation of Māori poverty – "*na te ngutu o te Māori, pōhara kai kutu*/who are left desolate with only lice for food". Finally, he insults with derogatory accusations at the government – "*Pokokōhua! Kōuramokai*/your heads should be boiled; you are nothing but slaves to gold!" This haka, still used and performed today, captures the continued Māori frustration and anger at the forced policies, processes and legislation of Māori land.

The anger expressed in these 19th-century haka was a response to land loss and land alienation to subjugating colonial forces. But Māori also expressed anger towards each other. The processes of the Native Land Court tended to generate highly competitive and intensely charged antagonistic environments that triggered divisiveness amongst Māori. The individualised focus of a court-forced ownership tenure fashioned a competitive dynamic, undermining the usual co-operation required in traditional land tenure systems. Internal friction and conflict between whānau erupted, "for this is a winner-take-all situation" Ward (1997) noted about the Native Land Court, and "quite the opposite of one which encouraged Māori to respect each other's interests in a spirit of aroha" (p. 224). Williams (1999) noted that "jealousies and acrimony fostered by the individualisation process … create divisions which in some cases continue to plague hapū and iwi to this day." (p.3).

By way of illustration, East Coast iwi Ngāti Porou referred to their historical claim in their Deed of Settlement, stating that the "strongly contested hearings had divisive effects within Ngāti Porou" (Deed of Settlement of Historical Claims, 2010, p.16). The report on their

experiences recounts the tribal factions of three hapū or sub-tribes – Te Whanau-a Rakairoa, Te Aitanga-a-Mate, and Te Whanau-a-Iritekura. The tribes were united by strong whakapapa or genealogical ties, and had even fought alongside each other during the land wars of the 1860s. However, in 1885 they found themselves against each other, defending their rights and competing for the same ownership claim in court for the Waipiro land block. After a rehearing and a commission of inquiry six years later, the Native Land Court finally made a verdict. Armed conflict between the hapū was only narrowly averted. Petitions to rehear the case were made until 1916 (Deed of Settlement of Historical Claims, 2010, p. 16).

Anger and hostility existed historically, but the same divisiveness between and within whānau still occurs in many land trust environments. In this research, interviewees revealed instances of people, usually whānau against whānau, causing harm to each other through anger and aggression in Māori land trust meetings. Aggression in the Māori land trust fluctuated in intensity, depending on the interviewee and their experiences. Most interviewees, however, had experienced extreme forms of physical violence, and on the other end of the spectrum, a type of hōhā or nuisance behavior. Tōtara recalled a trust's annual general meeting when a chair was thrown at the Chairman. Other participants remembered and reflected on the threat of violence being enacted or anticipated:

> "And so I actually went in there thinking, one of them probably will hit me, so I just need to be prepared to go, and so I kind of went in there, like, really prepared, and I actually told my whanau, I'm going to this hui. I should only be there for an hour. If you don't hear from me, you'd better come and get me cos I'll be knocked out somewhere" – Raukūmara

Raukūmara was the chairperson of a trust, and she recalled a real physical threat against her in attending a land trust meeting. It was not a one-off incident. On another occasion she recalls;

> "I arrived at the board table and the chair, who's like, he's really well-known, he says to me, now, when you come in sit beside me, and I said, okay, yeah, *kei te pai* [that's all good]. And

> he said, I'm not doing that because I'm devaluing you, but actually the last time we came here, we had a punch-up, and it was an all-in, yeah so when you come, sit over here, sit back. I'll put you by a door. Basically, he was giving me these exit strategies" – Raukūmara

Other interviewees told of less overtly violent proceedings: shouting, swearing, personal insults, name-calling, posturing and threatening gestures. Aggression amongst members of a land block seemed to be an accepted or normalised aspect of dealing with Māori land. Some interviewees readily accepted the aggression as standard land management and whānau behaviour. Participants frequently spoke of the argumentative tone of some meetings, and examples of hostility, aggression, and antagonism appeared in many interviews:

- "And sitting in the Māori Land Court and [the whanau], you know, abusing [my father] in the Māori Land Court, in what he was trying to do" – Taramea
- "The worst one I've seen is where my chairman has cut off people, 'shut up,' in a full meeting, annual general meeting. Or another one, another chairman would say 'that's bullshit, shut up, sit down, sit down" – Harakeke
- "So then I would come back to the table at our next trustee meeting and I said, look, we need to have some things in place, just common decencies, no swearing, yelling between each other or yelling over the top of one another" – Harakeke

Such actions have major implications for land management. The displacement and disruptions to Māori land has compromised quality attachment relationships. Under conditions of emotional security and economic stability, traditional Māori society provided supportive environments for healthy secure attachments. Māori parenting attachments were inclined to be secure and healthy (Jenkins & Harte, 2011). In their review of traditional Māori child rearing practices, Jenkins and Harte (2011) conclude that Māori parenting styles tended to be ones of secure attachments. Their analysis of Māori oral histories revealed that children were revered and viewed as tapu or sacred gifts from the gods. Numerous examples of composed oriori or lullaby attest to children's special place in traditional Māori society. Hinekitawhiti composed a doting lullaby for her granddaughter, Ahuahukiterangi. "*Whakaaingi i runga ra he kauwaha ariki e/* soar gracefully on high O chieftainess." "*Koi tata iho koe ki ngā wahi noa*/and do not

descend too near the common places." The granddaughter is directed to keep her vision high and remember her specialness in the world. "*Hau te mau mai i nga taonga o Wharawhara, hai tohu ra mohou, koi hengia koe/* you will be decked with treasures and jewellery, so no one will mistake your significance" (Jenkins & Harte, 2011, p. 13). Early European observers also noted how devoted to their children Māori parents were, and their maternal sensitivity.

Colonisation and land displacement threatened a secure Māori economic base and cultural support systems. Whānau and hapū devoted energy and resources to defending against annexation and subjugation. Labour usually given to tending and supplying food, for example, went elsewhere, creating stress for many. This left the usual sanctity of the family unit vulnerable; emotional and psychological stress accrued, placing additional physical and emotional stress on primary attachment figures. This was a form of trauma. Focus and energy of the attachement figure became diverted elsewhere to more immediate survival requirements, such as providing shelter and food, compromising the quality of maternal sensitivity that requires attentive and attuned responses. As noted in Chapter Seven, the Native Land Court and many other colonisation and assimilation initiatives diverted much of the Māori resources and energy to attending court sessions and fighting for land and rights.

The primary function of attachments is to provide a child with protection while they are developing, that is "the provision of emotional security and protection against stress" (Rutter & O'Connor, 1999, p. 824). Cyclic in nature, the quality of a parent maternal sensitivity is dependent on how a person's main attachment figure responded to them. Cycles of maternal insensitivity thus perpetuate over generations, as parent respond to their children, in the way that they were responded to. Māori land displacement and alienation caused a disruption in maternal sensitivity. Unattended insensitivity can play out into adult relationships.

When a child perceives that proximity to the primary caregiver is threatened through separation, insecurity, hunger or fear, the attachment behavioural system is activated. When that system is under stress, the heart rate, blood pressure and body temperature of the child rises, causing the child to demonstrate anxiety through crying or screaming. Once proximity to the primary caregiver is achieved, the child returns to a state of equilibrium. When the primary caregiver appropriately and consistently responds to infant signals of distress, the baby develops a sense of trust and security about the external world, or what is commonly referred to as the 'secure base'. When a person or a population's physical, emotional or spiritual well-being is threatened, trauma occurs. This put a person's behavioural system on high alert, or high anxiety about the future.

### Impacts on Management

> "how do you facilitate a meeting when there's, like, deep-seated, deep-rooted bloody tensions there aye?" – Karaka.

Interviewee Karaka raised a critical point: how does management function effectively, when such antagonistic and extreme emotional tensions exist? The phrase 'deep-seated' suggests the existence of a hostile element over extended periods of time, firmly established and difficult to change. Conflicts erupt around landownership and authority but often stem from past actions and behaviours, not always connected directly to the land. Maire's 30-year involvement with land trusts also revealed whānau carrying a deep-seated hatred towards each other. She described witnessing extreme cases of hatred, sometimes within formal Māori land court settings, and escalating violence between families:

> "Yeah, we've had to come out of the court to de-escalate their shit, quite a bit actually. Some of it is real deep seated hatred; you can actually physically see that hatred on their face and, you know on their body" – Maire.

This anger and hostility may have turned into internalised oppression (Freire & Macedo, (2000). Friere and Macedo (2000) show how members of an oppressed group may start to adopt and act out the stereotypes created by their oppressors.

Academic literature and scholarly theories on relational conflict, a subset within the organisational conflict literature, may explain the extreme reactions operating within the Māori land trust. Thomas's (1976) work was a breakthrough in organisation conflict research, and led to the development of a conflict typology of two distinct categories – task conflict and relationship conflict. Task conflict is functional, and relational conflict, dysfunctional (De Dreu & Weingart, 2003; Pelled, Eisenhardt, & Xin, 1999). Task conflict, also known as substantive conflict, issue conflict, and cognitive conflict, deals with differences in opinion about content issues such as policies, tasks, procedures, resource allocation, or the clash of ideas and content of the task. (De Dreu & Beersma, 2005). Relational conflict, coined to explain the difference between task conflicts, concerns the fundamental need of the human condition to maintain a positive view of the self and to defend ideas about right and wrong.

Understood at both the individual and group level, (De Dreu & Weingart, 2003), relational conflict is also known as affective conflict (Jehn, 1994), identity-based conflict, emotional conflict (Pelled et al., 1999) and interpersonal conflict (Eisenhardt, Kahwajy, & Bourgeois III, 1997). Relational conflicts arise out of the need to defend a moral position tied to individual identity. When a positive view of the self is jeopardised, conflicts tend to be visceral, challenging value-laden, ideological beliefs. Māori society operated from an economy of mana, described in Chapter Four as a relational exchange economy. The concepts associated with the economy of mana such as tapu, kaitiakitanga, whanaungatanga, mauri, are value-laden, and so, whānau and land conflict is more likely to be relational. Anger can ensue. In his interview, Pōhutukawa summed up that anger as passion:

> "Oh yeah, some of ours were bordering on [physical violence], that, in a sense, is a reflection of the passion that those people have for that ancestral land aye? And you daren't go and stuff around with it aye, you be careful how you tread on it, and how you use those ancestral lands" – Pōhutukawa.

Disrupted land attachments help us to understand relational behaviour in the Māori land trust, and to see that the land symbolises something to fight about. Disrupted land attachments begin to explain extreme behaviours and emotionally charged reactions within Māori land trusts. The level and intensity of anger reflects the deep attachment Māori have for the land. Disrupted attachments have a pervasive nature which disturbs relationships with land and others (Baumeister & Leary, 1995).

Relational conflict threatens organisational interests by blocking and obstructing group interests from reaching goals. Relational conflict and negative outcomes for management are typically associated with decreased performance and productivity, lower profits, lesser quality of group decisions and reduced creativity in product development (De Dreu & Vliert, 1997). Jehn's (1994) research found emotional conflicts among group members was associated with a decrease in performance, noting that, when animosity and tension occurred between group members, performance suffered. Jehn (1994) went on to propose that members prioritise solving interpersonal problems, rather than attaining group goals and aspirations.

These ideas have direct implications for Māori land management and the realisation of whānau potentiality. Interviewee Maire spoke of the personal politics:

> "And it's only because it got personal in the court; it was no longer about the issue. It was about me against you, and what you've done to me, and bring up everything from the past that had nothing to do with the Trust, yeah. And I mean everything from when they were young kids, all the way through now" – Maire.

“As a result, valuable resources are wasted as employees engage in dysfunctional conflict and miss the opportunity of utilising functional conflict to improve their effectiveness.” (Rahim, 2011, p. xi). Relational conflict produces scenarios that can be hijacked by power struggles and personality issues.

Some reactions to relational conflict would be to fight back with aggression, but other landowners became apathetic due to extreme difficulties of participating in constructive ways. Some landowners had a lack of interest, enthusiasm or concern for their land interests. The comments of several interviewees acknowledged that sometimes it was easier for the trustees not to be involved at all:

> “In the end oh, you just give it up, buggar it, go and work for the government (laughter), become a public servant” – Pōhutukawa.
> “Too hard basket. You know, this is too hard, and actually, I’m quite happy doing my job in Hamilton or Auckland, and I don’t need to be involved in that” – Tītoki.
> “when we have problems, it’s the hearts and mind stuff that really comes to the fore, and then you kind of think, oh my god, this is just too hard” – Raukūmara.

Apathy arises when the conflict becomes too overwhelming for some landowners, who seek alternative outlets to contribute their energy and resources. Whanaungatanga has been identified as a source of competitive advantage and social capital for Māori (Haar & Delaney, 2009a). Overt hostility causes problems for whanaungatanga, because severed relationships and connections diminish the potential to access alternative networks as a source of social capital. Interviewee Tōtara recognised the apathetic actions people who dominated meetings:

> “With large boards, it’s very easy for a few voices to dominate and for a few others to nod their heads and go along and so what is the value in that, and you think you may as well just have the 3 people that talk the loudest ... The ones who just sit there quietly and don’t say anything ...Quite often they will just shrug their shoulders and just go with whatever” – Tōtara.

Overly dominant voices impede progress, but those who seek to avoid conflict can create difficulties for the group. Significant diversity of opinion is lost if members do not or cannot contribute.

## Pūhaehae: Envy and Mistrust

Shame and trust are inextricably linked (Brown, 2006; Kaufman, 1992). People who hold high levels of shame are less likely to trust. Mayer, Davis and Schoorman (1995) defined trust as the willingness to be vulnerable to another party when that party cannot be controlled or monitored. Trust is the willingness to rely on the actions of others, and it is the basis of a person or group placing an element of trust in another party. Thus trust becomes entwined with the risk of being vulnerable. This section reviews instances and stories of mistrust that arose in the research interivews and examines the implications for management in Māori land trusts.

### Stories of Mistrust

Trust is the state that binds human connection, and those who lack trust have trouble engaging in social contexts. Trust is a vital aspect for internal harmony, positive social functioning and prosperity (Fukuyama, 1995). Sources of mistrust occur in early human development. Mistrust, similar to fear and shame are based on experiences, where attachment theory again provides an explanation of its primary formation in human development. Disrupted attachments, as Haskell and Randall (2009) defined, impact alterations in relationships with others, which inhibit people from connecting meaningfully. Disconnected behaviours arise, which ultimately block and build barriers against productive engagement to move visions forward. People with disrupted attachments have difficulty trusting (Haskell & Randall, 2009). Within their history or past, trust has been damaged. Catastrophic events may have damaged trust – human betrayal or neglect, for example – which creates a cognitive mapping or schema with which subsequent

relationships are judged and assessed. Trust is influenced by a person's cultural, social, developmental experience and personality type (Mayer et al., 1995).

Interviewees for this research identified many levels where lack of trust occurred: between individuals or whānau, between trustees and shareholders/beneficiaries, between landowner and government/ Māori Trustee/ Māori Land Court. Tītoki said, "There's a degree of mistrust, I think, out there amongst a lot of families around land." Statements about mistrust were often linked to events from the past. Mānuka noted, "I've been to hui [meetings] where people have said oh I don't trust them because their grandfather stole my tractor, you know." People descended from families historically perceived as untrustworthy tended to never be forgotten or forgiven, even if those wronged actions seemed quite trivial or minimal. Interviewees recounted many episodes of landowners holding on to historical experiences that carried bitterness and anger. "It's a lack of trust, and it comes with the whole colonisation framework", Taramea noted, pinpointing the role of colonisation as a source of mistrust. Populations and communities that have endured colonisation are more likely to suffer from neglect and abuse (M. Durie, 1994). Often having higher levels of socio-economic disadvantage as well (Flynn et al., 2010; Marriott, 2014) these populations may produce communities associated with high-levels of mistrust.

### Implications for Management

Organisational trust and its importance has been studied in connection with many phenomena; with Mayer et al. (1995) noting research documenting links between leadership, management by objectives, negotiation, game theory, performance appraisal, labour–management relations, and implementation of self-managed work teams. High levels of mistrust surrounded the stories given in the interviews, and it took many forms: jealousy, envy, resentment, doubt, animosity

and inimicality. Such emotions breed suspicion and can cause whānau relationships to break down and inhibit the progress of organisational goals (Ministry of Justice, 2001). Maire reflected "when other families become jealous, they think that you're doing something that they're not aware of." Some interviews recounted experiences suggesting some land members displayed elements of paranoia, a process influenced by anxiety or fear, often to the point of irrationality. Mistrust can involve anxious, fearful feelings and thoughts related to feeling persecuted or conspired against, causing people to fret or fear things that are not consistent with reality. Taramea's experience supports this. He recalled a family situation of jealousy and envy; his story reflects how dividing behaviours create disillusionment:

> "My grandmother was involved in many of the Māori Trusts. If you turn up with a car that's slightly flasher than the other person's car, then you must have your fingers in the till. So there was animosity, there was jealousy, misunderstanding. [My grandmother] was having her daughter nibbling away in her ear about, 'your nephew's ripping you off,' so there was all these sorts of smoke and mirrors, and all these kehua [ghosts] which weren't really real, but she perceived them that they were" – Taramea.

Paranoia debilitates progress towards attaining whānau potentiality and land aspirations.

The behaviour Taramea described is also known as splitting, a behaviour studied by psychologists. People with splitting tendencies polarise others as either good or bad. It is a defensive dynamic (Carser, 1979). Splitters tend to engage in and create high conflict situations, instead of resolving them. The splitter divides the group or people by complaining to others as a way to get them on side; they do not take responsibility to give feedback or correct situations. Divisive behaviours became destructive and toxic, bringing down the collective morale and then organisational performance – all with negative repercussions. Taramea continued:

> "So the manager would try to access the farm. [And my grandmother would say] 'No, you can't come down here today,' just being a damn nuisance. And then [the farm manager] didn't wanna go down there because he was worried about what [my grandmother] was gonna do or say. I think it is often the case with our people; it's that jealousy, envy, lack of understanding, lack of, you know, this whole concept of tatou-tatou [from us to us]" – Taramea.

This example demonstrates how mistrust stifles productivity, blocking flow and movement towards actions that need to occur to progress. In this case, the farmer becomes anxious of the negative engagement, which then restricts his ability to carry out his job. In another example, Ngāu tuarā or backbiting, creates undesirable issues. Interviewees gave examples of malicious and disparaging remarks about others, especially made behind a person's back, designed to bring down a project to make a person seem unfavourable to others.

> "What I've noticed is that those two or three individuals that don't get their way, they go and spread poison to the iwi affiliates, then that perception of us, of being this screwed up, low productivity, a low-efficiency board, has just been perpetuated" – Raukūmara.

Mānuka commented on how landowners often vilified each other, criticising and abusing the integrity and reputation of each other. Oppressed groups can project negativity and feelings of powerlessness on those most visible, often the leadership, who are seen to act from positions of power. Raukūmara made the important connection between backbiting and 'spreading poison' and low productivity and efficiency:

> "If people don't feel like they are getting the truth or the full story, then its gonna create mistrust, and the barriers go up and, and the cynicism goes up, and as a beneficiary you don't feel like you are part of this process and they feel like they are being talked to" – Tōtara.

Suspicion is an ambiguous state of mind that puts the mental system on alert for a potential threat. While some land trusts may warrant suspicion about leadership and governance, suspicion may be fear or anxiety induced. The initial doubts and uncertainties become the prism

through which the world is viewed. Suspicion colours a person's interpretation of events. An infinite vicious circle is the result.

Taramea spoke of jealousy and envy, linking it to unawareness or a type of administrative illiteracy:

> "I'm a descendant, through my great-grandmother and I remember as a young kid, 12 years old, sitting in the Trust Board meeting or AGM actually, and the annual reports there. And some old fella, lovely old fella, stands up from the back. Now look, he says, I see here, your fellas phone bill. $1,200 a month. Mine's only $67. No comprehension of the difference between how did he manage it. They don't understand this stuff, then all the suspicion creeps in and the jealousies and the envy, right? And it's not their fault. My phone bill's $67, why is the Trust's $1,200? I don't understand this, you know?" - Taramea.

Lack of trust tended to perpetuate divisive or dis-connective behaviours, making it difficult for trustees to do their job. "Trust is mandatory for optimization of a system", suggest Deming, Mayer and Gavin (2005). "Without trust, each component will protect its own immediate interests to its own long-term detriment, and to the detriment of the entire system." (W. Edward Deming in Mayer & Gavin, 2005). Mistrust, is, therefore, a protective and defensive reponse.

## Conclusion

Each trauma experience needs to be considered for its own unique characteristics, depth and intensity, reflecting the degree to which a person or populations has had to adapt to accommodate their disrupted attachment. Trauma experiences are contextual, and must be understood within the environment from which they emerged. Indigenous communities are varied and diverse, each with their own distinctive experience and relationship with settler societies. Each experience has its own nuances and layers of implications, requiring its own understanding, interpretation, and terminology to describe, explain and illuminate the issues. Brave Heart uses descriptors such as "ruminations over past events and lost ancestors, survival guilt, numbness in response to trauma, depression and intrusive dreams" (Haskell & Randall,

2009, p. 70) to describe the trauma responses to sexual abuse, starvation, and emotional neglect of the North American experience of residential schools. However, residential school trauma requires quite different interpretations and terminology than the anxiety, frustration, and anger of Māori experiences about the Native Land Court. The essential principles and concepts may have the same basic premise – that is, unacknowledged trauma perpetuates – each trauma experience is unique, and requires its own contextual understanding.

This chapter accommodates the contextual nature by providing the terminology and contextual descriptors to suit the Māori setting. Five emotional states have been identified via interviews concerning the Māori land trust, demonstrating how each has an impact on the operation of the organisations. These emotional states link with the deep emotional and spiritual connections to Māori as Whenua BEINGS and have been shown to have quite perverse and pervasive impacts on the management of Māori land trusts. Thus, disrupted attachments damage the ability of an individual to positively shape their relationships with others and their connection to their community. From a management perspective, these emotions interfere with capturing opportunities and organisational efficiency.

# Wāhanga Tekau

Harmonise: Aio Pyramid

**The Slaughter of Papatūānuku**

they chopped up
our Papatūānuku
used colonial law
like a surgical knife
neatly sliced boundaries
cut into her flesh
her beautiful curves
carved up
into blocks
ancestral names
replaced with
A2D5B4 and C34 we've tried our best
to heal her wounds
but the rotting stench
of that slaughter
keep seeping pus
when whanau tear
each other apart
in the Māori Land Court
and battling
over who knows the
trust order document
the best

Nā Keedy Marmye i kaitito
Te Aitanga a Mate

# Chapter 10: Aims and Objectives

This chapter discusses pathways for harmonising land disruption. I offer three strategies under the heading of the AIO Pyramid; revisiting the past, reframing the present, and reimaging the future. Unlike other business models, the AIO Pyramid takes a temporal approach. It accounts for any past and inherited behavioural patterns and systems affecting the management of Māori land. It allows and creates outlets for the expression of intense land and family relationships of the present. It draws upon disruptive thinking, innovative behaviours, new narratives, story-telling, imagination and intuition to explore whenua future possibilities of what could be—and to create pathways to desired outcomes for land owners. High level recommendations are given as solutions forward. Then an overall discussion and summary is provided.

## AIO Pyramid

Episodic views of reality are major problems in business development and economic frameworks. As Feuerstein, Hoffman, & Miller (1980) writes;

> "…grasping the world episodically means that each object or event is experienced in isolation without any attempt to relate or link it to previous or anticipated experiences in time and space. An episodic grasp of reality reflects a passive attitude toward one's experiences because no attempt is made by the individual to actively contribute to his experience by organising, ordering, summating, or comparing events and thereby placing them within a broader and more meaningful context." (Feuerstein, Hoffman, & Miller, 1980, pp. 102–103).

As a way to overcome an episodic view of the world and bring land development into a broader context of both time and place, the AIO Pyramid is offered as a strategy to harmonise disruption to the management in Māori land trusts. The AIO Pyramid is solution focused and a action

oriented model that looks to enabling preferred futures and comprises of three components; revisiting, reframing, and reimaging. 'Re' is a word-forming element that means back to the original place. The characteristic of this framework, then, is to go back, to renew from a deep understanding of the past.  Translated AIO means to be calm and at peace and is an acronym for ā-mua (the future), i-mua (the past) and ō naianei (of the present).

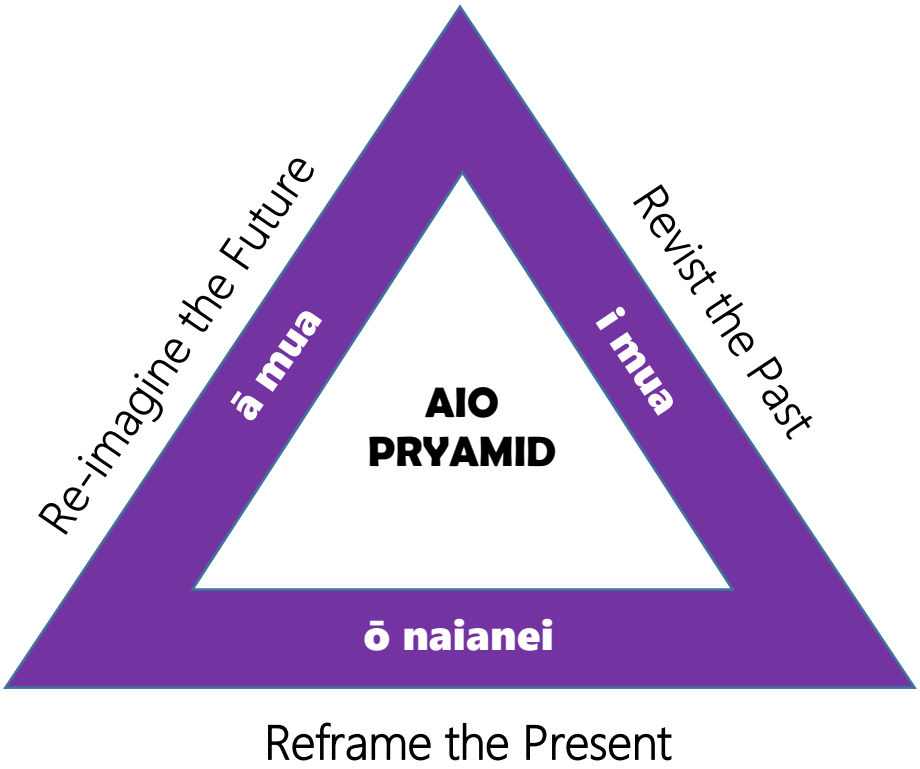



*Figure 10: AIO Pyramid - a Strategy for Harmonsing Disruption*

As the disruption has occurred at three levels – macro, meso and micro – solutions need to infiltrate at all three levels. Policy makers and government agencies, landowners, tribal institutions, corporate affiliates can use this strategy to address management disruption issues which will help to realise whanau land aspirations. The model suggests that by looking in all directions – past, present and future – transformation can occur.

The present emphases on Māori land development focuses on developing business capabilities of governance, finance, entrepreneurship, operational efficiency, enahncing value chains and feasibility studies etc. Lean start-up, design sprints, prototyping, and minimum viable products are the trending tools used in business start-up and development. There is ample discussion and information on these from other sources, so I do not address these capabilities here, but I do acknowledge their importance and usefulness in the Māori land trust. Additionally, while similarities exist across the Māori land experience, every land block and associated whanau have unique challenges and opportunities. The following reccommendations are kept at a high level, so as not to be too prescriptive, but some pragmatic suggestions are given to prompt thinking in this area. The following suggestions are not an exhaustive list.

## Ā-Mua: Reimagine the future

Moving whanau towards a positive future requires a clear articulate collective vision. Māori landowners who imagine many possibilities, can bring their aspirations into existence. Research has begun to address and validate that seeing or visualising your future leads to creating it (Dator, 2009). Futurist studies also show that remembering the past is an essential element utilised in forecasting futures, or a type mental time travel (D'Argembeau & Van der Linden 2004). However, traumatised communities may have difficulty imagining and realising their desired futures. As this research has shown, whakamā, mataku, mamae, riri, pūhaehae and attending to the urgency of the present can impede visioning the future. Because painful pasts can impact visioning, more spaces are needed to be cleared to allow for deep thinking and more tools utilised that help landowners to imagine a decolonised future. The following are recommendations for reimagining whanau and whenua futures.

*Recommendation: Develop a futurist capability*

Future visioning is not a new phenomenon to Māori (Ngata, 2014). The traditional term matakite was a "seer, one who foresees an event; also the vision" (Williams, 1971, p. 188) or someone who has divine information about the future (Keane, 2011). A matakite prophesies future events or is a person endowed with profound moral and spiritual insight and knowledge; a person who sees the future in their vision. Māori spiritual knowledge has undergone considerable damage as a result of the colonial conquest and needs restoration to enhance whanau ability to foresee their futures. Reviving the role of matakite and developing a Māori futurist capability is needed.

To date, suggestions about how to improve the Māori future has focused on enhancing socio-economic positions, which could be argued as being indistinct from success within the existing capitalist system. For instance, in a recent report by KPMG (2016), Hon. Te Ururoa Flavell outlined future aspirations for Māori as attaining good qualifications for rangatahi; healthy whānau; warm, dry houses; better jobs; flourishing businesses taking on the world; and managing assets in a way that is consistent with our aspirations. Similarly, He Kai Kei Aku Ringa (Māori Economic Development Panel, 2012), the national Māori economic development report, determined future transformation would occur through more jobs, better education and Māori-Crown partnerships. While these are worthy objectives, how can Māori landowners explore their future beyond the basics of life? Aiming for better educational results and better career prospects doesn't go far enough to define and articulate preferred Māori futures. This can risk perpetuating a future that continues to exist in a capitalist colonial system. Consequently, these projections cannot create the kaupapa-driven transformational change that Māori aspire to achieve. Techniques, tools and methods that encourage disruptive thinking need to be designed and incorporated into whanau and whenua development initiatives.

Suggested Actions:

a) Researchers to investigate matakite via literature review and conduct interviews with Māori who hold this knowledge. Resources to be developed and learnings distributed.
b) Engage futurist experts to help Māori landowners free themselves from the thinking of present day constraints. Māori landowners can use these expertise and learn to employ tools and design methods for Māori whenua and whanau futurising.

*Recommendation: Develop a disruptive capability*

How can Māori landowners rid themselves of the individualised ownership system when the philosophies that underpin it are deeply embedded into their management practices and now considered the normal way of operating? Imagining a decolonised landownership system absent of present day constraints and by how things are done today is challenging.

Recently there was an attempt to reform the Te Ture Whenua Act 1998 (*Te Ture Whenua Māori Act 1993 - Review Panel*, 2014). After consultation with over 3000 Māori landowners, similar to this research, findings emerged about the difficulty when trying to utilise Māori land. The reforms attempted to address challenges and make land utilisation and development easier for Māori landowners. However the changes were met with resistance and opposition (Treacher, 2017). This research agrees with the intention of the reforms - that is, to better enable and equip Māori to utilise land in a way that empowers their aspirations - however, there needs to be a deeper philosophical discussion alongside disruptive thinking with regards to how Māori land can be transformed at the macro level. Disruptive thinking is needed to make profound shifts in the current mind-sets and systems of organising. At a societal level, Māori landowners, politicians, lawyers and academics need to push themselves into an innovative thinking space where they can imagine alternative ways of re-organising Māori land ownership.

As this research shows, the current system of shareholder and dividends has created chaos amongst many land blocks. Land entities need to critically examine the context in which they operate and their history, and push back against Western framing that distorts whanau and whenua relationships. More promotion of ongoing formal and informal discussion about Māori land legislative transformation is needed.

Suggested Actions:

a) Appoint a working group to encourage informal and formal discussions on alternative whenua legislative options. The group will drive national discussions that consider transformative legislation based on tikanga and kawa. Hold nationwide wānanga to discuss paradigmatic changes to land legislation. These discussions need to address new models or ways a looking at governance, ownership and the shareholder dividend system. The questions driving the discussion is, how can Māori transform out of the current system of shareholders and dividends? What would the ideal Māori land ownership system look like? Or "How might Māori land ownership be better supported within a revised legislation"?
b) Hold a hack-a-thon that brings a wide range of people to collaborate intensively on solving Māori land ownership issues. Engage with disruptive tools and divergent thinking methods to empower Māori landowners and beneficiaries to think differently about their land.
c) Look to other models globally of collective land ownership.

## I-mua: Revisit the Past

Philosopher Søren Kierkegaard stated "Life can only be understood backwards; but it must be lived forwards". Individual and collective experiences should not be viewed as isolated, unrelated events or what psychologists term an episodic grasp of reality (Feuerstein, Hoffman, & Miller, 1980). The influence of the past needs to be incorporated when working towards

whānau and whenua development aspirations. This requires building in more reflective components to Māori land development initiatives. To reflect is the action of turning back. Land development and whānau potentiality frameworks need to incorporate a reflective component that constantly re-looks at actions, behaviours, processes and systems. Reflection can help gain new insights on old patterns to create a more holistic picture of the land trust and its members. Often missing from Māori land trust environments is a deep analysis of patterns of behaviour that have been shaped by both the history and the current context in which landowners operate. Disconnecting a context from its history and excluding the voices of those most affected can limit whānau potentiality.

*Recommendation: Restore and revive Māori methods for resolving conflict.*

Māori and their whenua relationships are sources of well-being for individuals and communities because of the bonds people develop with a particular piece of territory. The disruption of Māori as Whenua BEINGS is essential to understanding disrupted Māori land trust management. Māori land tends to create highly charged emotional behaviours. These can be expressed in positive ways – passion, motivation, potential to inspire and collectivise people – and in negative expressions as well – anger, frustration and self-sabotage. Many Māori still carry and hold strong feelings in connection with land. The depth of this attachment must be considered when trying to progress or move forward with land developments and whānau potentiality.

There are traditional Māori ways for dealing with conflict. Some of these need to be research more thoroughly. Multiple strategies and methodologies to overcome conflict were developed amongst varying hapu and whanau, a few of which have been explored (Love 2007, Quince 2007). A toolkit should be developed and expertise made available for whanau to learn how to

manage and deal with their own conflict. There should be guidelines made available for dealing with hostile and overly aggressive people - as this research showed this to be a reality of many land trusts. It is important that as much as possible, the whanau themselves are empowered to deal with their own conflict and that external legal litigation is used only as a final resort. The approach should take a dual world approach. There is a wealth of conflict knowledge and research established in Western business management to also be intergrated. Strengths can be built from the two paradigms - marrying Western understandings with Māori understandings.

Suggested Actions:

a) In conjunction with current Western organisational conflict approaches, research on traditional conflict methods should be investigated.
b) Develop and distribute an online toolkit pertaining to conflict resolution methods and strategies.
c) Provide expertise on conflict resolution and make these people available to Māori landowners.

*Recommendation: Operationalise the Whenua BEINGS wheel*

Current popular entrepreneurial and business development tools, such as lean canvas, balance scorecard, or SWOT analysis, provide some guidance on developing a business, but focus more on the present state of an organisation, and how to get to a desired future state. My research has demonstrated that patterns of behaviour stem from the past. Unless individuals, collectives and organisations have an in-depth understanding of inherited behaviors and systems, transformation may stagnate through an inability to identify negative patterns and stifling processes. Methods that help to reduce emotional bias and polarising behaviours in Māori land trust environments that I have discussed in this thesis need to be addressed. Therefore when

deep-seated issues arise whanau have methods that are able to cope and deal with strong emotional reactions. A framework that can understand human emotionality and cope with family dynamics and passionate energy around whanau and whenua relationships is essential.

The Whenua BEINGS wheel, a framework developed in this research offers this pathway but needs further development to be operationalised. Whenua BEINGS is designed with the intention of; encouraging participatory dialogue, facilitating individuals to explore conflict within themselves, creating quality of participation, encouraging deep listening, empathy, and cultivating a culture of flexible thinking. These processes should help to bring to the fore voices that are often suppressed or oppressed in stagnant land organisations. Operationalising the Whenua BEINGS wheel should work towards enhancing human and land relationships and could be investigated via the following;

Suggested Actions:

a) Bring multi-disciplinary collaborative approaches to further develop the Whenua BEINGS framework. The incorporation of multiple perspectives from healers, business specialists, tikanga tohunga (experts in Māori custom), academics, conflict mediators and psychologists will bring about the creation of a new holistic approaches currently unavailable to whānau who are struggling to realise their land aspirations. The multiple perspectives can develop indicators and measurements in the Whenua BEINGS Wheel to enable its operationalisation.
b) Engage facilitators who specialise in participatory design techniques, such as co-design. This enables a wide range of people to make a creative contributions to the formulation and solution of whānau conflict in Māori land trusts. Co-design facilitation provides ways for people to engage and communicate with each other, be creative, share insights and test out new ideas. A wide range of tools and techniques support the co-design process.

## O-naianei: Reframe the Present

Landowners lack guidance to help them tend to management conflict in the Māori land trust. All conflict has source and a context but it is felt in the present. Often at its core is a disrupted relationship between whānau and whenua. The work of the present is to identify at what level the conflict has emerged and why. The level of the conflict determines the approach. Macro level conflict require top-down changes. Meso level conflict requires mediators and dispute resolution methods. Micro level conflict may require one on one approaches with individuals that can be worked through with healers. At all levels of the conflict a reframing is required. Watzlawick, Weakland and Fisch (1974) describe the 'gentle art of reframing' thus:

> "To reframe, then, means to change the conceptual and/or emotional setting or viewpoint in relation to which a situation is experienced and to place it in another frame which fits the 'facts' of the same concrete situation equally well or even better, and thereby changing its entire meaning."

Reframing then becomes a power tool to transform conflict in the Māori land trust and a number of tools are available.

*Recommendation: Storying whenua*

Narratives and story-telling are a tool that can assist with reframing, they help make sense of the human experience, the world, and people's place within it. Narratives account for things, events, people and occasions. Those who tell the story choose what information counts, what is included and excluded, whose voice is elevated and whose is ignored. Not all voices may get heard or included in land narratives. How each story is interpreted depends on who is telling it and framing the narrative. The narrative is defined by the selected analysis, philosophy and judgements of the person who tells it; a narrative represents that person's experience of the

world. For all voices to have a say, enabling everybody's story can actively seek to elevate the voices of the unheard.

Each land has its own unique attributes, characteristics and experiences and how those are framed influence how people engage and act with each other and their land. The difference of experiences are highlighted with tribes Ngāi Tahu, Waikato-Tainui and Ngāti Porou. Waikato-Tainui experienced brutal and militant actions as a result of invasion and confiscations, with massive amounts of land taken (Boast & Hill, 2010). Up to 1.2 million acres became subject to Raupatu or confiscations claims. Some of this land has been returned, but some has been vested in the Crown. In Ngāi Tahu's case, about 95% of their land in the South Island was sold in two main purchases – the Kemp and Otakou purchases – both of which are now considered to have been contractually illegal and immorally enacted towards the iwi (*Ngai Tahu Report*, 1991). Much of Ngāti Porou land loss was through the Native Land Court and the individualisation of title. Each of these methods of land loss brought great suffering; each piece of land has a unique story to tell, and different iwi, hapū, whānau need to claim their own distinctive narrative about land.

Land stories can also occur at multiple levels. An individual has one experience and story with land; at the whānau level, there are collective experiences. In turn, collective experiences can aggregate to form iwi and societal narratives. Land narratives can assist with resilience and strengthen bonds that help to encourage positive transformation. Storying can connect people physically, spiritually, culturally to land. Reconnecting to land instils in people a sense of a joint destiny. Sustaining that connection relies on a willingness to constantly recognise this shared destiny. Creating reconnection and sustained connection involves narratives which

emphasise positive experiences in relation to land and whānau interactions. Positive interactions produce encouraging and motivating actions to keep engaged, proactive and enhance bonding. Bonding can start to form when positive stories and meaning about people, events, places and land emerge.

Suggested Actions:

a) Investigate interactive storytelling technologies and digital applications for landowners to reclaim their narratives. What storytelling technologies can be used to facilitate and enhance whanau and whenua experiences?
b) Set up truth commissions that give whanau and hapu the chance to tell their stories.

*Recommendation: Nurture an abundance mentality*

Some framing of Māori land is built on a scarcity mentality. Positive whanau and whenua futures can be distorted through a lens that frames land negatively. A scarcity mentality communicates that resources and opportunities are few and far between. The scarcity mentality can therefore create unnecessary fear and anxiety. This research shows some negative framing of Māori land, often portrayed as a battlefield and a place of unrest or a combat zone by landowners and stakeholders. Land becomes presented as a problem, rather than a source or waka of opportunities for kaupapa to materialise. In turn, this influences how people strategise, and how landowners relate to and view whenua.

Policy, business discourse and government reports also tend to frame land as a problem as being unproductive, marginal and fragmented. Additionally they treat whenua as an asset to be transacted, controlled and owned with the expectation it will provide a future economic benefit.

It emphasises that the role of landowners is to be an economic agent who is to achieve productivity and land profit. The narrative can create an emotional distance between people and land. My research challenges such discourses as it perpetuates a negative framing that shapes how land is perceived.

An abundance mentality, on the other hand, communicates the opposite. A Māori worldview personifies land as the mother, so land should be framed in more humanising ways, having both physical qualities - raw materials, sources of energy, accessibility and location - and personality traits – e.g. fertile, nurturing, productive and maternal. There is a tendency to focus on the former, however landowners need to intentionally set about looking for both.

However, lack of resources and time is a considerable issue for small land blocks. Small, fragmented landblocks working in silos is a characteristic feature of Māori land. Just under 30,000 land trusts exists and so there is potential in collective power, where trustees and governors can help and support each other. Emerging disruptive technologies could be explored for small land holdings, to maximise people's resources and time. Potential emerging technologies that could be considered include artificial intelligence, cloud-technologies, blockchain and peer to peer platforms etc. Intergrating these into Maori land trust can occur in a number of beneficial ways which are yet to be explored in depth. This also provides a medium by which aggreagate big data can be collected, providing a rich source of information to drive both policy and organisational decisions.

Suggested Actions:

a) Use the Whenua BEINGS as kaupapa centred frames for Maori land trusts and develop workshops with Maori land owners to teach reframing tools.

b) Explore how emerging disruptive technologies might help landowners to collaboratively solve management problems experienced by many landblocks. The investigation may include, but are not limited to; exploring efficiencies of a financial and administration system across the country; robotics for physical maintence and security; blockchain for value chain verification.

## Discussion

The chapter now returns to the original research question. The core question at the heart of this thesis is:

> *How can Māori land be better utilised, transformed, and managed to enable Māori to realise whānau potentiality?*

Three connected components have emerged from this research; disruption, potentiality and harmonising, which make up the Ūkaipō Equation. The equation states the when harmonising forces are greater than the disrupting elements, potentiality can thrive.

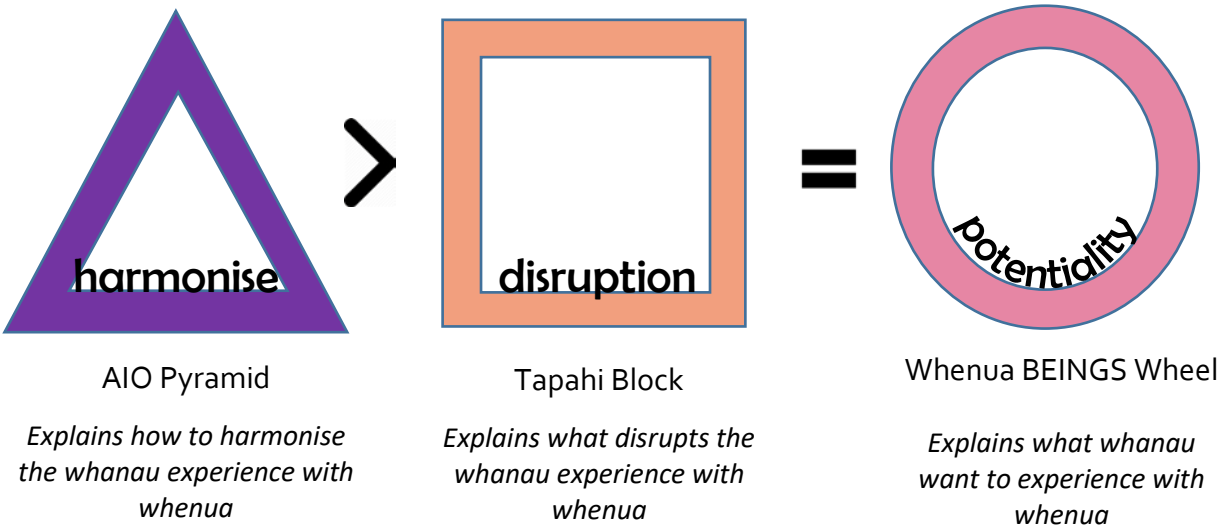



*Figure 1: The Ūkaipō Equation*

The Whenua BEING wheel expresses the six relationships that are needed for Māori to experience potentiality. The Tapahi Block discusses the causes of that disruption and its impacts on Māori land trust management. The AIO Pyramid describes three strategies that Māori land owners need to engage with to facilitate the harmonising of that disruption.

## Theoretical Contribution

There are three major theoretical contributions of this study; the Whenua BEINGS wheel, the the AIO Pyramid and the Tapahi Block. The three components form the Ūkaipō Equation. The Whenua BEINGS wheel is a conceptual understanding of whanau and whenua relationships. The AIO Pyramid is a strategy for harmonising conflict.

The major theoretical contribution is the Tapahi Block or disrupted Māori management theory. The findings are based on mātauranga Māori, empirical data, psychological and conflict theories. These are described as macro-, meso- and micro- level theories. The thesis describes how the multi-level theory bridges micro-, meso- and macro- levels to elucidate the relationship between individual, organisational, and societal level processes. The theory seeks to shed light on how to whānau potentiality is constrained. As a multi-level theory, disrupted Māori management theory recognises that the management of Māori land consists of an ecosystem of interdependent relationships across multiple levels. Therefore understanding the causes and antecedents of the conflict that resides within Māori land-based organisations is complex and must be understood as a multi-level phenomenon. The disruption at three levels can cause unfulfilled potentiality.

This thesis fulfulls a significant gap that bridges the links between trauma theories and management. The premise behind disrupted Māori management theory opens up a wide range of possible research directions for the future. The links between trauma, disrupted attachments,

healing and business, management and entrepreneurship remain to be thoroughly researched, understood and identified.

## Concluding Remarks

Management matters because it is the 'engine of advancement'. Colonisation has shaped the form of management in New Zealand where customary Māori management philosophies, practices have – for the most part – been subsumed, dominated or imposed over. Economic progress, business development and entrepreneurial growth are often viewed as mechanisms or initiatives that can help Māori out of poverty and overcome the debilitating effects of colonisation. The danger of adopting current dominant business mechanisms risks espousing the economic and management philosophies that isolated Māori in the first place, from their own ways of regarding well-being development and realising potentiality. Thus creating a paradox of needing to survive under the current system, but simultaneously, jeopardising more Māori-centric ways of operation. Māori may lose their own unique management processes, institutional arrangements informed by tikanga and kaupapa Māori under these dominant regimes which are usually underpinned by capitalist ideologies. Post-colonial critiques and the decolonisation movement speaks to this dilemma.

Thus arises the desire for many Māori to return to more traditional ways of Māori society where idyllic conceptions of the past are created. However, there exists another risk, where romanticised misconceptions about traditional Māori life and society may also impede Māori from realising whānau potentiality. In attempt to recreate the past, the present and future needs may go overlooked. The refusal or oversight to adopt, adapt and adjust to new innovative experiences that seek to engage with a contemporary modern world may seem disingenuous to traditional conceptions of how Māori should or once lived. Ideally, Māori should have a

comprehensive and complete understanding of their past context and heritage. The key then, is to specify the differences between the context of past, and the present context Māori find themselves in today. Armed with that information, Māori can then choose to recreate aspects of their heritage that fit and benefit their future aspirations. The balance between past, present and future is imperative.

Most would inarguably agree that Māori would have been better off had they not suffered large-scale loss of land, language and detribalisation. But how Māori might of developed in the absence of that major disruption, and what the engagement with a foreign and new world would have resulted in and looked like, does not seem to be well visualised or articulated. A counterfactual scenario of what could have happened if Māori had the opportunity to continue to evolve and develop had the colonisation process not occurred should be explored. To do this, Māori need to reimagine utopian visions for a futuristic Māori society had this disrupted trajectory not of occurred. While this is a speculative endeavour, such a pursuit is nevertheless important because it starts to give a true representation of Māori aspirations uninhibited and untainted by colonised thinking. Manifestation of a reality begins with a vision. Disrupted Māori management theory gives explanation for the current trajectory from which lack of whānau potentiality has occurred. It is an acknowledgement of the importance of all three temporal dimensions, past, present and future.

*Ko te ngako o te rangahau, me hoki ki te ūkaipō, kei reira te oranga.*

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## Appendix 1: Peer Reviewed Māori Management Articles

| Year | Author | Title | Publication |
|---|---|---|---|
| 2000 | Asplet, M. Cooper, M. | Cultural designs in New Zealand souvenir clothing: the question of authenticy | Tourism Management |
| 2001 | William C Schaiel | *European technology and the New Zealand Māori economy: 1769–1840* | The Social Science Journal |
| 2001 | Taylor, J | Authenticity and Sincerity in Tourism | Annals of Tourism Research |
| 2003 | Zapalska, A., Perry, G., Dabb, H. | *Māori Entrepreneurship in the Contemporary Business Environment* | Journal of Developmental Entrepreneursip |
| 2003 | Zygadlo, F., McIntosh, A., Matunga, H., Fairweather, J., Simmons, D. | *Māori Tourism Concepts: Characteristics and Definitions* | Tourism Recreation Research and Education Centre (TRREC |
| 2004 | Zhu Yunxia; Howard H Frederick; Vance Waker | *Communicating entrepreneurship and ethnicity in New Zealand* | International Journal of Entrepreneurship and Small Business |
| 2004 | McNichols, P | *Maintaining the empire: Māori women's experiences in the accountancy profession* | Critical Perspectives on Accounting |
| 2005 | McNicholas, P., Humphries, M. | *Decolonisation through critical career research and action: Māori women and accountancy* | y Australian Journal of Career Development |
| 2005 | Katschner, I | *The role of Treaty of Waitangi claim settlements on Māori economic development* | International Journal of Entrepreneurship and Small Business |
| 2005 | Paulin, C | *Focus on the Ngai Tahu tribe* | International Journal of Entrepreneurship and Small Business |
| 2007 | Devlin, M | *Māori entrepreneurship: fact or fallacy* | International Journal of Entrepreneurship and Small Business |
| 2007 | Franceen; Sisley | *Māori Entrepreneurial Activity in New Zealand* | International Journal of Entrepreneurship and Small Business |
| 2008 | Tapsell, P., Woods, C. | A Spiral of Innovation Framework for Social Entrepreneurship: Social Innovation at the Generational Divide in an Indigenous Context | Emergence: Complexity and Organisation |
| 2008 | Tapsell, P., Woods, C. | *Potikitanga:Indigenous entrepreneurship in a Māori context* | Journal of Enterprising Communities: People and Places in the Global Economy |
| 2008 | O'Sullivan, J., Dana, T. | *Redefining Māori economic development* | International Journal of Social Economics |
| 2009 | Haar, J., Delaney, B. | *Entrepreneurship and Māori cultural values: using 'whanaungatanga' to understanding Māori business* | New Zealand journal of applied business research |
| 2009 | El-Kafafi, S., Warren, L. | *Sustainable futures and Māori Business Education* | World review of entrepreneurship, management and sustainable development |

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| 2009 | McNicholas, P. | *Māori development: "accounting" "accountability" and participation in the accountancy profession* | Pacific Accounting Review |
| 2010 | Tapsell, P., Woods, C. | *Social entrepreneurship and innovation: Self-organisation in an Indigenous context* | Entrepreneurship and Regional Development |
| 2010 | Ruwhiu, D., Cone, M | *Advancing a pragmatist epistemology in organisational research* | Qualitative Research in Organisations and Management |
| 2010 | Ryan, C | Māori Tourism: A Relationship of History, Constitutes and Rites | Journal of Sustainable Tourism |
| 2011 | Spiller, C., Erakovic, L., Henare, M., Pio, E. | *Relational well-being and wealth: Māori businesses and an ethic of care* | Journal of Business Ethics |
| 2011 | Spiller, C., Erakovic, L., Henare, M. | *Wise up: Creating organisational wisdom through an ethic of Kaitiakitanga* | Journal of Business Ethics |
| 2011 | Dana Léo-Paul; Waata Hipango | *Planting the Seeds of Enterprise: Understanding Māori perspectives on the economic application of flora and fauna in Aotearoa* | Journal of Enterprising Communities: People and Places in the Global Economy |
| 2011 | Jarrod M Haar; Maree Roche; Daniel Tayli | Work–family conflict and turnover intentions of Indigenous employees: the importance of the *whanau*/family for Māori | The International Journal of Human Resource Management |
| 2011 | Haar, J., Brougham, D. | *Consequences of cultural satisfaction at work: A study of New Zealand Ma* | Asia Pacific Journal of Human Resources |
| 2011 | | *Māori culture maps out governance: Learn lessons from Indigenous social enterprise* | Strategic Direction |
| 2012 | Nicholson, A., Woods, C., Henare, M. | *Umanga Whanaungatanga: Family Business* | Journal of Australian Indigenous Issues |
| 2012 | Bargh, M. | *Rethinking and reshaping Indigenous economies: Māori geothermal energy enterprise* | Journal of Enterprising Communities: People and Places in the Global Economy |
| 2012 | Craig, R., Taonui, R., Wild, S. | *The concept of taonga in Māori culture: insights for accounting* | Accounting, Auditing & Accountability Journal |
| 2013 | Haar, J., Brougham, D. | *An Indigenous Model of Career Satisfaction: Exploring the Role of Workplace Cultural Wellbeing* | Social Indicators Research |
| 2013 | David Brougham; Jarrod M Haar | *Cultural identity and employee mental health: A study of New Zealand Māori* | Social Indicators Research |
| 2014 | Mika, J., Sullivan, P. | *A Māori approach to management: Contrasting traditional and modern Māori management practices in Aotearoa New Zealand* | Journal of Management & Organisation |