

Tūhoe economic worldview

Mapping to an orthodox
framework

Final Report to MBIE
23 August 2022





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1. Introduction

The Ministry of Business, Innovation and Employment (MBIE) asked Sense Partners¹ to help understand Ngāi Tūhoe (Tūhoe)'s interpretation of the economy, using 'orthodox' economic frameworks. MBIE committed in He Tapuae: Service Management Plan (2021)²:

"Exploring with Tūhoe the meaning of 'economic development' and the foundational elements of the Tūhoe economy, starting with land property rights, to find a new understanding of economic development as the basis for our further work together."

The focus was on the "new understanding of economic development", which meant understanding the context and assumptions about the economy, its development, with a goal of identifying commonalities and differences between the Tūhoe and other 'orthodox' approaches.

2. Our approach

We took a hybrid approach to this project, combining desk-based research and analysis with in-person hui to listen, synthesise, and repeat cycles of feedback and iteration. Figure 1 gives a summary timeline of key engagements. We took the following approach:

1. Preparation:
 - 1.1. We researched past Māori economic definitions and measurement, MBIE work on Māori economic development, academic literature on Te Ao Māori approach to the economy, and did an international literature scan of indigenous definitions of the economy and economic development, in particular recent efforts in Canada.
 - 1.2. We also studied the Service Management Plan between Tūhoe and a range of public sector organisations and a Brief of Evidence¹ prepared by Tāmami Kruger, the Chair of the Tūhoe tribal body Te Uru Taumatua, which described Tikanga (or in Tūhoe dialect, tikana) as understood by Tūhoe. It is a condensed summary of a wide body of knowledge in one place.
2. Hui with Tūhoe representatives at Te Kura Whare in Tāneatua.
 - 2.1. We met with a range of representatives from Tūhoe, MBIE and MSD.
 - 2.2. The discussion was broad ranging, covering Tūhoe history, aspirations, current state and how that may relate to the local and national economy.
3. Synthesis:

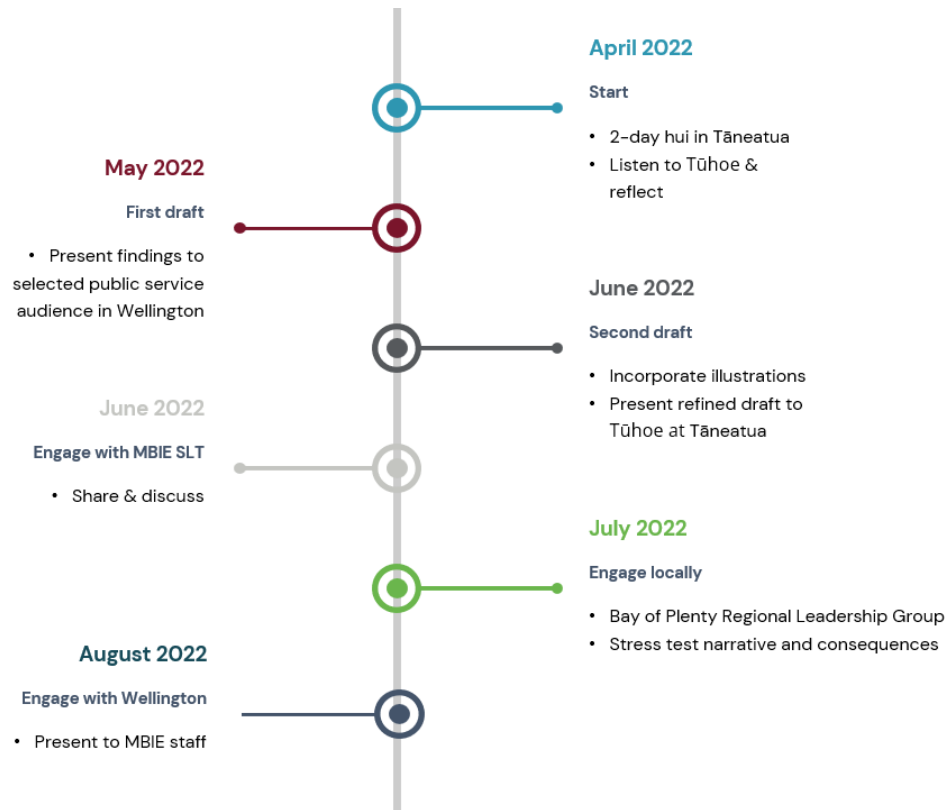
¹ Ngāti Whātua Ōrākei Trust v Attorney-General [2022] NZHC 843, Statement of evidence of Vivian Tāmami Kruger (2 June 2020) at [40]



- 3.1. We summarised our findings into a presentation which clearly articulated the outcomes sought by Tūhoe, how government frameworks relate, connecting Tūhoe tikanga pillars, and how those pillars fit into a standard decomposition of the economy (capital, labour, and technology) and its fundamental drivers (institutions, culture, and geography).
4. Illustration:
 - 4.1. Two MBIE illustrators were present during the first presentation in Wellington. We wanted a different lens on how our economic interpretation might be understood and communicated. We wanted to use illustrations to connect with a wider audience – who may conceive and visualise these economic perspectives differently.
5. Presentations and discussion:
 - 5.1. Wellington: We presented our findings to a wide group of Wellington officials. Their feedback helped streamline the narrative and add nuance.
 - 5.2. Tāneatua: we presented to a wide community group, including representatives from Tūhoe leadership and community members from different walks of life. This session was critical to establish the accuracy of how we had narrated Tūhoe Tikanga and tested how this narrative could be used.
 - 5.3. Wellington: We presented to MBIE senior leadership, as well as some representatives from Ngāti Toa Rangatira, who were hosting the hui at their marae. The purpose was to socialise the emerging narrative.
 - 5.4. Tāneatua: We presented to the Bay of Plenty regional leaders' forum to test and refine our interpretation and seek views on how it might affect how different organisations approach their activities.



FIGURE 1: TIMELINE OF ENGAGEMENTS TO ESTABLISH AND TEST THE NARRATIVE



3. What we found

We found overlap in the broad aspirations of economic success and development with Tūhoe Tikanga in frameworks such as the Living Standards Framework, with three key differences:

- Tūhoe frame success as collective first, which enables individual success
- trade-offs across capitals are not always possible
- costs and benefits to future generations are not discounted
- spirituality is embedded and inseparable throughout Tūhoe Tikanga.

While there are similarities and differences between the Living Standards Framework (LSF) and Tūhoe Tikanga, the LSF framework is aspirational. **Current approaches to public policy, such as the way we evaluate competing policies or programmes, do not yet match those aspirations.**

We found strong parallels in international examples of indigenous approaches, for example in Traditional Ecological Knowledge (see Box A).



3.1. Same broad goals, but different 'how'

We discussed what success looks like in our very first hui:

"To host visitors with generosity and care".

This statement is loaded with many underlying assumptions about economic prosperity and societal norms.

Success assumes basic needs of the community, such as food, shelter, and warmth, are met. Our discussion drew strong parallels to **Maslow's hierarchy of needs**.

There is a basic bond of understanding that is grounded in humanity. However, the prioritisation and perspective are different. Tūhoe take a collective-first lens. Basic needs are met through collective effort and cooperation, then individuals flourish.

Western (what we term 'orthodox' in this report) frameworks tend to assume collective success is the sum of individual success.

This difference extends to comparing wider economic frameworks, such as the **Living Standard Framework** (Figure 3) developed by The New Zealand Treasury, which takes a wide perspective on the capitals, institutions and governance, and a wide suite of measures on individual and collective wellbeing.

This approach conceptualises economic success. The development of these more holistic approaches is useful as they challenge 'orthodox' approaches, which prioritise fiscal, financial, and measurable outcomes.



FIGURE 2: MASLOW'S HIERARCHY OF NEEDS IS A USEFUL PARALLEL

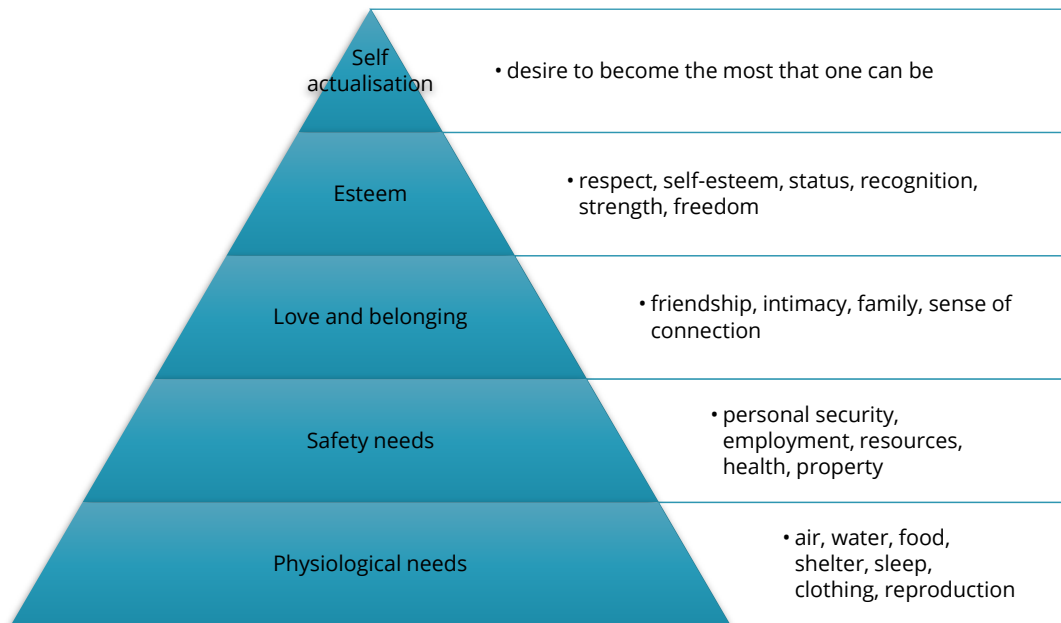
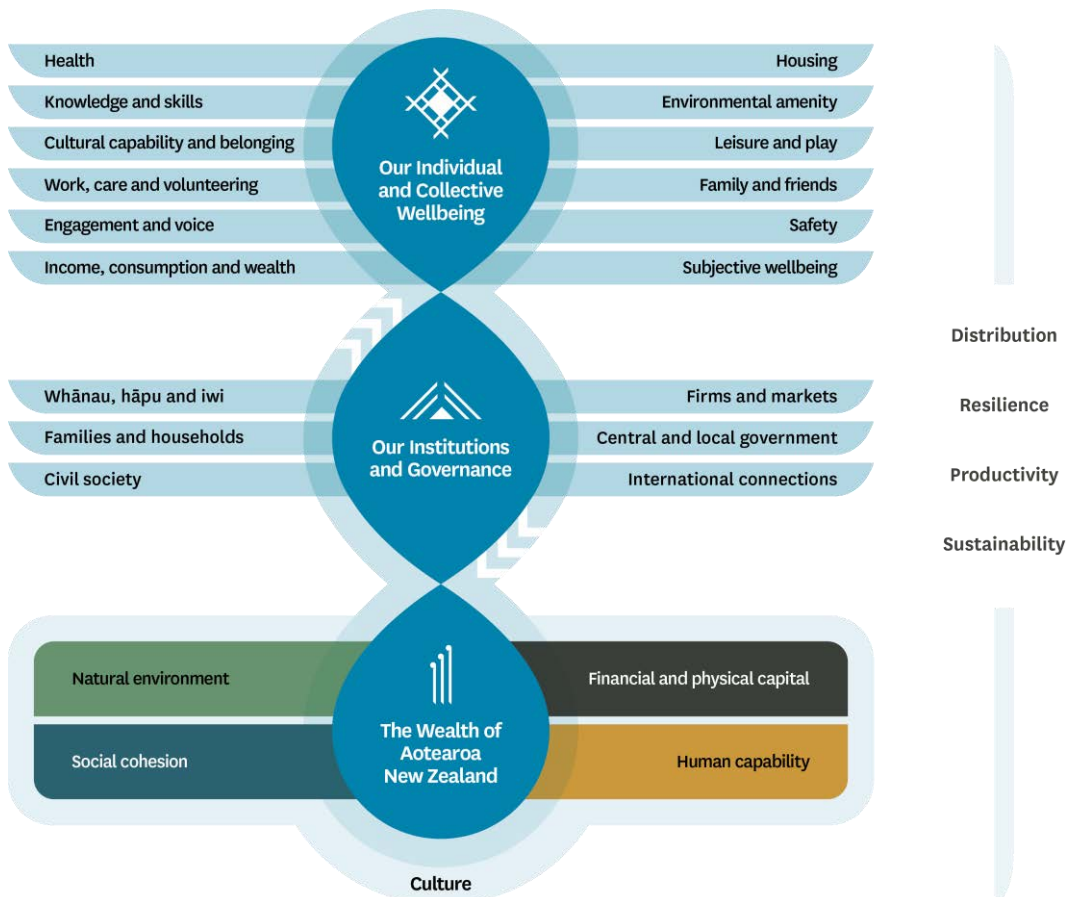


FIGURE 3: THE LIVING STANDARDS FRAMEWORK





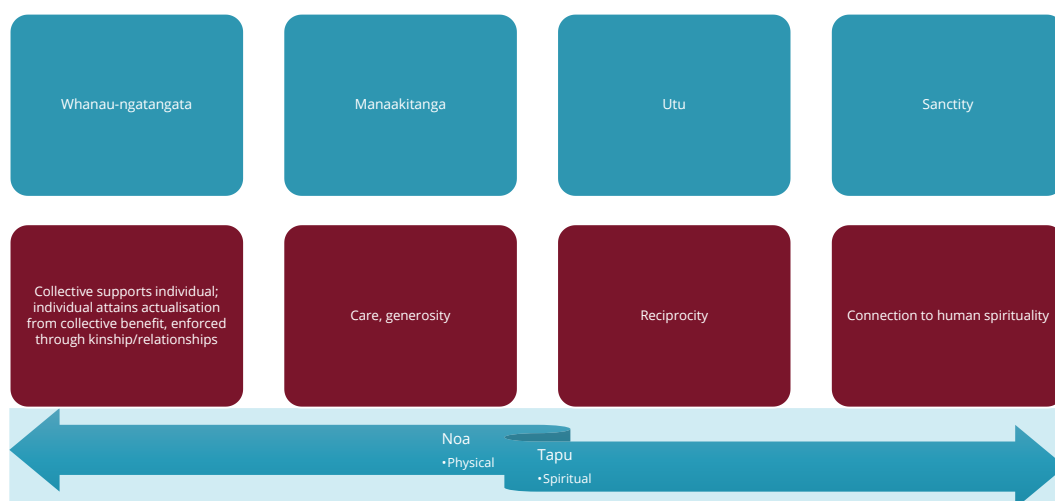
3.2. Tikanga pillars

Tūhoe Tikanga pillars, as described by Tūhoe, parallel those in the Living Standard Framework and wellbeing approaches. While Tūhoe Tikanga codifies how you implement ideas of collectivism, care and generosity, reciprocity and sanctity, that is not the case for the Living Standard Framework.

Tūhoe Tikanga does not separate the physical from the spiritual – these are deeply interconnected. The spiritual aspect is an important element of reinforcing cultural norms and creating limits, through fear of divine retribution, as well as punishment from the collective.

These perspectives appear to be an expansion of how we conceptualise our economy and system.

FIGURE 4: TŪHOE TIKANGA PILLARS



While the Living Standards Framework captures how we could conceptualise the economy, and this can in places be linked to Tikanga as described by Tūhoe, there are four important differences:

1. Trade-offs – it is not possible to easily trade off one capital against another, when they are deified.
2. Discounting the future is an antithesis to Tūhoe Tikanga approach, as actions today are to be measured by costs and benefits to future generations.
3. Spirituality – there is no separation of spirituality and physical world.
4. Articulated in a system – Tikanga codifies the proper and improper way of doing things, which incorporate these pillars.



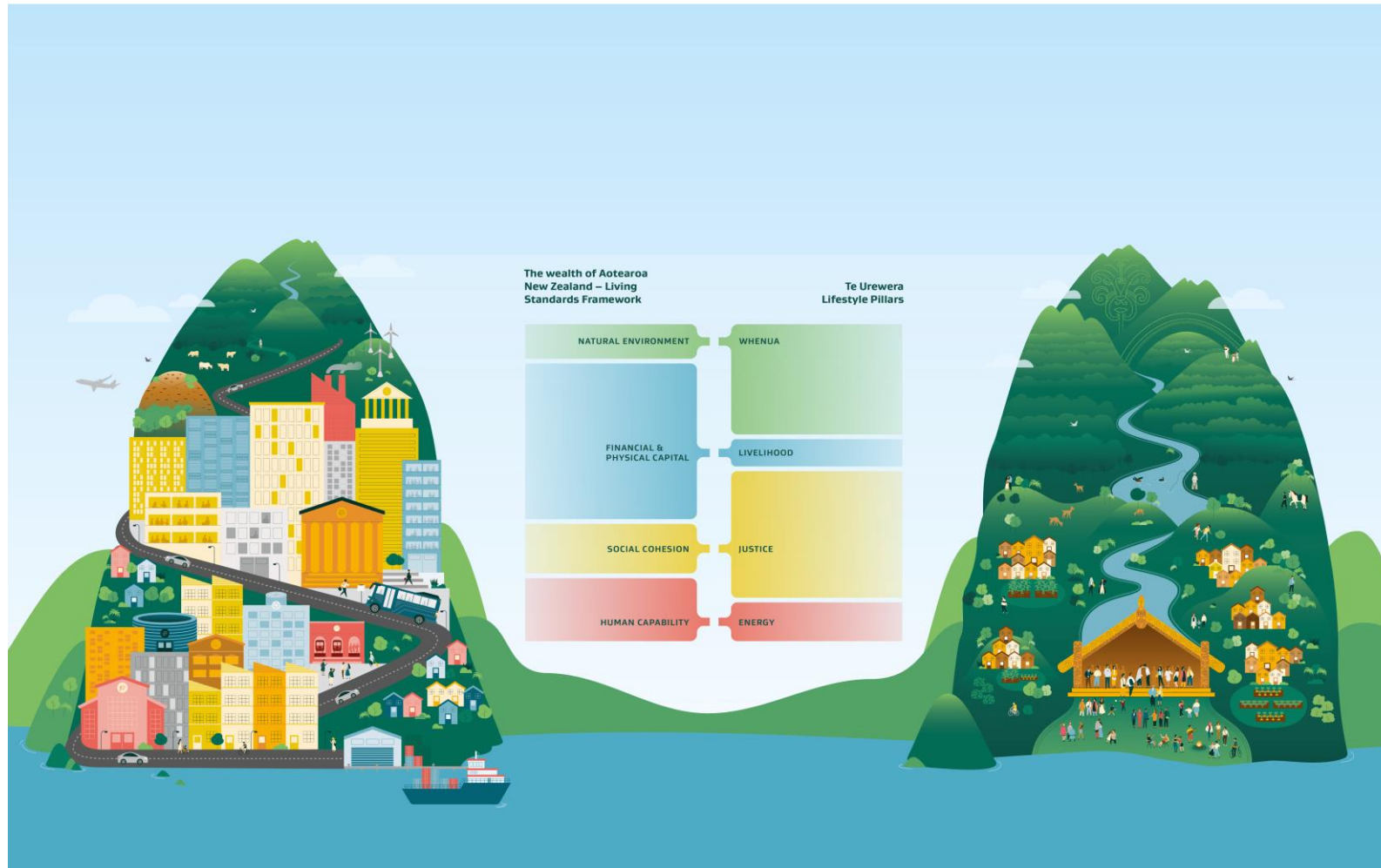
The illustration in the following page (Figure 5) attempts to show how our visions of success may be rather different. This tries to connect and compare Living Standards Framework wealth foundations with Te Urewera Lifestyle Pillars, which were established from Tūhoe Tikanga in He Tapuae: Service Management Plan (2021) (page 22)². Te Urewera lifestyle pillars are:

- Justice: belonging and identity
- Livelihood: innovation, employment, reciprocity
- Whenua: natural resource care, kaitiaki, kinship, Tūhoe reo
- Energy: food resilience, wellness, power, fuel.

Given choices, the two approaches may strive towards different visions. Sometimes terms such as land do not neatly translate across from Tūhoe perspective. Whenua for example has deep connections to creation stories, whakapapa, history, and being the people of the land. Our orthodox term for land simply does not incorporate these meanings.



FIGURE 5: ORTHODOX VS TŪHOE: ILLUSTRATION OF ECONOMIC SUCCESS & PILLARS



Box A: Parallels to other indigenous frameworks

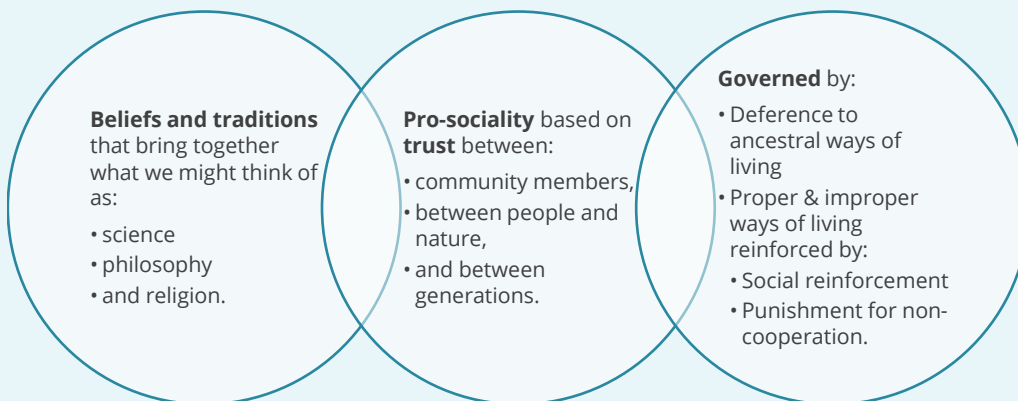
There are closer parallels to other indigenous frameworks. One example is Traditional Ecological Framework (Figure 6), a framework used by anthropologists to summarise indigenous approaches to conservation.

The starting point is entirely different. Many indigenous cultures place beliefs and traditions about the natural world in the centre – bringing together what an industrialised worldview would separate into science, medicine, philosophy, and religion. Mātauranga is comparable.

This can include creation stories that tie religion or ancestors as ‘real owners’ of resources. This creates responsibility to manage resources sustainably, and by being accountable to descendants for the traces left behind by the current generation. Tūhoe similarly strongly value whakapapa, creation stories, and a responsibility to look to the future.

Indigenous led approaches to conservation are usually cost-effective, participatory, and sustainable. The same principles can apply to delivery of other services, for example the Whānau Ora approach in New Zealand’s health, education, housing, and employment sectors, which aims to improve standards of living and cultural identity.

FIGURE 6: TRADITIONAL ECOLOGICAL KNOWLEDGE



Source: Adapted from John Ziker (2022). Why the world has a lot to learn about conservation – and trust – from indigenous societies. *The Conversation*. <https://theconversation.com/why-the-world-has-a-lot-to-learn-about-conservation-and-trust-from-indigenous-societies-179165>

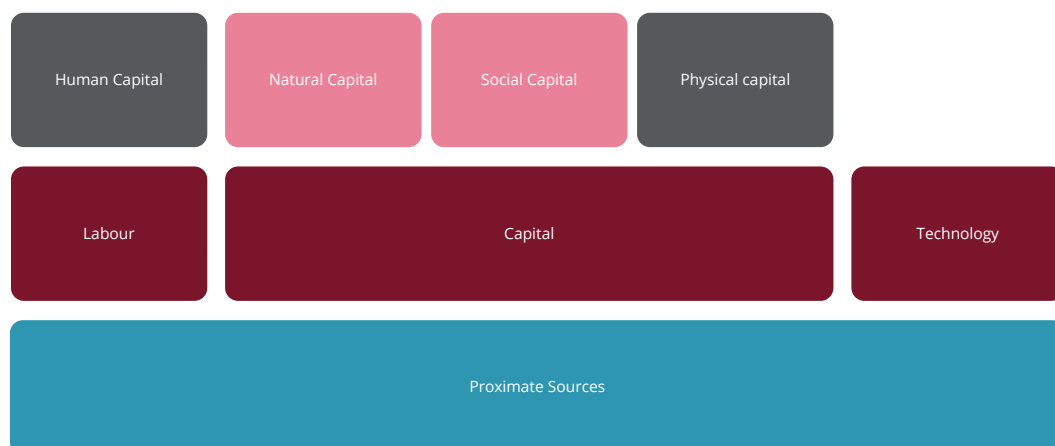


3.3. Components of the economy

Economic growth can be *decomposed* to proximate sources: capital, labour, and technology. Or expanded to include the key capitals (human, physical, natural, and social) which is supercharged by technology. Tūhoe Tikanga approach differs by:

- **Natural capital** - which can be linked to creation stories and deities. Natural capital is for us to use and steward but prioritises **responsibilities** over **rights** to use. Deification means divisibility and ownership are not possible. There is clear identification of **externalities** and reasons to living within ecological boundaries.
- Social capital – a central tenet. Relationships and kinships are a pillar of success. **Collective** success is the key measure, compared to a more individual approach.
- The capitals create explicit links to **time and history**. What we have today is the cumulative efforts of ancestors – which also gives a greater sense of time and responsibility for future generations. If we are the beneficiaries of hundreds of years of efforts of our whakapapa, then our efforts today should continue that for generations in another 100 years.
- This is counter to how we currently assess business cases, where future costs and benefits are explicitly **discounted**.

FIGURE 7: COMPONENTS OF THE ECONOMY



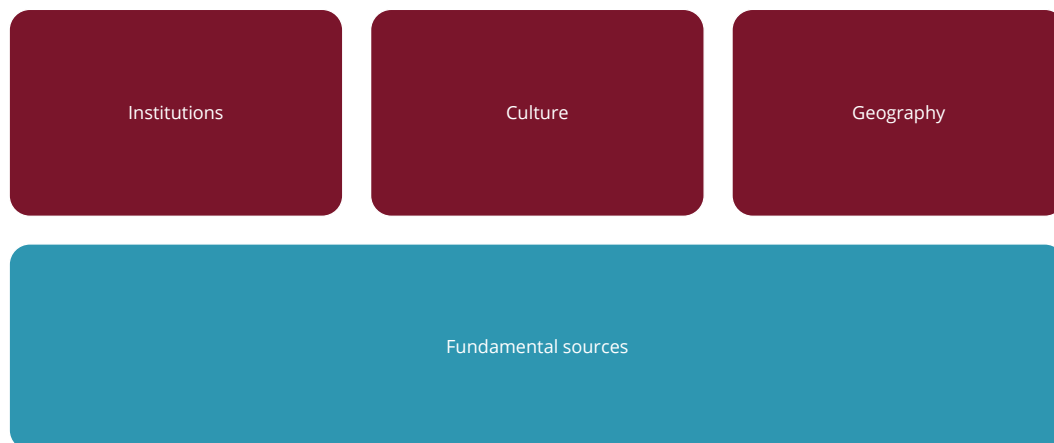


3.4. Causes of economic growth

Economic growth is *caused* by fundamental drivers of institutions, culture, and geography.² Tūhoe Tikanga is aligned to this view, but their definitions are perhaps broader and further reaching than we use in orthodox definitions.

- Institutions are to create trust, capacity and capability for collective decision making. Decision making is decentralised to an extent, somewhat like deliberative democracy. Institutions apply a different emphasis. E.g., in property rights, we prioritise rights over responsibilities (which are generally limits). Tikanga prioritises responsibility to maintain/improve (stewardship) over rights (which for natural assets are anathema, given their deification).
- Culture is of critical importance. As an aural culture, it is how Tikanga is understood and practised – so culture is how institutions are maintained. It also frames the individual in the context of genealogy and the weight of history, encourages acknowledgement of past efforts, imbues humility to the now, and focuses attention on the responsibility to future generations.
- Geography is of critical importance. The connection to the place is what makes tangata whenua. Geography appears to be an extension of identity and meaning. That means it is not a fungible commodity, rather a critical part of identity of a people.

FIGURE 8: DRIVERS OF THE ECONOMY



² Acemoglu (2009)



3.5. Seeing the economy differently

There is broad alignment grounded in humanity of what success looks like. But terms and perspectives to describe success differ. There are also differences in priority. The worldviews clearly intersect, and Tūhoe cohabit both worlds. But the two worldviews are perhaps best described as perpendicular. There is crossover at an important junction, but the direction of approach and interpretation are in different planes.

The key differences for Tūhoe are:

- Greater focus on **collective** aspects. Greater acknowledgement of history and future generations, meaning the collective is across space and time.
- The future is **not discounted**. We value decisions for how they affect us, rather than how decisions today affect future generations. While we stand at today and look forward, Tūhoe Tikanga asks us to look back from 100 years out. Time has a different meaning, with implications for prioritisation of actions.
- Hierarchy of rights appears inverse, with greater focus on responsibilities/stewardship. The latter is supported though a different **culture & spirituality vs legal limits**.
- Potentially less **fungibility** of trade-offs within economy (cannot pollute then restore), using sanctity/spirituality.
- Not a flow perspective (Profit & Loss in accounting speak) but a stock (Balance Sheet) perspective.

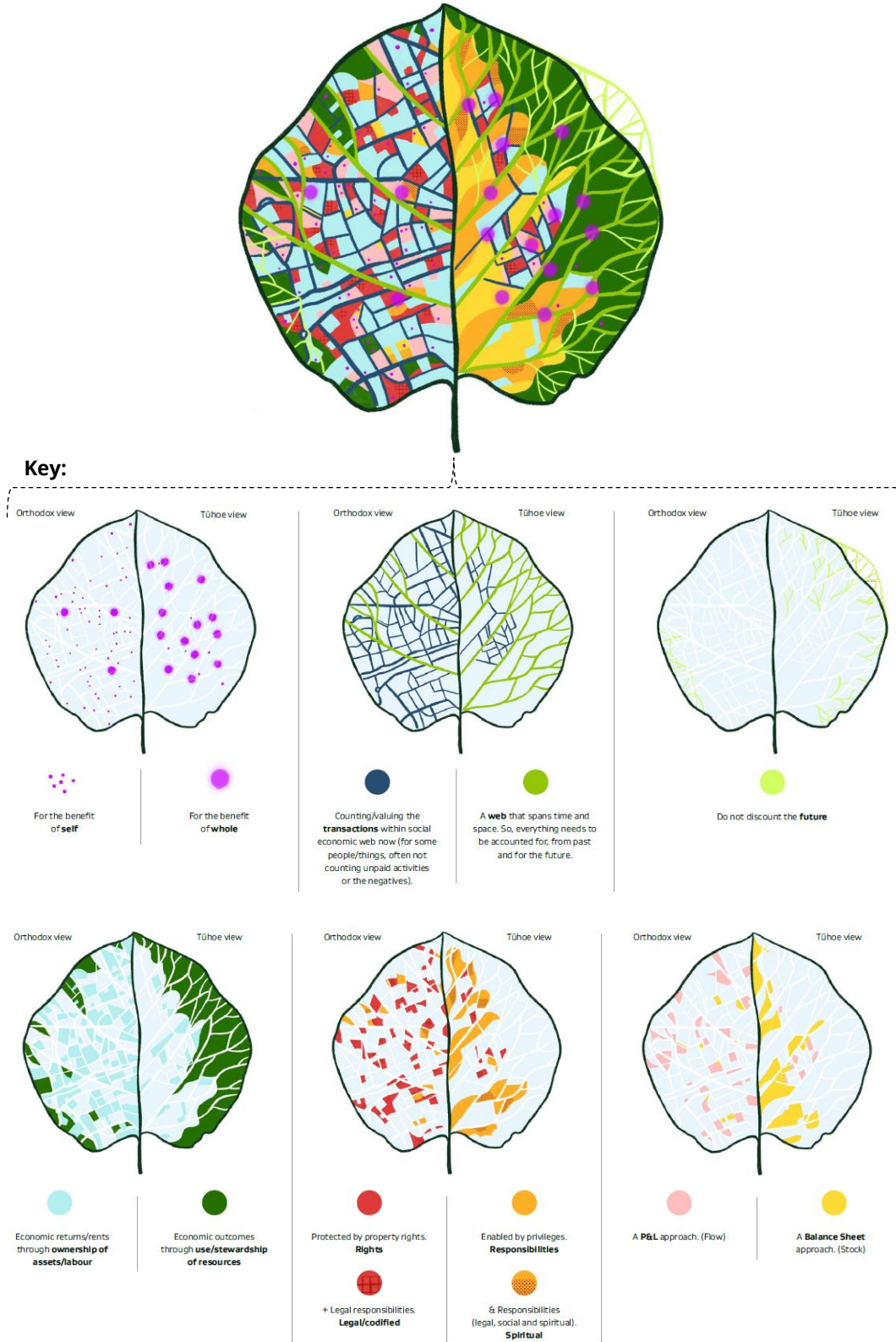
These perspectives are showing in Figure 9. Figure 10 shows the same information in visual form. They are two sides of the leaf, but colour, composition, veins, and growth aren't the same. The left represents the orthodox and the right Tūhoe Tikanga.

FIGURE 9: SUMMARY OF ECONOMIC APPROACHES: ORTHODOX VS TŪHOE TIKANGA

Orthodox view	Tūhoe Tikanga view
Economic returns/rents through <u>ownership</u> of assets/labour	Economic outcomes through <u>use/stewardship</u> of resources
Protected by property rights + legal responsibilities	Enabled by responsibilities (legal, <u>social, and spiritual</u>) & privileges
For the benefit of <u>self</u> (which equates societal benefit)	For the benefit of <u>whole</u>
A P&L approach. (flow)	A Balance Sheet approach. (Stock)
Counting/valuing the <u>transactions</u> within social economic web now (for some people/things, often not counting unpaid activities or the negatives)...	A <u>web</u> that spans time and space. So, everything needs to be accounted for, from past and for the future...
...and <u>discounting the future</u>do <u>not discount the future</u> since that is explicitly a goal.



FIGURE 10: ILLUSTRATION OF ECONOMIC PERSPECTIVES: ORTHODOX VS TŪHOE TIKANGA



3.6. Economic development

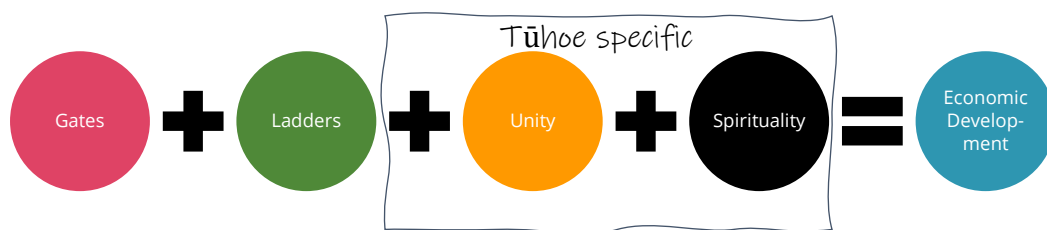
Our qualitative, desk-based research and synthesis suggests that what we think of as the economy and economic success overlap but differ substantially between the orthodox and Tūhoe Tikanga perspectives.

This is also true for economic development. There are similarities in the way we might approach development, but also differences. Bridging these gaps will not be easy. Some emerging trends from Treasury’s work in its *He Ara Waiora* are:

- Tikanga: quality of engagement, relationships, or partnerships
- Manaakitanga: Government acting with care to understand place based/local context (rather than top down).

Economic development can be simply described as an approach of gates and ladders. Shut gates on practices and approaches that diminish economic development; build ladders for practices and approaches that encourage economic development.

FIGURE 11: COMPONENTS OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT



Avert what is bad <i>Arai i te kino</i>	Welcome what is good <i>Karanga i te pai, i te tika</i>	Unifying thought <i>Whakakotahi</i>	Humanity grounded in spirituality <i>Whakaawe wairua</i>
Same		Different	

Such approaches could involve working together in ways that are easy to say but hard to do, including:

- Partnership (Governance & Accountability)
- Co-ordinated government (Place based)
- Formula vs programme funding, that is instead of funding specific programmes (say a project), provide regular funding (say based on population) through a delivery entity with aligned interests and good governance (for example a development bank).



Two additional elements our Tūhoe conversations uncovered are:

- Unity: Consensus to deliver sustained change. This requires investment in relationships (that is a more deliberative and participatory process) and broad engagement to take everyone along. It does not mean there are no differences in opinion, rather those differences have been aired and an agreement has been reached on the way forward.
- Spirituality: Spirituality does not enter orthodox approaches, although there is an element of it through efforts to balance efficiency with equity, that is we should look after the vulnerable or negatively affected. But that does not quite capture the additional meanings embedded in the concept of *Whakaawe wairua*, which also incorporates ideals of human dignity and spirituality. This embedding of spirituality in economic concepts is alien in orthodox approaches.

4. Conclusion

This project is not intended to provide a thorough overview of how Tūhoe conceptualise the economy or economic development. Rather it has been to try and identify similarities and differences in ways we approach it using 'orthodox' frameworks, which are used by our public service agencies.

Feedback from Tūhoe and MBIE suggests that our analysis has helped bring much greater clarity to the similarities, and more often differences, between Tūhoe and orthodox world views of economic development.

We found that there is some alignment at a high level, with aspects of the living standards framework matching some foundational elements of the Tūhoe Te Urewera lifestyle pillars or what we have termed Tūhoe Tikanga. But there are substantive differences:

- Tūhoe consider a "balance sheet" view of the economy as a social, spiritual, and physical web that spans time and space – everything needs to be accounted for: past, present, and future. This contrasts with a "profit and loss" view of the economy, where transactions are counted and valued, often not counting unpaid activities or the negatives.
- For Tūhoe, the future is not discounted – investments for the future are more important than the present. Time has different meaning, with implications for prioritisation of actions.
- For Tūhoe, the benefit of the collective results in individual benefits. This differs to the orthodox view of individual benefits adding up to overall societal benefit.
- Economic outcomes for Tūhoe are derived through use and stewardship of resources, enabled by responsibilities and privileges. This differs from economic returns derived from the ownership of resources, enabled by property rights and legal responsibilities.



- For Tūhoe, trade-offs within the economy are not possible (e.g., you can't pollute then restore).

Possible next steps

Tūhoe and Crown agencies have a shared commitment to transforming Tūhoe's social and economic circumstances through He Tapuae: Service Management Plan. This strategic relationship, involving place-based coordinated government, provides the platform for testing new ideas that can go some way toward bridging differences in how economic development is conceptualised.

For example, using a formula, rather than programme, approach to investments made through this relationship would enable Crown agencies to explore how prioritisation and decision-making is applied through a Tūhoe Tikanga lens. This home-grown understanding may lead to further evolution of orthodox models such as the Living Standards Framework, and shed insights into alternative approaches to cost benefit analysis for assessing policies that support transformative change.



Appendix A – Feedback themes

From Tūhoe representatives

- Clarity of understanding of differences in world views but will it change how we do things?
- Are the differences irreconcilable?
- Imagery and messages resonated
- Helps process of unlearning and relearning
- Telling our own story to ourselves with clarity
- Need time to reflect

From Wellington representatives

- Be more 'pure' in Tūhoe world view
- Change government policy approaches (use difference criteria, use lower or zero discount rate, etc.)
- How government interacts with Tūhoe (one voice: coordination and cohesion)
- This is not new and is similar to other Te Ao Māori work

Common questions arising

- Past efforts haven't worked, what can we do differently?
- How do the worlds interface and interact?
- What are the obstacles?
- What will the future of Tūhoe look like as a result of your intervention?



Appendix B – Defining economic contribution

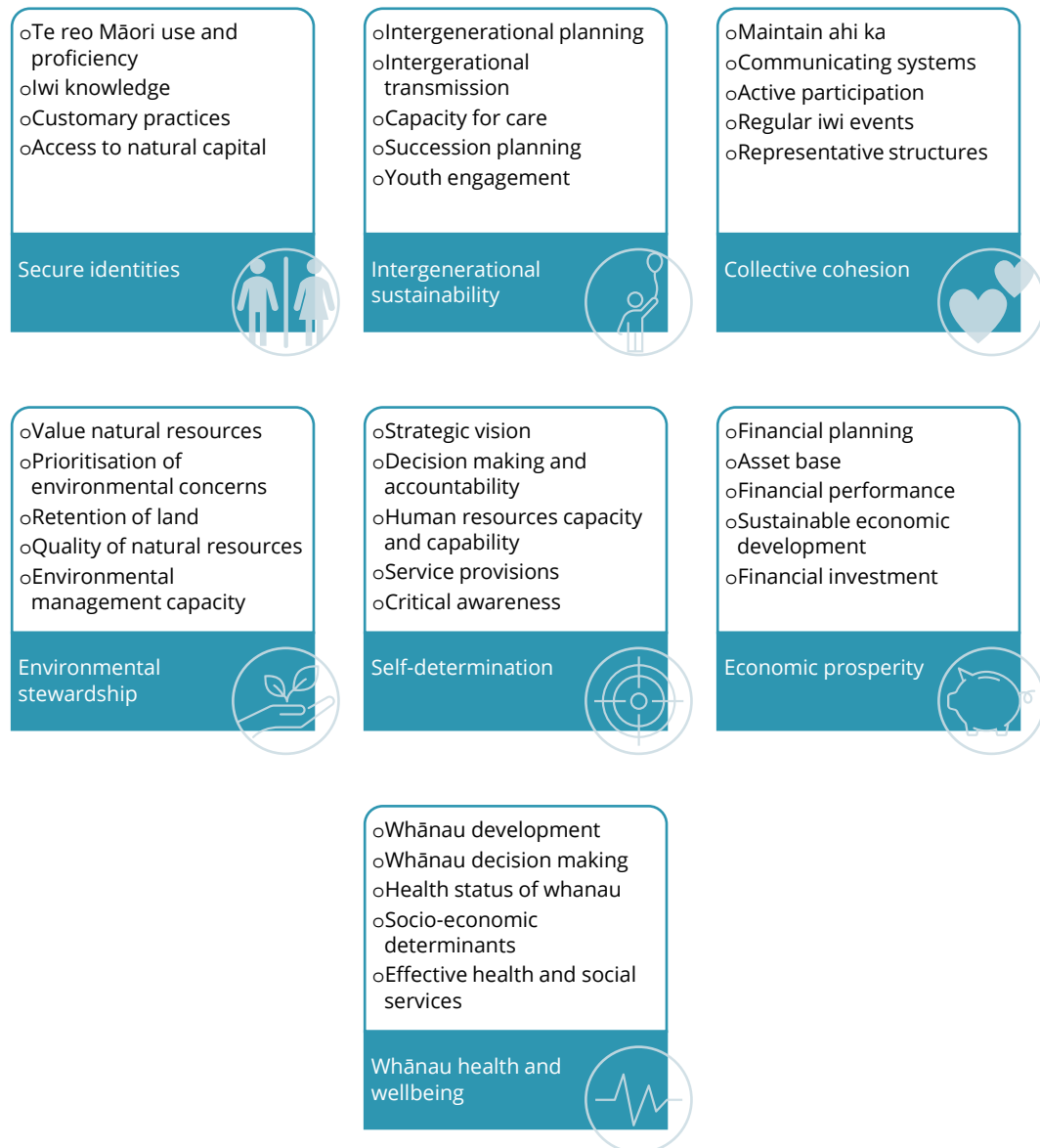
Measurement of the Māori Economy has been developing over time. In the earliest efforts, the focus was mainly on economic participation, for example through employment. This expanded to include the asset base, or ownership of economic resources, over time (Figure 12). Academic literature has argued for a wider wellbeing approach that also applies Te Ao Māori values (Figure 13). There is an acknowledged difference between what is measured and the wider goals of economic prosperity.

FIGURE 12: SUMMARY OF PAST VALUATIONS OF THE MĀORI ECONOMY

Study	Coverage	Method	Description
NZIER (2003)	New Zealand-wide	National Accounts Framework	Focuses on insights from 8 research papers into facets of the Māori economy, including labour market participation, innovation, and exporting. Explicitly does not focus on social or cultural development indicators.
BERL (2009)	Waiariki	National Accounts Framework	Gives a calculation of the Māori economy's contribution to GDP, using a Social Accounting Matrix to depict the 2013 income and expenditure flows within and between the Māori economy and the wider New Zealand economy. Updates the asset base of Māori economy enterprises. Includes a regional breakdown of the asset base
BERL (2013)	New Zealand-wide	National Accounts Framework	
BERL (2014)	Waikato	National Accounts Framework	
NZIER (2015)	Auckland	National Accounts Framework	Examines assets, people, and land data to estimate the Māori contribution to GDP.
Chapman Tripp (2017)	New Zealand	Accounting Framework	Examines assets, estimated at \$50b.
BERL (2018)	Wellington	Living Standards Framework	Examines a diverse range of social statistics and profiles qualitative data, including on labour, physical assets, community services, resources, and education/health outcomes/providers in the region.
BERL (2021)	New Zealand	National Accounts Framework	Updates BERL (2013) approach using 2018 Census data and use of other sources.
Tatauranga Umanga Māori: Statistics on Māori authorities	New Zealand-wide	Brings together a Māori business view	Presents data from the Accommodation Survey, Agriculture Production Survey, Annual Enterprise Survey, Business Demography Statistics, Business Operations Survey, Linked Employer-Employee Database, and Overseas Merchandise Trade to present a profile of Māori Business Statistics.



FIGURE 13: IWI VITALITY OUTCOMES FRAMEWORK



Source: Jodi Porter and Mihi Ratima (2014). Measuring Ngāi Tai iwi vitality. *MAI Journal* 2014: Volume 3 Issue 3. Accessed 12 August 2022: <http://www.journal.mai.ac.nz/content/ka-p%C4%ABoioi-i-te-tihi-o-ng%C4%81-kahikatea-measuring-ng%C4%81-tai-iwi-vitality>



Appendix C – Canada indigenous economic development case study

Canada currently operates without a national strategy to coordinate its indigenous economic development policies.

Although the Federal Framework for Aboriginal Economic Development (2008) recognised the value of coordination for indigenous economic development, no framework for monitoring progress has been implemented at a national level. Responding to this gap, the Canadian government commissioned the OECD to review their approach to indigenous economic development, with two key reports produced to date (the Indigenous Skill and Employment Training Strategy (2018) and the Linking Indigenous Communities with Regional Development Canada Report (2020)).

Some of these recommendations have valuable insights for New Zealand's indigenous economic development strategy and action plans.

The Canada context

These documents, at 111 and 374 pages respectively, present extensive recommendations to the Canadian government on streamlining indigenous economic development policy. While like New Zealand in some instances, Canada's indigenous populations are more sparse, diverse, and have had comparatively little involvement in shaping their own development policies in previous decades.

Currently, development priorities are currently split between the departmental plans of Indigenous Services Canada and Crown-Indigenous Relations and Northern Affairs Canada, the other 200 agencies of the Canadian government, of which a third engage regularly with indigenous communities, coordinate economic development work informally, or via smaller, formal regional development bodies.

The OECD found that Canada has a relatively advanced data landscape for its indigenous populations.

They noted that Canada needs to put greater focus on their land settlement process and improve the connection of indigenous entrepreneurs via Regional Development Agencies. They also suggested a greater place-based approach to indigenous economic development is taken in the future, coordinated under a national economic development strategy. This is to be led by indigenous groups. Such a framework will ideally ensure any local investment is appropriately sequenced and prioritised under a common framework and measurement protocol before proceeding.

Any national strategy is likely to be led by Canada's existing agencies responsible for indigenous development, Indigenous Services Canada and the Crown-Indigenous Relations and Northern Affairs Canada.



They are likely to be advised by the National Indigenous Economic Development Board, a non-political body who advise the Canadian government and publish national benchmark data on indigenous populations every three years.

The OECD has recommended these agencies particularly focus on three broad areas:

1. Addressing data needs
2. Improving coordination
3. Incentivising infrastructure investment.

1. Addressing data needs

	Description
Common definitions	Agree to common definitions for progress measurement and create a registry for these, including a clear definition of an indigenous business.
Expand the available data and make it accessible.	Improve wellbeing data by expanding the range of indicators available and develop user-friendly data portals for decision makers. In particular, expand a greater array of variables to provide comparability between indigenous communities, not just against non-indigenous groups.
Capacity build to expand the available data sets.	Strengthen relationships with indigenous organisations for the purposes of data collection. Develop protocols for data protection and collection for community-led indigenous data to ensure confidence and confidentiality in community-level reporting. Increase statistics and questionnaire design capacity in indigenous organisations.
Report consistently and regularly.	Produce an annual state of the indigenous economy report, indicating progress against the national strategy.
Coordinate data collection centrally	Develop a multi-department strategy to collect information on indigenous businesses
Include indigenous oversight in national data analysis.	Increase the recruitment of indigenous persons in Statistics Canada. Additionally, establish a formalised advisory body for Statistics Canada to support the expansion of culturally specific data collection, as is the case in the Australian Bureau of Statistics.



2. Improving coordination

	Description
Develop a national indigenous economic development strategy	Greater self-determination principles incorporated into economic development plans in partnership with indigenous groups. Align policy objectives across government with common definitions and measurement protocols.
Strengthen national indigenous procurement strategy.	Strengthen and expand the database of indigenous suppliers to support Canada's national indigenous procurement strategy
Extend role of Regional Development Agencies	Introduce relevant performance measures for regional development agencies to support the inclusion of indigenous development aspirations in regional and territorial development strategies, connect indigenous entrepreneurs in the region, and support infrastructure funding for indigenous communities.

3. Incentivising infrastructure investment

	Description
Incentivise AFIs to scale up local infrastructure projects.	Incentivise private investment among Aboriginal Financial Institutions (AFIs) to scale up local infrastructure projects.
Support financial capability and inclusion in indigenous communities.	Introduce specific policies to support AFIs to delivery capacity building in indigenous communities (e.g., financial literacy programmes, private sector fund matching, encouraging participation in local chambers of commerce).
Improving connectivity in rural regions	Improve accessibility to broadband to rural communities to support remote entrepreneurship and access to finance



Implications for New Zealand

The benchmarking progress that Canada's National Indigenous Economic Development Board has reported on every three years since 2012 is an area of potential opportunity for New Zealand, which has not reported on *He kai kei aku ringa*³ since its formulation in 2012.

Notably, there are five goals of New Zealand's National Economic Development Strategy for Māori that could be linked with benchmarks for Māori populations, as per the Canadian approach. These are:

- Employment, growing the future Māori workforce into higher-wage, higher-skilled jobs.
- Rangatahi, supporting Māori youth to define and lead their economic aspirations.
- Enterprise, growing Māori SMEs (small-to-medium enterprises) and maximising the economic value of iwi and collectives.
- Regions, increasing Māori participation in regional economic development.
- Education, upskilling the Māori workforce and strengthening transitions into work.

Currently, the progress measures first signalled by MBIE to monitor progress are not all clearly measurable or defined. This is an area of weakness for the delivery of *He kai kei aku ringa*.

In 2012, these indicators were first stated to be:

2012 targets and commitments:	Assessment
Māori participation in tertiary education	Measurable
Māori wages	Measurable
Māori unemployment rates	Measurable
Net tangible assets for Māori households, e.g., home ownership and savings	Measurable but vague as to which assets will be measured and how.
Productivity of Māori assets	Methodology unclear.
Growth rate of Māori asset base against national average	Methodology unclear.
Equal rate of Māori business success	Undefined and unclear.

3MBIE. 2017. Refreshing HKKAR: Cabinet Paper. Retrieved from <https://www.mbie.govt.nz/assets/7376dadcd1/refreshing-hkkar-cabinet-paper.pdf>



Later in the 2017 refresh of the strategy, other measures were tied to each of the five strategic goals. While more specific than the 2012 version, measures of these indicators are not currently published in one place, and it is unclear whether they will be.

Other indicators that were planned to be developed by 2017 to support the strategy are not currently listed on the MBIE website in 2020.

By comparison, the NIEDB use consistent and comparable indicators to track economic development progress. These are reported on every three years.

2017 targets and commitments:	Assessment
Overall goal: By 2021, achieve a 20% increase in annual Māori median income from \$26,500 to \$31,800.	Measurable.
Employment: By 2021, reduce the Māori unemployment rate from 11.9% to 7.5%.	Measurable
<p>Enterprise:</p> <p>By 2021, increase the number of Māori employers with >3 employees by 30% from 8,200 to 10,660.</p> <p>By 2021, increase the value of exports by Māori enterprises by 9% per annum (from a base of \$510m in 2015).</p> <p>By 2021, increase capital deals undertaken by Māori enterprises by \$300m (cumulative).</p> <p>By 2021, increase the number of Māori enterprises engaged in the innovation system by 5% year on year.</p> <p>Work is currently underway to develop a target for the productivity of Māori land (was expected to be complete in June 2017).</p>	Some targets measurable, with some targets unmeasurable, undefined, and unclear.
Education: Māori attainment of NCEA Level 2; and the proportion of the Māori population aged between 25 and 64 holding a tertiary qualification at NZQF Level 4 or above.	Measurable.
Rangitahi: Will use education and employment targets as these relate to youth groups.	Measurable.
Regions: Iwi and Māori will be able to actively participate in regional planning and implementation within the Regional Growth Programme, according to their interests and priorities. Progress towards this goal will be measured through the Regional Growth Programme evaluation framework that is being developed.	Undefined and unclear.



Currently, Canada's benchmarks include:

- Core indicators: employment (measured by aboriginal employment, aboriginal labour force participation, and aboriginal unemployment), income (measured by aboriginal income and income received through transfers), and wealth and wellbeing (measured by a custom community wellbeing index taken from Statistics Canada)
- Underlying indicators: education (measured by high school and university completion), entrepreneurship and business development (measured by self-employment and profit/revenue of aboriginal owned businesses), governance (measured by First Nations Community Intervention Status and First Nations Property Taxation Status), land and resources (number of First Nations in the First Nations Land Management Act and Comprehensive Land Claim and Self-Government Agreements) and Infrastructure (access to clean drinking water, overcrowding, connectivity, and off-grid communities).
- Infrastructure index: bringing together 13 indicators for infrastructure, covering 7 types of infrastructure. Combines an economic index (including connectivity, transportation (road, water, air transport), and energy) and a quality-of-life index (including health, education (school and college), water (sewage, water distribution, and water quality), and housing (quantity and quality)).

Although the Canadian approach offers new ways to think about measuring economic progress, current literature signals a clear desire to move away from a capitalist/western framework for measuring Māori contributions to the economy.

Instead, an understanding of the Māori economy within a relational and culturally derived framework is strongly endorsed (e.g., 'quadruple bottom line' (Scrimgeour, 2011) or the Iwi vitality framework (Porter and Ratima, 2014) (Amoamo et. al 2018).

There is an opportunity for New Zealand to leverage its relatively strong strategic base and connect its five development goals to specific and consistent measures. There is an opportunity to expand these benchmarks in time, deploying a more relational, culturally specific framework as desired. There is a clear gap between practice and academic discourse which remains unaddressed.

Overall, the OECD work in Canada is a highly useful resource for New Zealand's economic development sector and policymakers. Although Canada is at an earlier stage of their indigenous development strategy and land settlements, there are useful lessons around their data landscape that can be applied to New Zealand. We note:

- While New Zealand has a more advanced strategic framework for economic development, it is relatively less advanced at regularly and consistently monitoring the progress of Māori communities.
- Canada has undertaken significant work to develop benchmarking practices and methodology. It would be sensible for New Zealand to align its reporting framework with Canada's as far as possible to support greater comparability between nations,



while also tagging its measurements to self-determined frameworks, such as the Iwi Vitality Framework, and the National Economic Development Strategy for Māori.

- Any efforts to measure the Māori economy should increasingly adhere to Māori scholars' desires to see more rounded and specific analysis of wellbeing in Māori communities, including softer measures and other descriptive materials where possible. However, comparability and consistency are equally important. The OECD's recommendation for Canada to develop a registry of common definitions and data collection methods is sensible and would be highly applicable in the New Zealand context.



Endnotes

1 The work was carried out by Shamubeel Equb (Partner), with research assistance from Rosie Collins (Economist), at Sense Partners.

2 He Tapuae: SMP (2021). Accessed 12 August 2022:
<https://www.govt.nz/assets/Documents/OTS/Ngai-Tuhoe/Ngai-Tuhoe-he-tapuae-service-management-plan-july-2021.pdf>

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