

Kia Piki Ake Te Mana Tāngata

**REVIEW OF THE WELFARE EXPERT
ADVISORY GROUP TIKANGA FRAMEWORK**

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E noho ana au i te rāngaipū o Aoraki
Whātoro iho rā ki Rakiroa, ki Rārakiroa, ki Rakirua
Whatinga o te tau karakia i tahuri ai Te Waka o Aoraki
I ariki ai te maunga e tū ake nei
Kei raro ko Ngā Pākihi Whakatekateka o Waitaha
Mai i Takapō ki Te Waihora e
Takahia Kaitōrete
Urutomokia te pā o Takapūneke
Ngā whangarau ki Wairewa, ki Akaroa, ki Koukourarata, ki Whangaraupō
Inā Te Pātaka Kai a Rākaihautū
Kai atu aku mata te tihi ki Tuhirangi
Kei raro ko Ōnawe
Te papa rā tērā i tāmokotia ai Te Tiriti o Waitangi
Ka eke whakauaua ki runga i Te Poho o Tamatea
Ko Aotahi ki te rangi
Ko Tautahi ki te whenua
Kua tau!

Kei ngā whetū tārake e whakairihia nei ki te tāepaepatanga o te rangi, e rama ai te pō, nāu. E kimokimo ai te pitomata, nāu. E ao mai ai te ara hei terenga mō ngā waka huhua, nāu. Nā koutou. Kei ngā huhua rangatira i kapohia ai e Aitua-hao-ariki, e Mate-horo-Tāngata, ko ō tinana kua huri, ō wairua ka rangona tonutia, tō kānapa iho mai ka kitea rawatia. E hui, e porotūtataki ki Te Pūtahi Nui a Rēhua. Koutou ki a koutou oti atu rā.

Tātou, ngā waihotanga iho, ngā kanohi o Matariki, o Puanga e pae mai nei ki te whenua. E mihi ana ō whakapapa, ō mana, ō iwi, ō hapū, ō whānau me ngā tini hononga kei waenganui i a tātou. Tēnei a Aotahi, te kura Māori o Te Whare Wānanga o Waitaha e mihi atu nei ki a koutou.

Nō reira kei ngā kāwai whakapapa rangatira o te motu tēnā rā koutou katoa.

Executive summary

The Ministry of Social Development commissioned this report at the request of the Welfare Expert Advisory Group (WEAG).

The purpose of the report is to provide a constructive review of the Kia Piki Ake Te Mana Tāngata framework, which WEAG developed to give expression to Te Tiriti o Waitangi and kaupapa Māori values within its recommendations for enhancing the welfare system.

We value the opportunity to contribute to the important work of WEAG, but note that this report has been completed within a compressed timeframe that has constrained the depth and nuance of the review and recommendations.

Our assessment of Kia Piki Ake Te Mana Tāngata is based on three questions.

- Should New Zealand seek to adopt tikanga Māori framework(s)?
- Are the tikanga Māori values incorporated into the framework sound?
- Is the architecture of the framework sound?

In brief, our assessment of Kia Piki Ake Te Mana Tāngata against these questions is as follows.

New Zealand should seek to adopt tikanga Māori framework(s) on the grounds that there is growing global evidence that explicitly incorporating values leads to better, more robust public policy that is perceived to have a greater popular legitimacy. We consider that adopting tikanga as the basis for values is an appropriate and desirable expression of Te Tiriti o Waitangi, and that doing so delivers benefit for all New Zealanders due to the inclusive nature of tikanga and the growing resonance of tikanga-sourced values with wider New Zealand.

The tikanga Māori values within Kia Piki Ake Te Mana Tāngata appear to be sound, on the basis that they are predominantly universal terms within tikanga Māori frameworks. We note that the value takatūtanga has less usage, but is used in Pae Tata, the cultural change framework of Work and Income (the part of the Ministry of Social Development that provides employment services and financial assistance). We consider it is accepted, and perhaps desirable, for tikanga frameworks to adopt tikanga values that are germane to the particular area of work. We note that the interpretation of takatūtanga could properly be seen as a subsidiary value within kaitiakitanga.

The architecture of the framework is broadly comparable to several extant tikanga frameworks and could, therefore, be considered sound. Our view is that **it would be desirable to deepen the model** by adopting Associate Professor Mānuka Henare's framework for aligning kawa, tikanga, ritenga and āhuetanga. Henare's framework ensures the alignment between normative commitments and practical changes that meet Māori expectations for substantive and tangible change as a result of adopting a tikanga framework. We recommend that WEAG includes a recommendation in its final report that Kia Piki Ake Te Mana Tāngata, if adopted in its current form, is further developed by officials with meaningful and appropriate engagement with Māori.

We also note, however, **it may be desirable to strengthen the alignment with He Ara Waiora and the Whānau Ora outcomes framework**, which are existing Crown frameworks that aim to express tikanga Māori and Māori aspirations respectively. In our view, He Ara Waiora and the Whānau Ora outcomes framework are complementary and could be incorporated within a unified model that applies across all government policy. We believe there are significant benefits to adopting a unified model, reducing the risk of multiple tikanga Māori frameworks that create duplication, confusion and ambiguity. We propose an approach for a unified model that adopts Henare's approach and that we believe is capable of being applied across all government policy. More specifically, we consider that adapting Kia Piki Ake Te Mana Tāngata to the unified model would result in a framework as depicted on the following page.

We particularly emphasise the following caveats on the rigour of our analysis.

- Kia Piki Ake Te Mana Tāngata evolved significantly during the review process and continued to be refined after completion of this report. Therefore, some of our views may have been surpassed by subsequent developments.
- The information we relied on in forming our views was somewhat incomplete due to the evolving nature of Kia Piki Ake Te Mana Tāngata and constraints on accessing the final WEAG report.
- WEAG was not able to engage with Māori on Kia Piki Ake Te Mana Tāngata due to the constrained timetable for presenting its report, so, as a corollary, neither were we able to engage in the formation of our views. Lack of engagement exposes both Kia Piki Ake Te Mana Tāngata and our assessment to challenge.

We also note that we do not consider ourselves to be experts in either tikanga Māori or social security. As such, we have not commented on the propriety of the tikanga framework for social security policy. Rather, we have confined ourselves to an analytical assessment of the framework against extant tikanga frameworks and global insights to the extent they are germane to implementing an effective values framework in Aotearoa New Zealand.

Proposed adapted approach for Kia Piki Ake Te Mana Tāngata



Section 1 – Kia Piki Ake Te Mana Tāngata

The Welfare Expert Advisory Group (WEAG) developed a tikanga Māori framework to give effect to its Terms of Reference requirement to, “actively recognise and address Treaty of Waitangi interests throughout [its] work”.¹ As stated in the WEAG report, the tikanga framework is the values platform for its recommendations.

WEAG named the tikanga framework Kia Piki Ake Te Mana Tāngata to reflect its core value and aspiration that the social security system is mana enhancing for those who engage with it. WEAG considers this means that “the social security system must be strengths-based and recognise the human status of people who are reliant on benefits, address their human rights and raise up and strengthen their mana”.²

The components of Kia Piki Ake Te Mana Tāngata are drawn from WEAG member insights into kaupapa Māori and influenced by He Ara Waiora, the tikanga Māori framework under development within The Treasury, which is discussed more fully in section 5.

WEAG supplied us with the following description of the key elements of Kia Piki Ake Te Mana Tāngata.³

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- 1 WEAG Terms of Reference, Part B, point 15.
 - 2 Kia Piki Ake Te Mana Tangata overview document, provided by WEAG and not in the public domain.
 - 3 We note that during the process of review we were supplied with a preliminary design for Whakamana Tāngata, which we provided comment on, resulting in a simplified final version of Whakamana Tāngata which is discussed in this report. We have not discussed the preliminary design or our interim report because we consider doing so would be confusing for the reader.

Value	Meaning ¹	Whakamana Tāngata Approach
Manaakitanga	hospitality, kindness, generosity, support – the process of showing respect, generosity and care for others	People are treated with, and able to live in dignity
Ōhanga	economics, economic	Ensuring people have an adequate income and standard of living, including support to access long-term, healthy housing
Whānaungatanga	relationship, kinship, sense of family connection – a relationship through shared experiences and working together that provides people with a sense of belonging. It develops as a result of kinship rights and obligations, which also serve to strengthen each member of the kin group. It also extends to others to whom one develops a close familial, friendship or reciprocal relationship.	A system that values whānau, families, children and relationships
Kotahitanga	unity, togetherness, solidarity, collective action	People able to participate meaningfully in communities
Takatūtanga	(takatū) to prepare, get ready (used only of people getting ready), make ready	A system that is fit for the present and prepared for the future, to respond to future ways of working and to support participation in the economy
Kaitiakitanga	guardianship, stewardship, trusteeship, trustee	A system that is financially and politically sustainable across the medium to long term

Note

1. Sourced from *Maori Dictionary – Online*, <https://Māoridictionary.co.nz>

We understand Kia Piki Ake Te Mana Tāngata is given effect to in two principal ways.

- The values (in the table above) shaped WEAG’s deliberations and recommendations.
- Several recommendations seek to ensure Kia Piki Ake Te Mana Tāngata values are implemented.

We were informed that the values in Kia Piki Ake Te Mana Tāngata shaped the principles that WEAG considers should underpin reform of New Zealand’s social security system. We were not able to review the WEAG principles due to issues of confidentiality and time constraints, but we understand they are broadly similar to the principles below, which were drawn from an earlier iteration of WEAG’s deliberations.

- **Te Tiriti:** Works with Iwi/Māori to contribute towards Iwi/Māori aspirations.
 - Māori living successfully as Māori.
 - Equitable welfare system outcomes.
 - Iwi direction and monitoring of the system.

- **Mana Manaaki – Supportive Culture:** A Work and Income culture that is based on people (clients and workers) acting with honesty and integrity.⁴
 - Respectful interactions.
 - Ensuring full entitlement.
 - Holding clients and Work and Income workers to account but not building a system for the few who may abuse it then imposing this on all.
- **Ara Tika – Future Ready:** Building workforce capacity to participate in and contribute to a high-productivity future economy linked to:
 - active labour market initiatives
 - support for multiple career shifts
 - training and education
 - high-skill and high-productivity roles
 - engaged employer support.
- **Hāpai Tamariki – Children Centred:** Income support systems that focus on maintaining the wellbeing of children and the whānau and families they live with.
 - Valuing parenting.
 - Whānau wellbeing.
 - Reducing child poverty.
- **Whānau and Family:** Income support systems that promote healthy relationships and recognise multifarious relationship types and whānau makeups.
- **Whakamana Ake – Enabling:** Whakamana those living with health conditions and disabilities and their carers by:
 - providing adequate or equitable income
 - enhancing the supports for meaningful work for people with disabilities
 - properly recognising the supports provided by carers, including whānau carers.
- **Hāpori – Community Engaged:** Supporting the development of healthy hāpori/communities through strong engagement at marae and other local levels and through social procurement and commissioning of services that directly or indirectly contribute to community.
 - Supporting outcomes for Māori.
 - Valuing voluntary contribution.
 - Supporting outcomes for Pasifika.
 - Procurement that positively weights community contribution.
- **Kainga – Healthy, Affordable Housing:** Accommodation supports that contribute to affordable housing with surety of tenure.
 - Housing ownership systems for low income people, Māori and Pasifika.
 - Public and private rental housing with housing and rental law and regulation that support affordability and tenure.
 - Radically rethought accommodation supplement system to ensure additional income is not swallowed by housing costs.

4 Work and Income is the part of the Ministry of Social Development that provides employment services and financial assistance.

- **Kore Nama – Financial Inclusion:** Supports to free people from bad debt.
- **Rawa Pai – Adequate Income:** Recognising work is increasingly inconsistent and hours and income are variable. Requiring building systems and processes that support workers to navigate these new work realities and create greater wellbeing.
 - Adequate rates of benefit.
 - Abatement rates.
 - Interface with taxation.
 - Interface with Working for Families.
 - Linked with housing supports.

We were also informed that WEAG recommendations that aim to give effect to Kia Piki Ake Te Mana Tāngata include:

- amendments to the Social Security Act 1964, including:
 - inserting a purposive section that explicitly references the ethic of Kia Piki Ake Te Mana Tāngata and includes the six tikanga values within the framework, which would have the effect of directing all people exercising powers and responsibilities under the Act to uphold the aspirations captured within Kia Piki Ake Te Mana Tāngata and give effect to the specified tikanga Māori values
 - establishing an Iwi/Māori governance group that the Chief Executive of the Ministry of Social Development is responsible to
- further development of the Kia Piki Ake Te Mana Tāngata framework, including genuine engagement with Māori to ensure the framework achieves practical, tangible and meaningful change
- embedding the competencies required to achieve greater equity for Māori in the job descriptions, key performance indicators and performance reviews of Work and Income's management and staff.

Section 2 – Global and local context for values in public policy

Kia Piki Ake Te Mana Tāngata, as a framework for recognising and applying values within public policy, joins a growing body of international practice and theory that aims to elucidate and elevate the role of values in public policy. This section overviews some of the global patterns, which in our view both encourage the adoption of tikanga frameworks and refine our understanding of how tikanga could apply to government policy.

Global context – public values in public policy

There is a growing body of international discourse and practice on the inclusion of public values in public policy, which reflects a global movement toward more open and expansive exploration of the role of normative values in government decision making. The body of literature engages with three issues of particular relevance to the development and application of tikanga frameworks:

- classifying public values and tracing the inclusion of different types of values into the policy domain
- discussing challenges to the inclusion of public values in policy
- identifying the mechanisms and value created by greater inclusion of public values in policy.

Public values are defined as normative positions on what 'ought' to be achieved or what is considered to be desirable. They are typically classified into two sets: prime values (sometimes termed superordinate goals or moral values), which represent ends in themselves, and instrumental values, which speak to the operation, processes and machinery of government.⁵ Examples (non-exhaustive) of the two classes are set out in the table below.

Examples of prime goals	Examples of instrumental goals
Common good	Transparency
Social cohesion	Openness
Altruism	Integrity
Sustainability	Honesty
	Robustness

The inclusion of both prime and instrumental public values is recognised to have changed over time. Prime values are considered to have been particularly visible in 18th century constitutional documents, such as the American Declaration of Independence 1776 and the French Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen 1789, both of which elevate values of freedom, liberty and equality. With the bureaucratisation of government in the late 19th and 20th centuries, instrumental values became paramount, with a particular focus on the rule of law, separation between politicians and professional state service, and impartiality and political neutrality within the state sector.⁶ These public values prevailed for most of the 20th century, with an additional overlay of universal human rights, commencing with the Universal Declaration on Human Rights in 1948 and subsequently codified into three generations of human rights conventions: civil and political rights, which are individual rights to participation in political life,

5 Jørgensen & Bozeman (2007); Muers (2018); Van der Wal & Huberts (2008); Lawrence & Weber (2014); Potůček et al. (2017); Fukumoto & Bozeman (2018).

6 Bourgon (2007).

followed by economic, social and cultural rights, which are largely rights to equal treatment by government, and collective rights to such things as environmental outcomes with the Rio Declaration and indigenous peoples self-determination within the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples.⁷

Human rights contain both prime and instrumental values, in the sense that they aim to codify the conditions necessary for human dignity as well as specify operational mechanisms to implement and safeguard rights. It could be argued that many states have struggled to formally embrace the prime values within international human rights standards, preferring to operationalise instrumental values exemplified in New Zealand through the narrow and weak statutory framework provided by the New Zealand Bill of Rights Act 1990.

The 1980s marked the next change point in the inclusion of public values, with the rise of New Public Administration approaches that elevated values such as efficiency, effectiveness, transparency and responsiveness, in effect emulating private sector values.⁸ In doing so, prime values arguably became less visible for a period, and there is now a discernible global transition to recognising notions of quality of life, sustainability and human dignity alongside the instrumental values of New Public Administration. Some commentators argue that the Global Financial Crisis highlighted the paucity of merely financial measures and catalysed exploration of a range of values-driven approaches to recognising broader dimensions of human wellbeing.⁹

Some global examples include the growing prominence of the 'four capitals' alongside gross domestic product as a measure of national wellbeing. This approach was arguably pioneered by Bhutan, with its Gross National Happiness Index, coined in 1972 but more fully implemented from the early 2000s. The four capitals approach reflects that trust and social cohesion (social capital), environmental sustainability (natural capital), and growing human potential (human capital) are dimensions of the common good that properly sit alongside financial capital as ends for states to pursue. The role of the four capitals are being explored within the OECD, as well as in states including the United Kingdom and in New Zealand through the Living Standards Framework. There is also a rise in citizen participation processes as a means to identify public values germane to a particular policy matter.¹⁰

The deeper rationale underpinning the rise in exploration of public values is argued to be the perceived legitimacy of government. In the view of commentators, public values are akin to a social covenant and, to be perceived as legitimate, government must align public policy to the normative expectations of the community.

Among the various challenges to giving effect to public values, the most complex is the ambiguity in identifying and describing public values. Stating the obvious, public values are neither codified nor universally shared, particularly so for prime values, which encompass various and often divergent perspectives on the common good.¹¹ This ambiguity, in the view of commentators, does not weaken the contingent relationship between governmental legitimacy and public values, rather it encourages exploration of processes and mechanisms to identify, express and apply public values.

Identifying public values has involved both efforts to develop an inventory and reliance on participatory processes, through which citizens and/or representatives of sectors aim to develop shared understanding that can then be more readily incorporated into public policy. The most

7 Potůček & Vass (2003).

8 Bourgon (2007).

9 Ibid.

10 Ibid.

11 Jørgensen & Bozeman (2007); Van der Wal & Huberts (2008); Lawrence & Weber (2014); Fukumoto & Bozeman (2018).

robust inventory of public values identified 72 values that are most commonly referred to in contemporary times.¹² Notably, most of the public values identified were instrumental in nature. The prime values included:¹³

- common good
- altruism
- human dignity
- sustainability
- social cohesion.

The alignment between the prime values and the four capitals is perhaps reflective of the zeitgeist of the time: human dignity maps to human capital, sustainability to natural capital, and social cohesion to social capital, with common good and altruism providing a purposive umbrella.

Various mechanisms have been identified for enhancing the inclusion of public values in public policy, chief amongst them are a unifying vision, citizen participation mechanisms,¹⁴ symbolic action or commitments, and intentionally using values to change organisational culture.¹⁵

The values of incorporating public values into public policy are multiple. The most pragmatic value is enhancing the perceived legitimacy, durability and outcomes of public policy, due to the alignment with public expectations. Some commentators consider that confirmation bias operates at an individual level, resulting in policy that is congruent with personal values being perceived as more successful, irrespective of the body of evidence.¹⁶ At the bureaucratic level, strengthening the visibility of values is argued to enhance organisational culture, with a corresponding benefit of enhancing the responsiveness and creativity within policy solutions, consistent with the oft cited "culture eats strategy for breakfast" (most commonly attributed to Drucker).¹⁷ At a more philosophical level, the inclusion of public values is argued as realising the founding purpose of democracy: to engage in moral reasoning and debate.¹⁸

Kia Piki Ake Te Mana Tāngata in the global context

Within the global context, Kia Piki Ake Te Mana Tāngata can be seen as an expression of prime values that aim to elevate the visibility and tangibility of normative positions of relevance to Aotearoa New Zealand. The global transition to elevating prime values, and recognised benefit of doing so at policy, systemic and philosophical levels, should be considered encouraging for the adoption of explicit values frameworks in New Zealand. Importantly, international practice and commentary reinforce the importance and utility of reducing ambiguity in the meaning of prime values, which Kia Piki Ake Te Mana Tāngata does, through the use of consistent and well-defined terminology.

It is notable that Kia Piki Ake Te Mana Tāngata does not use the same terminology as appears in the international inventories of prime public values, which is to be expected given the terms emerge from tikanga Māori. However, the terms are anchored in the umbrella premise of notions of the common good and human dignity, as understood within mātauranga Māori. Arguably, the international principle of states adapting universal standards to their distinctive domestic contexts would support the appropriateness of adopting localised expressions of the common good and human dignity.

12 Jørgensen & Bozeman (2007).

13 Ibid.

14 Bourgon (2007).

15 Jørgensen & Bozeman (2007).

16 Muers (2018).

17 Ibid.

18 Muers (2018); Bourgon (2007).

New Zealand's approach to public values in public policy

New Zealand's approach to incorporating public values into public policy shares a similar 20th century trajectory as described above with, some might say, particularly pronounced experimentation with the principles of New Public Administration since the mid-1980s. However, New Zealand also has a distinctive legacy of endeavouring to incorporate prime public values into public policy, such as the Royal Commission on Social Policy report of 1988 and, more recently, the adoption of the Living Standards Framework that aims to give effect to the four capitals model. The current Prime Minister is also positioning New Zealand policy in the international community as being imbued with kindness and empathy,¹⁹ as well as framing the 2019 Budget as the Wellbeing Budget. These recent statements arguably commit New Zealand public policy to expressly adopting prime public values, in addition to instrumental values, that embody the moral expectations of New Zealanders.

Kia Piki Ake Te Mana Tāngata in the local context

In the local context, Kia Piki Ake Te Mana Tāngata should be considered a timely expression of prime public values that is consistent with our current commitments to value-infused public policy. The principal contention is perhaps whether it is appropriate to adopt prime values embedded within the cultural traditions of a minority population. In our view, doing so is both sound and desirable on at least four grounds.

Constitutional architecture: Tikanga Māori and the integrity of Māori cultural traditions are explicitly protected within Te Tiriti o Waitangi, New Zealand's founding document, as well as more recent international human rights standards to which New Zealand has acceded. This treaty-based argument for including tikanga Māori in policy has been made repeatedly in policy and judicial contexts and, accordingly, we do not consider it is necessary to expand it in this report.²⁰

In our view, adopting a tikanga Māori framework is an appropriate expression of our constitutional architecture that, importantly, has a unique ability to give more practical and pervasive expression to the spirit of Te Tiriti than many of the statutory and policy antecedents to date. We consider this is achieved by specifying desired end states and process values that are aligned to Māori aspirations, and state bureaucracy being purposively directed to 'think Māori' in the development of public policy.

Encompassing nature of tikanga: Tikanga Māori is viewed by Māori as an inclusive normative tradition that conveys benefit for both Māori and the wider community. While the provenance of tikanga Māori remains with Māori, its application is considered to enhance the common good and human dignity of all.

Resonance of tikanga: Tikanga Māori is increasingly being recognised as having influenced New Zealand values through a process of tacit infusion. While there has not been a comprehensive study of the shaping of contemporary New Zealand values, Māori values are increasingly used by non-Māori communities and organisations to express their values and appear progressively more prominent in the New Zealand values lexicon.

Body of practice: There is also a 40-year body of practice implementing tikanga Māori frameworks into Crown and organisational practices, which means Kia Piki Ake Te Mana Tāngata can build on the strengths of this body of practice to implement an robust and beneficial approach. The following section of this report overviews these frameworks.

19 Ardern (2018).

20 Chapman Tripp (2017); Ministry of Education (2017); Harris (2015); Waitangi Tribunal (2011); Durie et al. (2002).

It is also notable that one of the areas in which the inclusion of prime public values, including tikanga Māori, has been prominent is social policy, including, for example, the Royal Commission on Social Policy and *Te Pūao Te Āta Tū*.²¹ *We consider that Kia Piki Ake Te Mana Tāngata is a continuation of this distinctive New Zealand legacy of seeking to be courageous and principled in the inclusion of public values in social policy, which we believe should be further encouragement to adopt Kia Piki Ake Te Mana Tāngata.*

21 *Te Pūao Te Āta Tū* aimed to enhance the responsiveness of the Ministry of Social Welfare and was significant for lifting the veil on institutional racism (Ministerial Advisory Committee, 1988). *Te Pūao Te Āta Tū* recommended the adoption of guiding principles to give effect to the Treaty of Waitangi, including integration of Māori cultural values into service delivery and greater levels of education amongst case workers that would mitigate perceived racism and enhance their ability to both understand and respond to Māori values. As such, *Te Pūao Te Āta Tū* primarily focused on presenting a case for adopting tikanga Māori within service delivery and provided explanatory guidance on understanding Māori cultural values.

Section 3 – Contextualising Kia Piki Ake Te Mana Tāngata among tikanga frameworks

Tikanga Māori frameworks emerged in the 1980s. They were designed as tools to build understanding in the government and community sector of Māori values, aspirations and normative traditions in order to influence changes in policy and practice that would better serve the Māori community and give greater expression to Te Tiriti o Waitangi (the Treaty of Waitangi). Over the last 40 years, there has been a proliferation of tikanga Māori frameworks that engage with various sectors. This section traces the development of tikanga Māori frameworks and draws conclusions on the characteristics of tikanga frameworks that are helpful in evaluating Kia Piki Ake Te Mana Tāngata.

Definition of tikanga Māori frameworks

There has been limited consideration of a formal definition of tikanga Māori frameworks. We consider that a distinction ought to be made between tikanga Māori frameworks (such as Kia Piki Ake Te Mana Tāngata) and Māori outcomes frameworks (such as the Whānau Ora outcomes framework). The distinction needs to be finely made as both tikanga and outcomes frameworks seek to embody 'desired ends'. However, in our view, there is a difference between using tradition-sourced values that express a normative world view (tikanga framework) and describing the nature of positive social impact that is sought (outcomes framework).

We believe both approaches are important, and no evidence is available that establishes one or other as more successful in effecting change or on the conditions in which either approach may be more suited. This distinction means that we have not considered the Whānau Ora outcomes framework in depth, despite its being an important articulation of Māori aspirations.

Development of tikanga Māori frameworks

The evolution of tikanga Māori frameworks maps, broadly, to:

- the health, wellbeing and education sector
- the whenua and natural resources sector
- the Iwi/Māori sector
- recent Crown approaches.

Health, wellbeing and education sector

Tikanga frameworks first emerged in the health sector and are of three broad types:

- metaphorical
- practice guidance
- measurement tools.

Metaphorical models were the first type of tikanga frameworks and were principally designed to build understanding of Māori cultural traditions for the purpose of supporting more responsive approaches to Māori accessing services. We term them metaphorical models because they use metaphorical aids to express the Māori world view. The two most prominent early models are:

- Te Wheke
- Whare Tapa Whā.

Te Wheke was developed in 1984 under the leadership of Dr Rose Pere to understand Māori health perspectives. Pere proposed a Māori health model based on the features of an octopus that represent the different aspects that make up the health of an individual and subsequently the whānau. The head and body represent the whānau unit, the eyes represent waiora, and the tentacles represent the eight dimensions of health: wairuatanga (spiritual), tinana (physical), hinegaro (mental), whanaungatanga (relationships), mana ake (uniqueness), mauri (vitality), hā a koro mā, a kui mā (inspiration from ancestors) and whatumanawa (emotional).

Whare Tapa Whā followed in 1985. Tā Mason Durie utilised symbology in his wharenuī model of Māori health. The four dimensions of Māori wellbeing are captured within the four sides of the wharenuī: Taha Tinana (physical health), Taha Wairua (spiritual health), Taha Whānau (family health) and Taha Hinengaro (mental health). This framework was developed out of frustration by the Māori community that Taha Wairua was absent from dealings with health professionals. Alongside this, Māori also placed just as much importance on mental and family health as any kind of physical manifestation. Whare Tapa Whā has since been used across several sectors, including health and social services.

Several practice guidance frameworks have emerged since the 1980s that build on the metaphorical models with greater specificity to guide implementation across both the health and education sectors. Three indicative examples are as follows.

- Te Whāriki guides curriculum development in the early childhood sector by setting out curriculum goals and learning outcomes against five tikanga Māori values: mana atua, mana whenua, mana Tāngata, mana reo, mana ao tūroa.
- Te Pae Mahutonga guides health promotion by using the analogy of the Southern Cross. The four central stars represent the four key tasks of health promotion: mauriora (cultural identity), waiora (physical environment), toiora (healthy lifestyles) and te oranga (participation in society). The two pointers represent ngā manukura (community leadership) and te mana whakahaere (autonomy).
- The Meihana model for clinical assessment builds on the foundations of Whare Tapa Whā, including cultural impact assessments alongside medical diagnosis. The framework recommends an extended standard history be taken of each patient to give a broader understanding of Māori patients' presentations.

Measurement tools using tikanga Māori have also been developed, for example, Te Hoe Nuku Roa, developed in 1995. Te Hoe Nuku Roa is built on a relational framework made up of four interacting axes: paihere Tāngata (human relationships), te ao Māori (Māori culture and identity), ngā āhuatanga noho-ā-Tāngata (socioeconomic circumstances) and ngā whakanekeneketanga (change over time). A set of indicators, ngā waitohu, is used to describe the four axes according to levels of choice, access, participation, satisfaction, information and knowledge, and aspirations.²²

Whenua and natural resources sector

The whenua and natural resources sector has generated several tikanga Māori frameworks, resulting, in part, from the Resource Management Act 1991 provisions for Iwi management plans and cultural impact assessments, as well as treaty settlements, which contain a plethora of mechanisms to recognise the relationship between hapū or Iwi and their ancestral territory.

Iwi management plans and cultural impact assessments use tikanga Māori to, respectively, establish guidelines for interaction with a particular rohe (area) and assess the impact of specific third-party development on hapū cultural values attaching to the area affected. Iwi management

plans and cultural impact assessments tend to involve detailed application of tikanga Māori, and the former expressly aims to provide highly prescriptive guidance to local government and developers on respecting and recognising tikanga Māori.

Dr Kepa Morgan developed the Mauri Model in 2004 as a tool to support the development of hapū and Iwi environmental management approaches, including cultural monitoring of land/sites as well as evaluating the impact of third-party development. The Mauri Model has had widespread uptake and uses a barometer to record the extent to which the mauri has been enhanced or eroded.

Iwi/Māori sector

It is common practice for each Iwi and Māori organisation to adopt a suite of tikanga values that reflect their organisational commitments to embodying, respectively, their Iwitanga or Māoritanga. These tikanga frameworks are distinctive to the particular context and traditions of the organisation. One well-known and highly practicable model is used by Te Wānanga o Raukawa. It provides clear tikanga statements for the values Te Wānanga o Raukawa is committed to.²³

A shared challenge for Iwi organisations is to develop practical guidance for how their tikanga values will be translated into their tribal development programmes and commercial asset management practices. There is limited publicly available information on specific tools and approaches Iwi and Māori organisations are using, but paramount importance is placed on effectively doing so. Informally reported developments are occurring across the sector that aim to increase the visibility of how tikanga is applied to organisational decision making, including one that is freely available at kaupapa.org and has been adapted by several organisations.

Recent government models

Government has also recently sought to develop a tikanga framework, known as He Ara Waiora. He Ara Waiora was developed by the Tax Working Group to guide its recommendations on reforming the tax system. There was ongoing Māori engagement on He Ara Waiora, during which many Māori commentators strongly recommended that He Ara Waiora become a macro Crown policy framework that applies to all Crown policy. We understand The Treasury will continue to develop He Ara Waiora, and we consider a constellation of factors encourages its adoption as a macro Crown tikanga framework with some degree of alignment to the Living Standards Framework.

He Ara Waiora is discussed more fully in section 5, but, in brief, it contains normative guidance through five tikanga values: waiora, manaakitanga, whanaungatanga, manaakitanga and kaitiakitanga.

We also note that the Whānau Ora outcomes framework should be considered as a parallel, but distinctive, approach. The Whānau Ora framework adopts seven outcomes that reflect Māori views of the concept of wellbeing and quality of life, including that whānau are:

- self-managing
- living healthy lifestyles
- participating fully in society
- confidently participating in Te Ao Māori (the Māori world)
- economically secure and successfully involved in wealth creation
- cohesive, resilient and nurturing
- responsible stewards to their living and natural environment.

23 Te Whare Wānanga o Raukawa Maramataka (2001).

Te Puni Kōkiri and The Treasury (2019) released a report that presents a case for Whānau Ora outcomes being used to provide a kaupapa Māori overlay on the Living Standards Framework.

In our view, the Whānau Ora and He Ara Waiora models are important expressions of the Crown meaningfully seeking to embody Māori values and aspirations within Crown policy. We note that applying both models to the Living Standards Framework is likely to lead to complexity and ambiguity, which may suggest the Crown should consider adopting a prevailing approach, a matter we return to in our conclusion (section 6).

Commentary on tikanga Māori frameworks

Tikanga Māori frameworks have both commonalities and differences. The principal commonalities are their driving objectives, as discussed above, and a significant degree of repetition in the values incorporated within frameworks. The principal difference lies in the degree of prescription within the framework.

Within the tikanga frameworks reviewed, which was a comprehensive but not exhaustive review, some terms were close to universal:

- kaitiakitanga
- wairuatanga
- whanaungatanga
- manaakitanga
- kotahitanga
- rangatiratanga
- tikanga.

These terms also had highly congruent definitions/ interpretations across the models.

Terms that were common, but not universal, included:

- whakapapa
- mana whenua
- mana Tāngata
- whānau
- hinengaro
- ūkaipōtanga
- mauri
- mana motuhake
- pūkengatanga
- tika
- pono
- aroha.

The common elements across most of these values is that they are prime values that articulate normative dimensions of the 'common good', as understood within the Māori world view.

The principal difference between the frameworks is the level of prescriptive guidance for implementation. The metaphorical models are primarily designed to build understanding, so have little to no prescriptive implementation content. In contrast, the models that aim to change practice within the sector, such as Te Whāriki and Te Pae Matuhonga, are somewhat prescriptive as they tend to detail specific implementation goals and indicators. The whenua models, such as iwi management plans, are highly prescriptive about what constitutes fair implementation of the relevant cultural values. The level of prescription appears to be a response to both the objectives of the framework and the relative sectoral needs for effective implementation.

One approach to the level of prescription, which has attracted support from Māori, was developed by Associate Professor Mānuka Henare, notably, for the 1988 Royal Commission on Social Policy. Henare’s model recommends that an interrelationship is ensured across four levels (as shown in the table below).

KAWA (foundational principle)	Description of a moral imperative that could be something akin to: New Zealanders live a life they value, with specific recognition of Māori living the lives that Māori value and have reason to value.
↓	↓
TIKANGA (principles, ethics and values)	Tikanga values such as tika, pono, aroha, mana motuhake, manaakitanga, kaitiakitanga and the like. Accompanied by an interpretative statement. Note, in our view, tikanga are universally prime values that articulate dimensions of the common good as understood within mātauranga Māori.
↓	↓
RITENGA (behaviours and enactment)	Tangible performance and behavioural expectations that give effect to kawa and tikanga, both within policy processes and the behavioural outcomes of people or entities within the scope of the policy. We consider that ritenga create behavioural guidelines.
↓	↓
ĀHUATANGA (attributes, traits and characteristics)	Āhuatanga embodies attributes and characteristics that we consider could be implemented through indicators that embody the tikanga and ritenga.

Henare posits this type of model from within Te Ao Māori philosophies and concepts. A central tenet of a Māori world view is the understanding of the relationship between humanity, the natural world and the spiritual world as interrelated, with each having the ability to influence. In an applied example of this work, Henare uses traditional Ngā Puhī concepts to describe a philosophical ideal of a good life. In this example, kawa is derived from Io Matua Kore, the supreme being, with kawa being a reverence for life. The tikanga represent the forms of appropriate behaviour that reinforce kawa and the prime values. This description of ethics as a spiral constitutes a way of connecting humanity and the environment in a relationship of respect and reciprocity rather than a hierarchal system.

Outside the tribal confines of mapped relationships, the kawa–tikanga–ritenga–āhuatanga framework displays this type of holistic relationality through the ethical intentions of a value system. Henare describes it as a matrix for ethical pluralism where values inform relationships, which continue to describe the good life and indicate the ultimate purpose of economic activity and business.²⁴

This approach is perhaps more prescriptive than many of the tikanga frameworks reviewed, but is consistent with recent Māori commentary on Crown approaches to applying a tikanga Māori framework that has firmly urged the Crown to apply tikanga frameworks only if doing so will result in practical and tangible policy changes.²⁵ This point has been underscored by statements that unless a tikanga framework delivers practical policy changes, both in terms of process and outcomes, adopting such a framework is at risk of being a hollow appropriation of Māori language.

24 Henare (2011), p. 432.

25 O’Connell et al. (2018).

There are limited evaluations of the frameworks that provide insight into the appropriate level of prescription. However, in our view, three characteristics contribute to more effective implementation.

- Some level of prescription: Frameworks with clear guidance on how to apply the values through tangible behaviours and practices are more effective. Importantly, for effectiveness, we consider that prime and instrumental values need to be congruent. We also consider that Henare’s model provides desirable clarity for effective, practical change and ensures normative aspirations and implementation measures are congruent.
- Normative alignment: The values and their interpretation are more readily applied where they are aligned to the purpose and nature of the operations of the organisations seeking to implement the tikanga framework.
- Application mechanism: Clarity is required on how the tikanga framework and any other organisational policies or processes are applied to ensure there are no competing prime values or inconsistent obligations.

Kia Piki Ake Te Mana Tāngata in the context of tikanga frameworks

Considered in the context of other tikanga Māori frameworks, Kia Piki Ake Te Mana Tāngata has both important similarities and differences.

Kia Piki Ake Te Mana Tāngata is akin to existing tikanga frameworks in that it adopts prime values and notably, the specific values it adopts are predominantly universal terms within comparable frameworks.

Kia Piki Ake Te Mana Tāngata is distinctive in respect of its level of prescriptiveness. In one sense, the tikanga values have a weak level of associated prescription because there are no ritenga or āhuetanga elements that would ensure tangible change is achieved. However, the WEAG recommendation that Kia Piki Ake Te Mana Tāngata be incorporated into an amended Social Security Act would give the tikanga values a statutory mandate that is far stronger than any of the comparable models reviewed.

We also understand that WEAG expects officials to further develop Kia Piki Ake Te Mana Tāngata to include more detailed implementation guidance, supported by a meaningful engagement programme with Māori.

If both the statutory amendments and further implementation guidance are achieved, Kia Piki Ake Te Mana Tāngata could become an exemplar of a statutorily mandated, prescriptive tikanga framework.

Section 4 – Assessing Kia Piki Ake Te Mana Tāngata

This section contains our assessment of Kia Piki Ake Te Mana Tāngata. However, we wish to emphasise the following caveats on the rigour of our analysis.

- Kia Piki Ake Te Mana Tāngata evolved significantly during the review process and continued to be refined after completion of this report. Therefore, some of our views may have been surpassed by subsequent developments.
- The information we relied on in forming our views was somewhat incomplete due to the evolving nature of Kia Piki Ake Te Mana Tāngata and constraints on accessing the final WEAG report.
- WEAG was not able to engage with Māori on Kia Piki Ake Te Mana Tāngata due to the constrained timetable for presenting its report, so, as a corollary, neither were we able to engage in the formation of our views. Lack of engagement exposes both Kia Piki Ake Te Mana Tāngata and our assessment to challenge.

We do not consider ourselves to be experts in either tikanga Māori or social security. As such, we have not commented on the propriety of the tikanga framework for social security policy. Rather, we have confined ourselves to an analytical assessment of the framework against extant tikanga frameworks and to global insights to the extent they are germane to implementing an effective values framework in Aotearoa New Zealand.

Our assessment of Kia Piki Ake Te Mana Tāngata is based on two principal questions.

- **Are the tikanga Māori values incorporated into the framework sound?**
- **Is the architecture of the framework sound?**

In brief, our assessment of Kia Piki Ake Te Mana Tāngata against these two questions is as follows.

The tikanga Māori values appear to be sound, on the basis that they are predominantly universal terms within tikanga Māori frameworks. We note that takatūtanga is rarely used, although we understand it informs Work and Income’s cultural change initiative (Pae Tata). We consider it is accepted, and perhaps desirable, for tikanga frameworks to adopt tikanga values that are germane to the particular area of work. We note that the interpretation of takatūtanga could properly be seen as a subsidiary value within kaitiakitanga.

The architecture of the framework is broadly comparable to several extant tikanga frameworks, so could be considered sound. Our view is that it would be desirable to deepen the model by adopting Henare’s framework for aligning kawa, tikanga, ritenga and āhuetanga, which would require Kia Piki Ake Te Mana Tāngata to be further developed to include ritenga and āhuetanga components. We also note it may be desirable to strengthen alignment with He Ara Waiora, which is expanded on more fully in the following section.

Tikanga values

Kia Piki Ake Te Mana Tāngata is committed to contributing to a mana-enhancing social security system, as reflected in the framework's name, and adopts six tikanga values to give expression to this aspiration:

- manaakitanga
- kotahitanga
- kaitiakitanga
- whanaungatanga
- ōhanga
- takatūtanga.

The first four values are nearly universal across the tikanga frameworks we reviewed and adopt an interpretation consistent with common practice. Accordingly, we consider that inclusion of these terms is sound.

Ōhanga is less prominent, featuring in the He Ara Waiora model and a small number of Iwi tikanga frameworks.

Takatūtanga is, to the best of our knowledge, used only by Work and Income in its cultural change initiative.

We do not consider that rarity is a barrier to including values within a tikanga framework, and note that it is common for existing frameworks to contain elements that are distinctively relevant to their sector or purpose. Accordingly, we do not consider it is inappropriate to include ōhanga and takatūtanga within Kia Piki Ake Te Mana Tāngata, and defer to the deeper insight of WEAG on the appropriateness of these values.

Framework architecture

Our assessment of the architecture of Kia Piki Ake Te Mana Tāngata is informed by both common practice within tikanga frameworks and global commentary on effectively implementing public values within public policy. We consider that both sources share similar insights into the components of an effective architecture, namely:

- a symbolic and uniting vision
- the importance of including prime values that embody, with sufficient clarity, the meaning of the 'common good'
- the ability to influence organisational culture within organisations responsible for implementing the values framework
- an appropriate level of prescription in the framework that ensures a sufficiently direct correlation between prime values and resulting behavioural practices
- the ability to overcome ambiguity within and tensions between key values.

We consider that Kia Piki Ake Te Mana Tāngata readily satisfies the first two components. The underlying concept of Kia Piki Ake Te Mana Tāngata conveys an aspirational vision, supported by clearly articulated prime values in the form of the six tikanga values stated above, which WEAG has defined and interpreted.

The ability of Kia Piki Ake Te Mana Tāngata to influence organisational culture is, in our view, intertwined with the level of prescription within the framework. We consider that Henare's model provides a desirable level of prescription for tikanga frameworks because it ensures alignment between normative commitments, decision making, behavioural change and indicators. We consider that Kia Piki Ake Te Mana Tāngata has two strong components from Henare's model.

- Kawa: Kia Piki Ake Te Mana Tāngata could, in our view, be considered a kawa statement within Henare's model.
- Tikanga: The six tikanga values listed above are consistent with the tikanga component within Henare's model.

We also consider that if statutory amendments lead to the inclusion of the kawa and tikanga elements of Kia Piki Ake Te Mana Tāngata, it will have a profound influence on organisational changes, as they will effectively become the blueprint for organisational decision making, processes and behaviours. We note, however, that Māori have contested the inclusion of tikanga values in the Resource Management Act 1991 on two principal grounds:

- the risk of reductive or otherwise inappropriate interpretation
- that including values without clear operative provisions can lead to nominal rather than substantive implementation of tikanga.²⁶

This latter view very much informs our perspective on the inclusion of ritenga and āhuetanga elements within the framework, which, in our view, would ensure there are clear guidelines to operationalise the values.

Our views are more tentative regarding ritenga and āhuetanga. In our understanding, Kia Piki Ake Te Mana Tāngata has infused WEAG's deliberations and recommendations, but there are no clear and specific recommendations tied to each of the tikanga, which would suggest the framework does not expressly contain ritenga and āhuetanga elements. We note that many of the tikanga frameworks reviewed similarly do not contain one or both of the ritenga or āhuetanga components, so we do not consider the absence of either component to preclude the sound adoption of the framework. However, we consider it is highly desirable to have all four components of Henare's model intentionally congruent and interrelated, both to enhance the likelihood of influencing organisational culture (which commonly requires direction regarding behavioural change provided particularly by ritenga), and to respond to Māori commentary on the Crown adopting tikanga Māori frameworks. In recent engagement on He Ara Waiora, many Māori commentators expressed the view that the Crown should adopt tikanga frameworks only if doing so will deliver practical, tangible and desirable changes to government policy processes and outcomes. We consider that including ritenga and āhuetanga components is important to ensure sufficient change is achieved to meet Māori expectations and that it may be desirable for Kia Piki Ake Te Mana Tāngata to be further developed to do so. We note that WEAG may expect that the development of ritenga and āhuetanga components is led by officials following the delivery of the WEAG report.

Finally, we note that the ability to overcome ambiguity and prospective tensions between prime values may be complicated by the parallel development of He Ara Waiora and the recent recommendation by Te Puni Kōkiri that Whānau Ora outcomes are overlaid on the Living Standards Framework. Discussed more fully in the next section, there is a strategic issue to be resolved regarding whether the Crown will have one or many tikanga and/or outcomes frameworks. If the Crown adopts many frameworks, there is a risk of duplication and confusion. The global literature suggests that ambiguity is one of the most significant challenges to effectively expressing prime values in public policy. Accordingly, we consider that there should be a cross-government decision on whether one or multiple frameworks will be adopted.

Our recommendation is that the Crown adopt one model that is capable of being adapted to specific government departments or policy matters to reduce the risk of ambiguity and duplication. We propose an approach suited to application across government in the next section.

26 Waitangi Tribunal (2011).

Section 5 – Alternative Crown approaches

Two Crown approaches are being advanced in parallel to Kia Piki Ake Te Mana Tāngata:

- He Ara Waiora
- the Whānau Ora outcomes framework.

We consider a material risk exists of duplication and ambiguity arising from multiple frameworks, which may detract from the value of adopting a tikanga Māori framework. Accordingly, our recommendation is that the Crown adopt one tikanga Māori framework that is capable of adaptation across different government departments and policy matters.

We consider that the criteria for adopting a cross-government model should include the factors identified above for an effective architecture, with additional components reflecting support from Māori. These additional components are:

- a symbolic and uniting vision
- the importance of including prime values that embody, with sufficient clarity, the meaning of the 'common good'
- the ability to influence organisational culture within organisations responsible for implementing the values framework
- an appropriate level of prescription in the framework that ensures a sufficiently direct correlation between prime values and resulting behavioural practices
- the ability to overcome ambiguity within and tensions between key values
- sufficient support from Māori obtained through a genuine and accepted engagement process.

In brief, we consider He Ara Waiora is more likely to be able to fulfil these criteria than the Whānau Ora outcomes framework, and accordingly is more suited to becoming a cross-government framework. However, we consider that there is potentially high complementarity between both frameworks that suggests they could be integrated into a single model. We consider He Ara Waiora provides the kawa and tikanga dimensions of Henare's model and the Whānau Ora outcomes framework provides some of the ritenga and āhukatanga elements.

In forming this view, we note that He Ara Waiora is not fully developed and requires further engagement with Māori to achieve an adequate level of support. However, we believe it has sufficient rigour and credibility to serve as the base model. We also consider that there is pragmatic benefit to be obtained for Māori and wider New Zealand through starting with a reasonably sound model and iteratively improving it.

This section provides a condensed evaluation of the two alternative models and concludes with a proposed approach to applying He Ara Waiora and the Whānau Ora outcomes framework across government, with particular consideration of their application to the WEAG recommendations.

Overview of He Ara Waiora

He Ara Waiora was developed by the Tax Working Group, with particular leadership from Hinerangi Raumati and involving extensive engagement with Māori to shape the nature and content of tikanga Māori that could inform proposed reforms to the taxation system. Throughout the engagement with Māori, there were consistent recommendations that He Ara Waiora should be aligned to the Living Standards Framework and apply across all Crown policy.²⁷

He Ara Waiora is depicted below.



Waiora anchors He Ara Waiora in a conception of human wellbeing that is connected to the four capitals within the Living Standards Framework and expressed through four tikanga derived values of wellbeing:

- kaitiakitanga (stewardship of all our resources)
- manaakitanga (care for others)
- ōhanga (prosperity)
- whanaungatanga (the connections between us).

Through the engagement process with Māori, it was recommended that He Ara Waiora be further developed to ensure it achieves tangible policy outcomes through a cascading approach that ensures the principles are interpreted into practicable behavioural changes. One approach being considered further is adopting Henare's model to ensure the interrelationship between kawa, tikanga, ritenga and āhuatanga.

In respect of the criteria for an effective values framework for public policy, we consider that He Ara Waiora performs credibly.

- A symbolic and unifying vision: He Ara Waiora centres the concept of waiora as a symbolic and unifying vision, which is broadly interpreted as wellbeing. We consider that the simplicity of this vision has value for a cross-government framework.

²⁷ For more information on He Ara Waiora and the engagement process with Māori, see The Treasury website <https://treasury.govt.nz/publications/dp/dp-18-11>

- The importance on including prime values that embody, with sufficient clarity, the meaning of the 'common good': He Ara Waiora has four principal prime values, which is less than many of the comparable tikanga frameworks. However, we note that the terms used, with the exception of ōhanga, are in universal usage, so could be considered a sound expression of the core 'common good' values. We also believe there is benefit in simplicity within a Crown model, given that those charged with its implementation are, predominantly, likely to have less familiarity with tikanga Māori concepts.
- The ability to influence organisational culture within organisations responsible for implementing the values framework: We consider that the simplicity of He Ara Waiora means the model has potential to make an effective contribution to cultural change within the Crown. However, we note that the ability of any Crown framework to influence organisational culture will depend on whether there is one or many tikanga frameworks. We believe that if multiple tikanga frameworks are adopted, the duplication will create confusion, which will impair organisational culture change and, as a corollary, the adoption of one Crown framework will have the strongest potential to desirably shape organisational culture across the state service.
- An appropriate level of prescription in the framework that ensures a sufficiently direct correlation between prime values and resulting behavioural practices: We note that He Ara Waiora does not yet have ritenga and āhuatanga dimensions, but we understand a commitment exists to exploring these components. We consider it is critical to the efficacy and desirability of any Crown tikanga framework that it includes ritenga and āhuatanga components.
- The ability to overcome ambiguity within and tensions between key values: We consider the simplicity of He Ara Waiora means the model has the potential to overcome tensions within and between prime values. However, we note that the terms used within He Ara Waiora may not be considered sufficiently encompassing and further engagement with Māori may result in additional terms or changes to the terms. We are particularly mindful that kotahitanga and rangatiratanga or mana motuhake may be suggested for inclusion, given their prominence in comparable models. We also consider there may be merit in a deeper discussion among Māori about the interrelationship between tikanga values, as we consider that some comparable frameworks include some tikanga values in a way that could be considered an instrumental rather than a prime value.
- Sufficient support from Māori obtained through a genuine and accepted engagement process: He Ara Waiora has been developed through an iterative engagement process with Māori, which we consider lends to its credibility. Further engagement would be necessary if He Ara Waiora were to become a cross-government approach.

Accordingly, we consider that He Ara Waiora could be applied as a stand-alone model across government both on these grounds and the consistent recommendations by Māori during the engagement process that He Ara Waiora should be applied as a macro-Crown tikanga framework and aligned to the Living Standards Framework. However, as described further below, we consider there is benefit in aligning He Ara Waiora with the Whānau Ora outcomes framework.

Overview of the Whānau Ora outcomes framework

The Whānau Ora outcomes framework is aligned to seven pou, as depicted below.



The Whānau Ora outcomes were developed through an extensive engagement process with Māori designed to both reorient Crown approaches to health and social services and increase Māori control over Māori quality of life outcomes. The outcomes are supported by a comprehensive suite of short-term, medium-term and long-term indicators.

Whānau Ora has been a profoundly important initiative that one of the authors to this report has described as the most significant contemporary contribution to mana motuhake.²⁸ However, in respect of the criteria for an effective values framework for public policy, we consider that the Whānau Ora outcomes framework has significant weaknesses.

- A symbolic and uniting vision: The Crown appears to consider that the Whānau Ora outcomes are ambiguous, which detracts from the framework's ability to provide a symbolic and uniting vision. We also note that the focus on whānau, while entirely appropriate for Whānau Ora, is arguably too narrow for a cross-government framework.
- The importance on including prime values that embody, with sufficient clarity, the meaning of the 'common good': The Whānau Ora outcomes framework describes elements of the common good with clarity. However, we consider that it does so by describing āhukatanga rather than tikanga (prime values).
- The ability to influence organisational culture within organisations responsible for implementing the values framework: As stated above, the Crown has struggled to implement the Whānau Ora outcomes framework, which suggests that it has limitations in effecting change within Crown organisational culture.
- An appropriate level of prescription in the framework that ensures a sufficiently direct correlation between prime values and resulting behavioural practices: The indicators supporting Whānau Ora outcomes provide a desirable level of clarity and tangibility about the practical realisation of Whānau Ora outcomes. However, guidance within the framework on how to make progress toward the outcomes is limited, which has been one of the key features that has, arguably, impaired Crown understanding and implementation of Whānau Ora.
- The ability to overcome ambiguity within and tensions between key values: In our view, Whānau Ora outcomes describe āhukatanga rather than tikanga (prime values), so the framework provides limited guidance on reconciling tensions between key values.
- Sufficient support from Māori obtained through a genuine and accepted engagement process: The Whānau Ora outcomes were developed through an extensive engagement process with Māori that could be described as Māori led and, therefore, an exemplar engagement process.

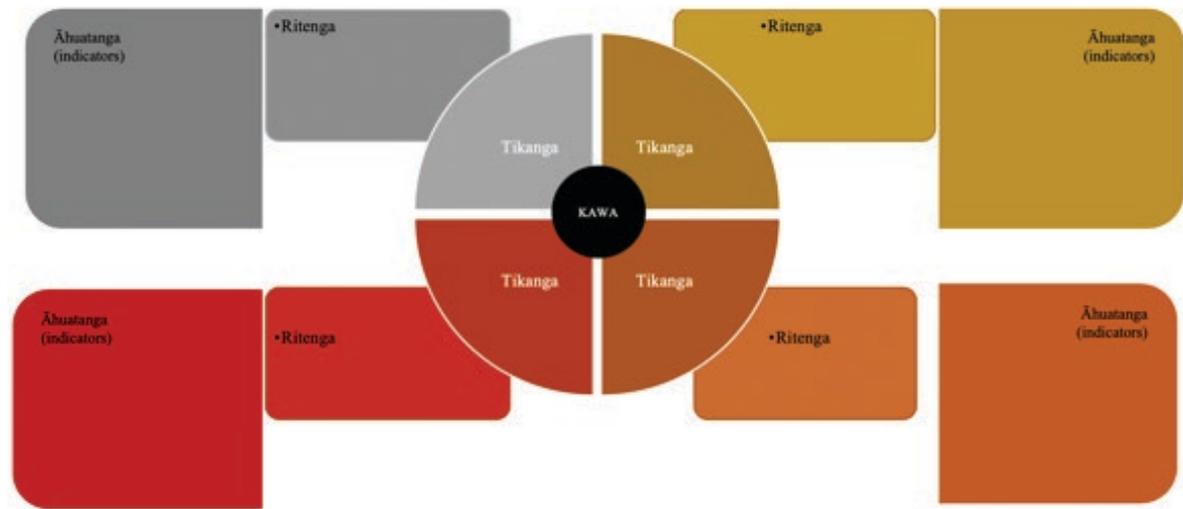
28 McMeeking (forthcoming).

Accordingly, we consider that the Whānau Ora outcomes are not suited to being applied as a stand-alone framework guiding cross-government public policy. However, we consider the complementarity between He Ara Waiora and the Whānau Ora outcomes framework warrants further consideration, as set out below.

Potential unification of He Ara Waiora and the Whānau Ora outcomes framework

In our view He Ara Waiora and the Whānau Ora outcomes framework could be considered complementary approaches that could be unified into a single model that applies across government, on the grounds that He Ara Waiora provides the kawa and tikanga dimensions of Henare’s model and the Whānau Ora outcomes framework provides a core component of the ritenga and āhuatanga elements.

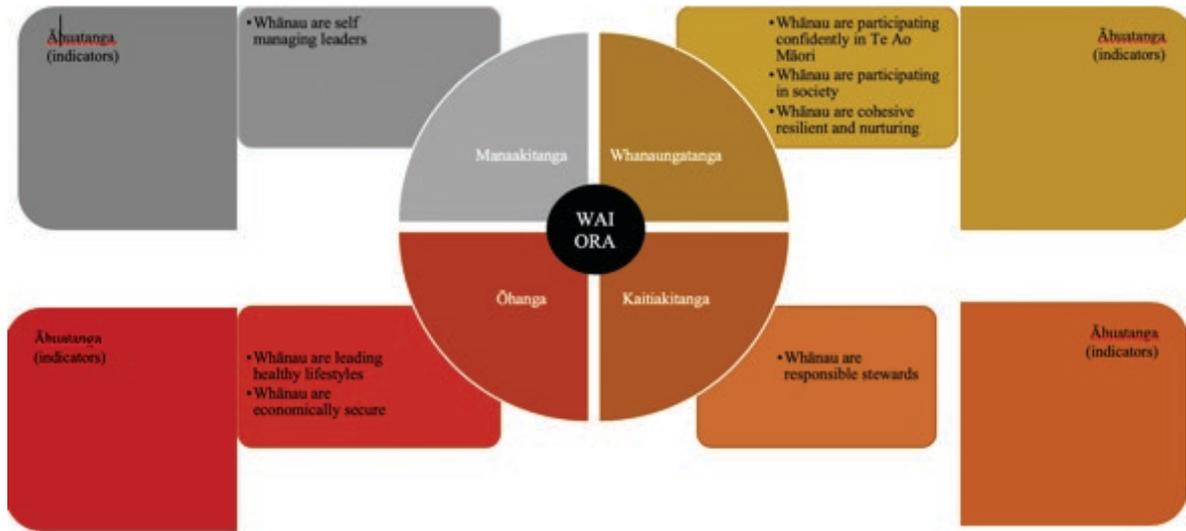
In our view, the relationship between the components of Henare’s model could be depicted as shown below.



We acknowledge that kawa has many different meanings and interpretations in Te Ao Māori. However, within this conceptualisation, kawa is at the centre to reflect that it operates as a super-prime value, foundation principle or moral imperative that is derived from the divinity of Atua Māori (He kawa Atua). The pragmatic application of kawa Atua is an alignment of people living a life that they value and achieving common good, guided by a set of principles, ethics and values, and tikanga values such as tika, pono, aroha and manaakitanga.

The relationship between tikanga, ritenga and āhuatanga is depicted as flowing from the tikanga description of the prime value through to the behavioural and indicator components in ritenga and āhuatanga respectively.

Using this depiction, we consider that He Ara Waiora and Whānau Ora outcomes could be aligned as depicted below.



Under this approach, the components of Henare’s model are as follows.

- Kawa: The statement of moral imperative is waiora, interpreted as a broad and holistic understanding of wellbeing.
- Tikanga: The four values within He Ara Waiora become the tikanga or prime values within the framework.
- Ritenga: The Whānau Ora outcomes become statements of ritenga. We note that the Whānau Ora outcomes do not provide a comprehensive articulation of the appropriate ritenga, so would need to be complemented with additional behavioural interpretations of the tikanga.
- Āhuatanga: The Whānau Ora indicators are included as statements of āhuatanga, noting, as above, that they need to be supplemented to reflect the tikanga and fuller āhuatanga components.

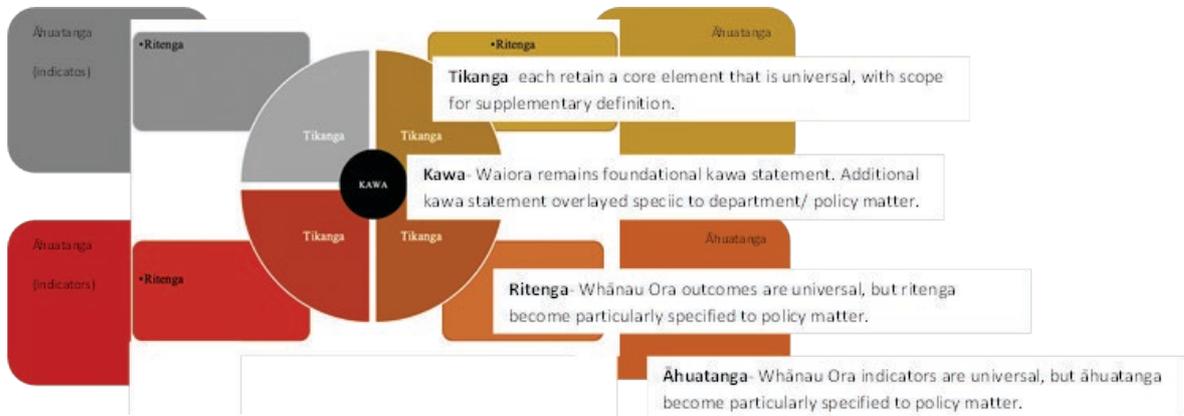
Within this approach, our broad interpretations of the tikanga values are as shown in the following table.

Tikanga value	Recommended meaning for policy guidance
Manaakitanga	<p>Our interpretation is founded on an etiological approach that breaks the word into mana-a-kī, meaning to 'fill with mana'. If interpreted as a prime value that shapes policy, we believe a fair interpretation of manaakitanga is that public policy should explore how to be mana enhancing for all, with particular recognition of:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • equitable distribution of benefits • that the means of delivery is uplifting • that there is recognition of the inherent mana and dignity of all • that priority is placed on the actual lived realities of people • where and by whom decisions are made.
Whanaungatanga	<p>That policy should explore how to contribute to whānau cohesion, autonomy and strengthening, with particular consideration of whānau:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • being able to freely choose their own relationships • determining their own sense of belonging with and participation in the community or communities and sense of cultural identity.
Kaitiakitanga	<p>That policy should explore how to contribute to intergenerational continuity and reciprocal relationships between people and place, with particular consideration of:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • the intergenerational protection and maintenance of things that are valued by people • preparedness for future changes • reciprocal relationships between people and whenua.
Ōhanga	<p>That policy should explore how to contribute to whānau and community prosperity, with particular consideration of:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • financial contributors to prosperity • holistic contributors to prosperity.

We note that these interpretations are likely to be imperfect and for any interpretation to be valid it must have been developed by Māori with the involvement of experts with recognised standing within Te Ao Māori. We emphasise that we are not such experts, and offer these interpretations as a starting point for illustrative purposes.

Application of unified He Ara Waiora and Whānau Ora approaches to Crown policy

We consider that the unified model could be adapted to different government departments with the guidelines depicted below and then detailed under the diagram.



- **Kawa:** The principal policy objective of kawa is framed as a 'super-prime' value or moral imperative and overlaid on waiora. This would result in all Crown policy being anchored on waiora as an expression of holistic wellbeing, but would enable a specific interpretation of the meaning of wellbeing to the particular policy domain. For example, the Ministry for the Environment could overlay a kawa statement that articulates the moral imperative of the relationship between the environment and wellbeing.
- **Tikanga:** The tikanga statements could contain a core element that is universal to all Crown policy, to ensure consistency and sufficient unity of vision to drive material change within the Crown. There could also be allowance for additional interpretative guidance to give effect to the distinctive kawa overlay.
- **Ritenga:** The ritenga element could similarly contain universal and specified components, with Whānau Ora outcomes forming a portion of the universal ritenga. We reiterate that we consider the Whānau Ora outcomes to be an important, but not comprehensive, statement of ritenga.
- **Āhuatanga:** The āhuatanga element could similarly contain universal and specified components, with the Whānau Ora indicators forming a portion of the universal āhuatanga.

Within the timeframe, we have not been able to develop this thinking further, but note the following benefits of a unified model that applies across government against the criteria for an effective framework.

- A symbolic and uniting vision: Having one model that applies across all of government is the most effective way to achieve a symbolic and uniting vision. We consider that the unified model contains a compelling vision and is sufficiently encompassing that it would overcome any pre-existing affiliation to one or other model. The model would also allow fidelity to the anchoring vision (waiora), as well as a more concrete vision that is specific to the department or area of policy.
- The importance of including prime values that embody, with sufficient clarity, the meaning of the 'common good': The reliance on the four He Ara Waiora values retains the clarity by simplicity outcome described above, with the same caveat that further engagement with Māori may recommend some change and/or additions to the tikanga values.

- The ability to influence organisational culture within organisations responsible for implementing the values framework: We consider that the unified model has the benefits of He Ara Waiora, while overcoming the difficulties with the Whānau Ora framework for effecting organisational culture change. As stated above, we consider that the most effective approach is for the Crown to adopt one tikanga framework.
- An appropriate level of prescription in the framework that ensures a sufficiently direct correlation between prime values and resulting behavioural practices: The unified model would need to be further developed to have a comprehensive suite of ritenga and āhuatanga guidance, which we consider should occur through an appropriate engagement process with Māori, including people with recognised standing to comment on tikanga.
- The ability to overcome ambiguity within and tensions between key values: We consider that the most effective mechanism for overcoming tensions between values is for the Crown to adopt one tikanga model that applies across all Crown policy. We believe the unified model has the potential to act as this, with the benefit that the proposal to overlay a more specified kawa statement would ensure it is both universal and capable of being adapted to particular policy areas.
- Sufficient support from Māori obtained through a genuine and accepted engagement process: We note that the unified model draws on the support both He Ara Waiora and the Whānau Ora outcomes framework have attracted. However, it would need further appropriate and genuine engagement with Māori.

In summary, we consider that the unified model should be considered further as a potential approach for a whole-of-government tikanga framework. We particularly note that it would significantly simplify the practical implementation of cross-government application by enabling generic and adaptable policy tools to be used across government.

Application of unified He Ara Waiora and Whānau Ora approaches to Welfare Expert Advisory Group proposals

We consider that the unified model (as depicted over page) is highly resonant with the Kia Piki Ake Te Mana Tāngata approach adopted by WEAG and the wider recommendations that we understand WEAG is proposing for the social security system.

Proposed adapted approach for Kia Piki Ake Te Mana Tāngata



Aligning Kia Piki Ake Te Mana Tāngata to the unified model would, in our view, result in three benefits:

- retention of the core aspirations and values underpinning Kia Piki Ake Te Mana Tāngata
- removal of duplication and ambiguity as a result of unclear alignment with He Ara Waiora and the Whānau Ora outcomes framework, contributing to a more robust framework
- greater clarity regarding the relationship between kawa, tikanga, ritenga and āhuetanga.

We note that this approach would result in the following changes to Kia Piki Ake Te Mana Tāngata.

- Te Tiriti o Waitangi is not explicitly referred to under He Ara Waiora, but could be incorporated into the explanatory narrative and, in our view, is given substantive effect to by the operation of the framework.
- Kia Takatū would fall within the meaning of aitiakitanga.
- The essence of kotahitanga within Kia Piki Ake Te Mana Tāngata is given effect to under the value of whanaungatanga.

We consider that considerable merit exists in further exploration of the application of the unified model, as it draws on the strengths of both He Ara Waiora and the Whānau Ora outcomes framework, while reducing the risk of confusion and duplication resulting from competing approaches. We appreciate that WEAG may not have sufficient time remaining to lead this exploration, but we encourage direction being given to officials to do so following delivery of the WEAG report. We also recommend that any such further development is aligned to the Living Standards Framework as it evolves.

Section 6 – Conclusions and recommendation

We value the opportunity to review Kia Piki Ake Te Mana Tāngata and wish to record our appreciation to WEAG for inviting us to do so. In summary, we consider the following.

WEAG should be commended for its leadership role in developing a tikanga framework that, we consider, is both consistent with global movements to more explicitly incorporate prime values into public policy and a continuation of New Zealand's distinctive tradition of seeking to integrate tikanga into social policy to generate transformative change.

We emphasise that the development of a tikanga framework is of benefit for Māori and the wider community, as, in our view, international literature substantiates that the inclusion of prime values makes for better, more durable policy that has higher levels of perceived legitimacy. We also consider that the tikanga values incorporated within the framework reflect the values of wider New Zealand, are inclusive and will, ultimately, benefit all participants in the New Zealand social security system.

We note that the WEAG recommendation to make statutory amendments to incorporate the tikanga values within Kia Piki Ake Te Mana Tāngata would be a bold approach that significantly elevates the status of the tikanga framework and reinforces the leadership being demonstrated by WEAG.

Kia Piki Ake Te Mana Tāngata, in comparison with existing tikanga frameworks, could be considered a sound and desirable tikanga framework. However, we recommend that it is further developed. In our view, a robust tikanga framework should have the four elements within the Henare model – He Ara Waiora: kawa, tikanga, ritenga and āhuatanga. In our assessment, Kia Piki Ake Te Mana Tāngata does not yet have ritenga and āhuatanga components and that further developing it to include both elements would materially strengthen the effective change it could bring about within government. We believe the process of further development could be led by officials, providing robust and meaningful engagement occurs with Māori.

An alternative approach to Kia Piki Ake Te Mana Tāngata merits further consideration to reduce the risk of duplication, confusion and ambiguity as the Crown explores the development of tikanga frameworks. In our view, it is desirable for the Crown to adopt one tikanga framework that applies across all Crown policy and is capable of adaptation to ensure the benefits of both consistency and responsiveness are achieved. We consider that two existing models could become the whole-of-government approach: He Ara Waiora and the Whānau Ora outcomes framework.

We do not consider that the Whānau Ora outcomes framework could become a stand-alone whole-of-government model as its outcomes are more akin to statements of ritenga and āhuatanga and are considered ambiguous by the Crown.

We consider He Ara Waiora could be further developed to be a stand-alone whole-of-government approach. However, both approaches are complementary and there is merit in exploring a unified approach that positions He Ara Waiora as the source of kawa and tikanga and incorporates Whānau Ora outcomes and indicators into the ritenga and āhuatanga components of the model, along with additional content that reflects the full and nuanced meaning of the kawa and tikanga statements.

We recommend that WEAG encourages the further development of Kia Piki Ake Te Mana Tāngata to include exploration of a unified model and alignment with the development of the Living Standards Framework.

Appendix – Definition of terms used in Kia Piki Ake Te Mana Tāngata

This appendix defines the key terms used in Kia Piki Ake Te Mana Tāngata.

Whakamana Tāngata

Summary

‘Whakamana Tāngata’ is a term predominantly utilised in the health and education sectors, as well as in government policy documents within these sectors. It is a relatively new term with its meaning emphasising ‘placing people first’.²⁹

Definitions and use

The expression ‘Kia Piki Ake Te Mana Tāngata’ can be broken down into ‘whakamana’, which is translated as ‘enhance and give power and authority o something’, and ‘Tāngata’, which is translated as ‘people’. Therefore, Kia Piki Ake Te Mana Tāngata has the inferred meaning of enhancing the authority and power of the people.³⁰

Kia Piki Ake Te Mana Tāngata is a broad term that encompasses multiple aspects of tikanga. It has been used as an umbrella term to describe a framework of Māori values that can be incorporated into a workplace as part of policy. Kia Piki Ake Te Mana Tāngata underpins more commonly utilised concepts of tikanga such as kaitiakitanga, whakawhanaungatanga, manaakitanga and āhukatanga.³¹

Joana Kuntz and colleagues describe Kia Piki Ake Te Mana Tāngata as an overarching term:³²

Wairuatanga was found to be a value that could stand independently, represented by a distinct dimension, but the values of kaitiakitanga, manaakitanga, whakawhanaungatanga and āhukatanga were collectively underpinned by a common distinct factor; Whakamana tāngata – the notion of placing people first.

Mason Durie refers to ‘whakamana’ as the ‘capacity to empower’.³³ He uses this term in reference to the future of Māori development and the tikanga frameworks designed specifically for the enhancement of Māori entrepreneurship through the wellbeing of the whānau.

The capacity to empower, Whakamana, is a whānau function that facilitates the entry of members of the whānau into the wider community, as individuals and as Māori. The whānau might be a gateway into the marae, or into sport, or to school, or to work. A good outcome is one where whānau members can participate fully, as Māori, in te ao Māori (the Māori world) and te ao whānui (wider society), and whānau are well represented in community endeavours.³⁴

29 Jolly et al. (No date).

30 Ibid.

31 Ibid.

32 Kuntz et al. (2014).

33 Durie (2003).

34 Rameka (2007).

In the context of the education sector, the government policy of early childhood education places emphasis on 'growing and nurturing children' and of 'empowering them to learn'.³⁵ Definitions include acknowledging the child's agency in the learning process, which leads to growth and development of the child within a nurturing and supportive environment.³⁶

*empowerment | whakamana: curriculum and pedagogy empower the child to learn and grow by giving them agency, enhancing their mana and supporting them to enhance the mana of others.*³⁷

Alternative terms

'Mana Tāngata' refers to feats of 'bravery and skill' that promote leadership qualities.³⁸ It is also referred to as 'human authority'.³⁹ Durie builds on this by offering this definition of mana Tāngata:⁴⁰

Mana Tāngata was a reflection of human expertise, assisted perhaps by gods but essentially an acknowledgement of the skills and knowledge which allowed certain people to direct the day-to-day activities within their communities.

He aha te mea nui o Te Ao? He Tāngata! He Tāngata! He Tāngata

What is the most important thing in the world? It is people! It is people! It is people!

Manaakitanga

Summary

At the heart of manaakitanga is the value of caring for people and nature. This value is exemplified through the respectful and kind relationships that we nurture with others. The applications of manaakitanga are across many sectors, including business and education. These relationships are cultivated and nurtured as reciprocal for all parties involved, whether they be in a school, workplace or community setting.

According to Hirini Moko Mead:⁴¹

The principle and values attached to manaakitanga are held to be the very important and underpin all tikanga Māori. Manaakitanga focuses on positive human behaviour and encourages people to rise above their personal attitudes and feelings towards others and towards the issues they believe in.

Definitions and use

Manaaki – to support, take care of, give hospitality to, protect, look out for – show respect, generosity and care for others. Manaakitanga – hospitality, kindness, generosity, support – the process of showing respect, generosity and care for others.⁴²

35 Rameka (2007).

36 Clarkin-Phillips and Carr (2009).

37 Ministry of Education (2017), p. 62.

38 Gallagher (2008).

39 Mead (2016), p. 395.

40 Durie (1998).

41 Mead (2016), p. 378.

42 *Māori Dictionary – Online*, <https://maoridictionary.co.nz/> <https://maoridictionary.co.nz/word/3425>

The most popular meaning given to manaakitanga is 'hospitality',⁴³ although it is also associated with 'being a responsible host', referring to the relationship between host and visitor.⁴⁴ Timoti Gallagher prefers a more nuanced definition of manaakitanga, 'uplifting the mana of others'.⁴⁵

Durie provided further explanation of the relationship between mana and manaaki: "Manaakitanga is the process whereby mana (power, authority) is translated into actions of generosity".⁴⁶ This link was also described as "Reciprocity is at the heart of manaakitanga, and rests upon a precept that being of service enhances the mana of others; mana is the ethic of power, authority and the common good".⁴⁷

Alternative terms

No alternative terms were discovered.

Manaakitia te Tāngata, ahakoa ko wai, ahakoa no hea.

Treat people respectfully, irrespective of who they are or where they are from.

Kaitiakitanga

Summary

A wealth of literature discussed the term 'kaitiakitanga', and it has been used in a variety of ways. Primarily, it has been associated with the environment and sustainability and is taken to mean "guardianship". It has strong connotations of responsibility and obligation. A key feature of kaitiakitanga is its intergenerational nature – the responsibility is passed down through the generations. Kaitiakitanga has been linked to the concept of self-determination throughout the literature.

This term has been given effect in various pieces of legislation. The most frequently referred to were the Resource Management Act 1991 and Te Ture Whenua Maori Act 1993. Alongside this, kaitiakitanga has been employed in the social and cultural spheres and, albeit to a lesser extent, in relation to the economy.

Definitions and use

The term kaitiakitanga is most often used in relation to the environment. It has been defined as "guardianship, stewardship, trusteeship, trustee" and "stewardship and protection, often used in relation to natural resources".⁴⁸

Literal interpretations stem from the core word 'tiaki' meaning "to care for, guard, protect, to keep watch over and shelter".⁴⁹ Hence, kaitiakitanga meaning trusteeship and guardianship. 'Kai' is a generic term and when applied to 'tiaki' as a prefix, it has a literal translation meaning "caretaker, guardian, conservator, or trustee".⁵⁰

43 Jolly, et al. (No date).

44 Zygadlo, et al. (2003).

45 Spiller, et al. (2011).

46 Durie (2001), p. 83.

47 Spiller et al. (2011), p. 161.

48 *Māori Dictionary – Online*, <http://maoridictionary.co.nz/>; Harris, (2015), p. 64.

49 Marsden & Henare (1992).

50 Ibid.

Merata Kawharu describes kaitiakitanga through the pathway towards resource management:⁵¹

Kaitiakitanga should be defined not only as 'guardianship' as has been emphasised by the Crown, local government and some Māori, but also as 'resource management'. Kaitiakitanga embraces social and environmental dimensions. Human, material and non-material elements are all to be kept in balance. Current use of kaitiakitanga has tended to emphasise conservation and protection.

It has often been referred to as an "institution"; for example:⁵²

This discourse is then linked to opportunities for enhancing the mana whenua or authority of hapū through an increased recognition of indigenous rights and the recovery of the institution of kaitiakitanga.

Kaitiaki is defined as "guard, guardian, caretaker" and "trustee, minder, guard".⁵³ Some definitions retain a traditional perspective of kaitiaki: "guardian spirits are left behind by deceased ancestors to watch over their descendants and to protect sacred places".⁵⁴ While it is often used as "a human function, it was also creatures, and natural features, who embodied kaitiaki – who were, themselves, the guardians".⁵⁵ McCully Matiu provided insight into the terms kaitiaki and kaitiakitanga:⁵⁶

Kaitiakitanga is the role played by kaitiaki. Traditionally, kaitiaki are the many spiritual assistants of the gods, including the spirits of deceased ancestors, who were the spiritual minders of the elements of the natural world. All the elements of the natural world, the sky father and earth mother and their offspring the seas, sky, forests and birds, food crops, winds, rain and storms, volcanic activity, as well as people and wars are descended from a common ancestor, the supreme god. These elements, which are the world's natural resources, are often referred to as taonga, that is, items which are greatly treasured and respected. In Māori cultural terms, all natural, and physical elements of the world are related to each other, and each is controlled and directed by the numerous spiritual assistants of the gods.

This quote highlights the need to "incorporate the spiritual as well as physical responsibilities of Tangata whenua and relate to the mana not only of Tangata whenua, but also of the gods, the land and the sea" when interpreting kaitiakitanga.⁵⁷

As explained by Carwyn Jones:⁵⁸

The way in which kaitiakitanga is currently used has quite recent origins even though the root word, kaitiaki (guardian), is clearly a traditional concept with a long history.

Kaitiakitanga has become a central concept in environmental law to express the Māori interest in resource management decisions.

51 Kawharu (2000), p. 349.

52 Forster (2011), p. 222.

53 Love & Pere (2004), p. iii.

54 Barlow (1996), p. 34.

55 Browning (2017), p. 73.

56 McCully Matiu quoted in Mutu (2010), p. 14.

57 Ibid, p. 15.

58 Jones (2014), p. 197.

This idea was also expressed by Carmen Kirkwood:⁵⁹

Kaitiaki is a big word. It encompasses atua, tapu, mana. It involves whakapapa and tika; to know 'kaitiaki' is to know the Māori world. Everybody on this planet has a role to play as a guardian. But if you use the word kaitiaki, that person must be Māori because of the depth and meaning of the word, and the responsibilities that go with it. The reason is that to be a kaitiaki means looking after one's own blood and bones – literally. One's whānaunga and tupuna include the plants and animals, rocks and trees. We are all descended from Papatuanuku; she is our kaitiaki and we in turn are hers.

Traditionally, kaitiaki "acting directly or indirectly through the medium of tohunga or animal guardians were an essential 'controlling' component of this complex network of checks and balances whereby relationships within the environmental family were maintained".⁶⁰

Kaitiakitanga has recognition through legislation due to "increased political commitment and recognition of the rights of indigenous peoples and the view of sustainability as the fundamental principle of environmental management have resulted in legislative provisions that give recognition to kaitiakitanga".⁶¹ This is "as a direct consequence of prolonged and relentless demand by Māori for autonomy".⁶²

The key example of this is the Resource Management Act 1991, which provides statutory recognition of kaitiakitanga.⁶³ This Act defines kaitiakitanga as "the exercise of guardianship by the tangata whenua of an area in accordance with tikanga Maori in relation to natural and physical resources; and includes the ethic of stewardship".⁶⁴ Kawharu writes that "Māori interpretations of kaitiakitanga as guardianship is perhaps a response to the Crown's need to understand more fully what kaitiakitanga means in terms intelligible to the Crown".⁶⁵ There have been concerns that:⁶⁶

kaitiakitanga has become almost locked into meaning simply 'guardianship' without understanding of (or in the case of the Crown, providing for) the wider obligations and rights it embraces. Māori interpretations of kaitiakitanga as guardianship can be far greater than non-Māori interpretations of it.

A subsequent piece of legislation that employs the term "kai tiaki" is Te Ture Whenua Maori Land Act 1993 where the definition is given as "guardian".⁶⁷ Te Ture Whenua Maori Amendment Act 2002 uses the term 'kaitiaki' and gives the same definition.⁶⁸

59 Carmen Kirkwood, quoted in Roberts et al. (1995), p. 13.

60 Roberts, et al. (1995), p. 12.

61 Forster (2011), p. 238.

62 Ibid, p. 234.

63 Resource Management Act 1991.

64 Resource Management Act 1991, section 2.

65 Kawharu (2000), p. 351.

66 Ibid.

67 Te Ture Whenua Maori Act 1993.

68 Te Ture Whenua Maori Amendment Act 2002.

Kaitiakitanga has been primarily used in the literature to refer to the environment and sustainability, as the “vital component of traditional Māori resource management”.⁶⁹ “Sustainability is key to the concept of kaitiakitanga”.⁷⁰ The contemporary importance and relevance of kaitiakitanga was highlighted in the literature:⁷¹

Kaitiakitanga draws on Māori cultural institutions and systems to regulate land occupancy, resource management and the access, use and conservation of natural resources. Kaitiakitanga is a knowledge base and set of practices that enable Māori to maintain a relationship with the land, waters and natural resources and involve an intimate knowledge of a physical space and the layers of events and relationships that have occurred in that area across time. It is about retaining those relationships and connections to natural resources, tupuna and atua. The concept of kaitiakitanga provides a contemporary Māori perspective on environmental protection and management, and is closely linked to politics of indigenous self-determination.

Kaitiakitanga is closely aligned with the western concept of sustainable use, although it does feature some conservation elements.

Ngā Pae o Rangitikei utilise kaitiakitanga as one of their foundation principles, and it is interpreted as:⁷²

whānau, hapū and iwi govern their own particular areas and have a responsibility to the environment that encompasses many traditional notions such as rahui or a sense of natural resource management.

One example from the literature was regarding restoration initiatives in the Wairoa–Māhia regions. The initiatives “illustrate new opportunities to exercise kaitiakitanga responsibilities and obligations, to be active kaitiaki, and to ensure wetlands and lakes remain a central feature of hapū identity”.⁷³

Kaitiakitanga encompasses an “obligation” and a “responsibility”.⁷⁴

As Māori communities became fixed to a geographical area and developed manawhenua relationships and obligations, a sustainable resource use ethic emerged, known today as kaitiakitanga. Through the institution of kaitiakitanga, Māori have a long tradition of sustainable resource use, of maintaining the mauri or health of an ecosystem while balancing natural resource use and development.⁷⁵

69 Williams (2012), p. 99.

70 Ibid.

71 Forster (2011), p. 222.

72 Warren (2010), p. 192.

73 Forster (2010), p. 200.

74 Ibid, p. 202.

75 Ibid.

Similarly, in *Māori and the Environment: Kaitiaki* it was explained as:⁷⁶

an inherent obligation we have to our tupuna and to our mokopuna; an obligation to safeguard and care for the environment for future generations. It is a link between the past and the future, the old and the new, between the taonga of the natural environment and Tangata whenua. The natural environment is located between Ranginui and Papatuanuku, between Earth and Sky, and is shared by their descendants, Tangata whenua and all other people. In order to live in harmony with the environment and each other, and to ensure our long term survival, we must respect and protect the environment. As Tangata whenua and as kaitiaki we have responsibility for the environment and for those that share the environment. Kaitiakitanga is not an obligation which we choose to adopt or to ignore; it is an inherited commitment that links mana atua, mana Tangata and mana whenua, the spiritual realm with the human world and both of those with the earth and all that is on it.

The Waitangi Tribunal's report *Ko Aotearoa Tēnei* (2011) "made a clear link between the concepts of mana and kaitiakitanga, noting that, in Te Ao Māori, kaitiaki relationships always include both rights and corresponding responsibilities".⁷⁷

The responsibility aspect is linked to the intergenerational nature of kaitiakitanga. The "traditional Māori resource management role of kaitiakitanga" is described as "a responsibility to protect a resource for future generations".⁷⁸

As described by Margaret Mutu:⁷⁹

Our role as kaitiaki has been passed down through the generations and is carefully rearticulated in hui, in wananga, and every time another development taking place within our territories threatens the integrity of our mother earth, Papatuanuku.

This stems from the 'belief ... that we are mere guardians of the whenua (land), moana (sea) and in short, the taiao (environment)'.⁸⁰

Alongside environmental uses, kaitiakitanga is often employed in the social and cultural spheres. It "pervades not only the environmental realm but also the social".⁸¹ For instance, it was described as "guardianship (environmental and cultural)" by Garth Harmsworth.⁸²

Kaitiakitanga should also be understood as "[embracing] social protocols associated with hospitality, reciprocity and obligation (manaaki, tuku and utu)".⁸³ Kawharu wrote that "implementing kaitiakitanga is as much about managing resources of the environment as it is about managing people. It applies to people, particularly between kin group leaders and the wider kin group".⁸⁴ She comments further that "Accountability, reciprocity, guardianship and trusteeship equally apply to leaders and their people as they apply to the relationship between people and their environment".⁸⁵

76 Selby et al. (2010), p. 1.

77 Waitangi Tribunal (2011), p. 198.

78 Wright et al. (1995), p. 84.

79 Mutu (2010), p. 14.

80 Aranga & Ferguson (2016).

81 Kawharu (2010), p. 227.

82 Harmsworth (2005), p. 17.

83 Kawharu (2000), p. 351.

84 Kawharu (2010), p. 227.

85 Ibid.

Margaret Forster identified the connection between self-determination and kaitiakitanga:⁸⁶

The re-emergence of kaitiakitanga as a Māori environmental ethic is directly related to the indigenous agenda of self-determination, to the reaffirmation of cultural identity, and to efforts to reassert hapū authority or mana whenua. Māori are demanding greater recognition of kaitiakitanga rights and rangatiratanga provisions in the management of natural resources; such recognition is critical if hapū are to adequately respond to contemporary environmental issues in their rohe.

In another article, Forster reiterates that:⁸⁷

[a] key feature of kaitiakitanga is Māori autonomy and self-determination as it requires recognition by the state of tribal authority and the development of opportunities for tribes to participate in resource management.

The term kaitiakitanga has been used in economic literature but not to a significant extent. It was identified in the 2003 Māori economic development report as important to any “useful concept of Māori [economic] development”.⁸⁸ Te Ao Māori report released by Chapman Tripp in 2017 stated that:⁸⁹

Māori-owned businesses are unique in that they are driven not only by financial outcomes but by principles of kaitiakitanga (responsibility), manaakitanga (supporting people) and taonga tuku iho mō ngā uri whakatipu (guardianship of resources for future generations).

Alternative terms

One term that emerged as an alternative to, or in addition to, kaitiakitanga was “taonga tuku iho mō ngā uri whakatipu”, which was defined as “guardianship of resources for future generations”.⁹⁰ However, it did not appear frequently, and appeared only in conjunction with a more limited definition of kaitiakitanga as “responsibility”.⁹¹

Kotahitanga

Summary

Kotahitanga is most often referred to as ‘unity and solidarity’ with applications across a wide variety of industries. This term is primarily concerned with social grouping dynamics, so it can be inferred that kotahitanga uplifts cohesive teamwork, allowing all team members to make valued contributions to the overall kaupapa that the team is part of.

Found within existing education, health and business frameworks, kotahitanga represents a ‘shared sense of belonging and common destiny’.⁹² Despite great diversity between the groups that come together, a shared goal or common vision unites their collaboration and underpins the work that is being done. It means “establishing relationships or alliances between Māori organisations and groups”.⁹³

86 Forster (2011), p. 239.

87 Forster (2016), p. 318.

88 NZIER (2003), p. 2.

89 Chapman Tripp (2017), p. 5.

90 Ibid.

91 Ibid.

92 Maaka & Fleras (2000).

93 Durie (2002).

Definitions and use

Kotahitanga is primarily defined as unity, togetherness, solidarity, and collective action.⁹⁴

In the education sector, kotahitanga has been used as the key framework concept in the creation of the Te Whāriki, the early childhood education curriculum:⁹⁵

holistic development | kotahitanga: curriculum and pedagogy focus on the 'whole learner', reflecting the holistic way in which children learn and grow, with the cognitive (hinengaro), physical (tinana), emotional (whatumanawa), spiritual (wairua), and social and cultural dimensions all tightly interwoven.

Durie discusses the use of kotahitanga and the lack of cohesiveness between diverse Māori community groups:⁹⁶

good outcomes for Māori were often hampered by a lack of co-ordination between Māori groups and organisations ... The outcome goal of kotahitanga, recognises the significance of co-operation and the importance of collective effort. It also implies inter-sectoral co-operation... in a well organised Māori community where there was adequate leadership it could be expected that linkages between sectors and programmes would be possible.

Chellie Spiller and colleagues looked at the application of kotahitanga within business practices:⁹⁷

By empathetically engaging with specific contexts, and acting on the needs in communities, including ecological communities, the field research shows how businesses draw upon Māori values such as kotahitanga (unity), wairuatanga (spirituality), whakapapa (genealogy), aroha (care, empathy, charity and respect) and manaaki (respect and kindness) in practice to endow a sense of belonging to each other and the natural world.

Alternative terms

Kotahitanga with a capital K is the name for the Māori parliament, a federated Māori assembly that advocated for self-government and national unity among Māori kinship groups in the 19th century. Derivative meanings of kotahitanga come from its base word 'kotahi'. Kotahi is either a numerical counter, meaning 'one, single, alone', or a stative 'to be united'.⁹⁸ There are many variations on 'kotahi' with a variety of prefixes or suffixes added to it to broaden the term's original meaning. These include, but are not limited to, Waka Kotahi (NZ Transport Agency), where kotahi (single suit, flush in a poker game), kotahi tāra (one dollar), kotahi mai/kotahi atu (straight for, directly to – towards/away from the speaker).

Kia urupu tatou, kaua e taukumekume.

Unity gives us strength, disharmony drives us apart.

94 *Māori Dictionary – Online*, <http://maoridictionary.co.nz/>

95 Ministry of Education (2017), p. 62

96 Durie et al. (2002), p. 75.

97 Spiller et al. (2011), p. 159.

98 *Māori Dictionary – Online*, <http://maoridictionary.co.nz/>

Whanaungatanga

Summary

"Whakawhanaungatanga is the notion that embraces whakapapa as a connective device that links individuals through generations. It has a strong focus on relationships."⁹⁹ These relationships are not necessarily defined by familial blood relations, but also encompass non-familial kin relationships. The notion of 'whānau' being that of an extended group of people with whom you have sustained relationships with.

Whakapapa was an effective social tool. In pre-1840 Māori society an individual was never seen purely as an individual; rather the individual's identity was defined through that individual's relationship with others.¹⁰⁰ Put another way, individuals were expected to support the collective group, and the collective group was expected to support the individual (whakapapa being the basis for the relationship).¹⁰¹

The whānau is a collective of individuals who are bound together by a common good and work collaboratively to provide for the group's needs. Individual needs are seen as secondary to the group's overall wellbeing, so require a different set of measures in order to gauge 'wellbeing'.¹⁰²

Definitions and use

The widely recognised definition of whānau is family, which also extends to non-blood (familial) ties or kinship. In a contemporary setting, it is not unusual for friends, work colleagues or fellow students to become part of a whānau relationship.¹⁰³

Whanaungatanga relationship, kinship, sense of family connection – a relationship through shared experiences and working together which provides people with a sense of belonging. It develops as a result of kinship rights and obligations, which also serve to strengthen each member of the kin group. It also extends to others to whom one develops a close familial, friendship or reciprocal relationship.

Mead defines 'whanaungatanga' in terms of relationships that require nurturing:¹⁰⁴

One component of the values associated with tikanga ... Whanaungatanga embraces whakapapa and focuses upon relationships. Individuals expect to be supported by their relatives near and distant, but the collective group also expects the support and help of its individuals. This is a fundamental principle.

Following on from Mead and his assertion of relationships at the heart of whanaungatanga, Metge contributes to the discourse by defining whānau:¹⁰⁵

Whanaungatanga means that groups are constituted as if they were a whānau, that is, an extended family. To use the term whānau, literally or metaphorically, is to identify a series of rights and responsibilities, commitments and obligations, and supports that are fundamental to the collectivity.

99 Jolly et al. (No date), p. 13.

100 Gallagher (2008).

101 Mead (2003), p. 378.

102 Durie (2006), p. 75.

103 *Māori Dictionary – Online*, <http://maoridictionary.co.nz/>

104 Mead (2003), p. 32.

105 Metge (1990).

Alternative terms

Whakapapa was another term utilised within existing frameworks to represent a sense of kinship and connectedness. The use of this term was to generate a sense of interconnectedness between people and to uplift already established relationships.

He hono Tāngata e kore e motu; kapa he taura waka e motu.

A human bond cannot be severed; unlike a canoe rope, it cannot be severed.

Ōhanga and whairawa

Summary

There is a smaller body of literature regarding the terms ōhanga and whairawa. Both terms are used primarily in relation to economics and Māori economy and reflect the emergent focus on Māori economic development. There are few examples of both terms, and where they were utilised they were employed in titles and project names. No alternative terms emerged in the literature.

Definitions and use

The term 'ōhanga' has been defined as "economics, economic, economy". It is also translated as analogous to kōhanga, as "nest".¹⁰⁶

The key use of ōhanga in the literature was in reference to the Māori economy, and it is often used in a title or name of a project. For instance, the annual trends and insight report on Te Ao Māori published by law firm Chapman Tripp, includes a section entitled "Te Ōhanga Māori/The Māori economy".¹⁰⁷

The term was employed in 1999 for the Hui Ōhanga conference on Māori business and economic development.¹⁰⁸ In *Māori Economic Development: Te Ōhanga Whanaketanga Māori*, the term ōhanga was used as follows:¹⁰⁹

The normal structure for holding and managing commercial assets is the limited liability company, as defined in the Companies Act. Importantly, this model allows for shares to be traded and board and management accountabilities to be clearly defined. These features could usefully form the basis of a new Māori commercial entity option (ōhanga), while maintaining the guardian relationship Māori have with their whenua.

In *Te Pae Tawhiti: Manawatū–Whanganui Māori Economic Development Strategy 2016–2040*, the term "Whai ōhanga" was used to mean "Entrepreneurship and innovation".¹¹⁰ The report also used the phrase "Te Ōhanga Whanaketanga Māori: Māori Economic Development" for a section that outlined "how Māori economic development intersects with regional growth in this rohe".¹¹¹ The term was explained as:¹¹²

106 Williams (1971); *Māori Dictionary – Online*, <http://maoridictionary.co.nz/>

107 Chapman Tripp (2017).

108 NZIER (2003), p. 47.

109 Ibid, p. 97.

110 Mika et al. (2016), p. 8.

111 Ibid.

112 Ibid, p. 82.

a development priority that recognises the contribution that entrepreneurs and small and medium enterprises make to the Māori economy in Manawatū-Whanganui. A range of Māori entrepreneurs, innovators and enterprise owner-operators are already actively engaged in commercialising new technologies, managing successful small enterprises, and supporting Māori entrepreneurs to flourish. Encouraging entrepreneurship, innovation and assistance for iwi and Māori is also about celebrating success. Māori business awards like those organised by Te Arahanga o Ngā Iwi in Ōtaki (Luke, 2014) and Te Manu Atatu, the Whanganui Māori business network (set to host its first awards in 2016) are examples of this.

A project entitled “Key Māori values strengthen the mapping of forest ecosystem services” found that the four most frequently identified values were “Mauri (life force), mahinga kai (food procurement), oranga (human wellbeing) and te ohanga whai rawa (economic development)”.¹¹³ The definition was also given as “economic development and livelihoods” later in the same article.¹¹⁴

Whairawa is defined as to “be rich, wealthy” by way of possessing resources, and is primarily used in regards to the Māori economy.¹¹⁵ The most prominent use of whairawa in the literature is similar to that of ōhanga, and it is mainly used as a label for various programmes and institutions. For instance, Whai Rawa is the name of Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu’s iwi savings scheme.¹¹⁶

The term Whai Rawa is also used by Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga as a name for their Māori economy research programme.¹¹⁷ This programme focuses on:¹¹⁸

the diverse economies of Māori small to medium sized enterprises (SMEs) [and] both acknowledges and describes the diverse modes of Māori economies that are grounded in conceptions of identity, landscape and socio-historical experiences and exist today in the modern world.

Alternative terms

No alternative terms emerged from the literature.

Takatūtanga and Whakatakatūtanga

Summary

Takatūtanga and whakatakatūtanga were not found to be part of any framework researched. They were also not found in the Māori Dictionary or in any academic articles. The term ‘takatū’ can be defined as ‘(people) preparing, to get ready’. Therefore, the extended phrase of ‘whakatakatūtanga’ is the process of preparing oneself for a (future) event.

We note that takatūtanga is being implemented by Work and Income in its Pae Tata cultural change framework, but we were not able to find publicly available information on its interpretation or application.

113 Lyver et al. (2017), p. 92.

114 Ibid, p. 97.

115 *Māori Dictionary – Online*, <http://maoridictionary.co.nz/>

116 Ngāi Tahu Whai Rawa (no date).

117 Amoamo et al. (2018), p. 67.

118 Ibid.

Definitions and use

Takatū – *To prepare, get ready (used only of people getting ready), make ready. Prepared, ready (of People). Preparations.*¹¹⁹

Alternative terms

No alternative terms were discovered.

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