



**Developing Human Capability: Employment institutions,
organisations and individuals**

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Discussion Paper

Māori Research Strand

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Acknowledgements

*E kore e piri te uku te rino*¹

Clay will not adhere to iron

- The children are more likely to succeed in town if village life itself is progressive

E ngā mana, e ngā reo, e ngā rau rangatira mā, ngā mihi nui ki a koutou katoa, hei āwhina mō ō mātou mahi rangahau. We would like thank all the organisations who willingly shared their valuable time and experiences and gave ready access to meeting space and staff. These informative case studies would not have been possible without your support.

Tena koutou katoa.

Nāku noa

Nā Jane Bryson, Paul O'Neil and Helen Lomax

¹ This is taken from the famous haka “Mangumangu Taipo”, which originated from the Taranaki district and is still in use by the sub-tribes which claim Aotea as their ancestral canoe. The composer of the haka, realising that the Māori people were beginning to lose all that was precious and good in their own culture, warns them of the danger of neglecting and forsaking that which should be preserved in Māori culture. It is a well-known fact that clay will not adhere to iron unless it is wet. As soon as it is dry, it falls off. And so the composer appeals to the Māori of today that in spite of the trend to move more into European associations, they must at all times remember with pride that they are Māori and that no matter how much of the Western culture they adopt, the time will come when this (referred to as ‘clay’) will fall from them and that eventually they will return to their ‘Māoritanga’. (TE AO HOU The New World, May, 1957).

Abstract

Developing capability with a talented, highly skilled and innovative workforce is seen as a path to global competitiveness, wealth creation, economic prosperity and well-being. The aim of the *Developing Human Capability* research programme is to identify the conditions for the optimal development of human capability in New Zealand organisations. We conducted exploratory case studies of human capability in a number of New Zealand industries with the perspectives of employers and employees within organisations, as well as key personnel in industry and training organisations, contributing to our understanding. Within the overall research the Māori Research Strand gained the perspectives of Māori and iwi organisations across a range of industries.

As we completed and reflected upon the industry case studies we refined the meaning of 'developing human capability'. With the project firmly placed within the broader context of the State wishing to transform the New Zealand economy towards a 'high-wage, high-skill' trajectory, it is not surprising that initial tendencies interpreted developing human capability as economic instruments reflecting both managerialist views and lack of consensus in literature on a definition. A focus on 'skills for the job' leading to the role and opportunities for skills training, whilst important, did not fully capture the fact that the subjects of enquiry were social beings. As such the subjects' social spheres also developed their human capability.

We have been drawn to the theoretical works on human capability of Nobel laureate, Amartya Sen. From Sen's perspective, human capability is about 'the ability of human beings to live lives they have reason to value' (Sen, 1997, p. 1959). The key idea that emerges from this perspective is that social arrangements should 'aim to expand people's capabilities, their freedom to promote or achieve valuable beings and doings' (Bryson, 2007, p. 180). The idea of developing human capability as social arrangements which expand people's opportunities and positive freedom of choice between different functionings or states of existence, resonates strongly within the cases in this Māori research strand.

At institutional levels the State and Māori organisations have partnered to create innovative systems and arrangements that: provide a wealth base and income base for Māori organisations from which to engage in economic activity that is of benefit to Māori, both culturally and economically; build processes through which Māori in Māori organisations have the opportunity to participate in decision-making and to have a voice and influence; and facilitate the self-respect to live and be Māori in the land to which Māori are indigenous.

The organisational perspective within the Māori research strand highlights how human capability is not solely about the capability to serve the ends of the organisation. This is because of the inalienable character of labour power: labour power that is of use to employers is not separable from its owner and labour power is largely reproduced in the social sphere. Māori organisations largely understand this and make use of Māori social relations within wage-labour relations. Developing human capability for Māori in this context thus includes developing those extra-social relations which are part of the reproduction of Māori social relations in general. For a number of Māori organisations another driver is the extent of resources available to the organisation to pay for or facilitate training and the availability of relevant industry training which has been customised or developed to meet the unique needs of Māori organisations.

From the Māori research strand case studies, similar to findings for the general population, differences in development opportunities within organisations are driven by the status or hierarchical level of the individual in the organisation. However, regardless of the level and the opportunity, a common theme was the willingness of individuals in Māori organisations to be proactive in seeking and taking advantage of opportunities when it was opportune. The weight of expectations placed by family and the emancipation through education were common themes in driving this individual proactivity.

The Research Programme

Capability development is a vital component of the Government's vision for New Zealand's future workforce. Capability, or being able to do and achieve things, includes all the skills, abilities or competencies that contribute to the economic performance of firms. Moreover, it includes the ability to change and adapt in order to sustain performance over time. Developing capability with a talented, highly skilled and innovative workforce is seen as a path to global competitiveness, wealth creation, economic prosperity and well-being.

The aim of the *Developing Human Capability* research programme is to identify the conditions for the optimal development of human capability in New Zealand organisations. To this end, we are investigating how organisations develop the skills and capability of employees, and the influences on this, for example, organisational performance, government policy, vocational training systems and skill shortages. We are also investigating what individual employees think about their skills and capabilities, how they have developed them, and what has influenced that development, such as job opportunities or lack of them, affordability or access to training. We conducted exploratory case studies of human capability in a number of New Zealand industries with the perspectives of employers and employees within organisations, as well as key personnel in industry and training organisations, contributing to our understanding.

An emergent meaning of 'developing human capability'

As the industry case studies have been completed and reflected upon within this project, we have refined the meaning of 'developing human capability'. At the proposal stage there was some imprecision with the term, reflecting perhaps the lack of agreement as to its meaning in the literature. There was also a tendency at the early stages to ascribe an economic instrumentality to the term; that in paid work capability referred to the ability of workers to contribute towards the productive aims of organisations, or ability to do the job. With this meaning of the term, developing human capability tended to be reduced to mechanisms which develop worker skills, particularly formal and on-the-job training. As this research is firmly placed within the broader context of the state wishing to transform the New Zealand economy towards a 'high-wage, high-skill' trajectory, it is not surprising that initial tendencies interpreted developing human capability in these instrumental terms. Also, such an instrumental interpretation fitted with the dominant managerialist view that human resource management (HRM) and human capital theory have of the role and motives of workers in production.

With time and reflection however, it has become apparent that a focus on 'skills for the job' leading to the role and opportunities for skills training, whilst important, did not fully capture the fact that the subjects of enquiry were social beings. As such the subjects' social spheres also developed their human capability. The importance of the social sphere on developing human capability was not always clearly apparent in mainstream, Pākehā, organisations, but was observed on occasion. For instance, vineyard workers were accepting less demanding jobs as a trade-off for the lifestyle opportunities offered by the New Zealand wine industry. In contrast, the case studies within the Māori research strand clearly illustrate and highlight how the social sphere merges with the economic sphere to develop human capability. This is a major theme developed through the case studies within the Māori research strand.

The Māori research strand has proved particularly formative in developing our understanding of the meaning to attach to developing human capability. With reflection, we have been drawn to the theoretical works on human capability of Nobel laureate, Amartya Sen. Sen is critical of the utilitarianism of mainstream discourses which see commodity production and exchange for money (i.e., economic growth) as a means towards the end of maximising individual utility (i.e., happiness, desire fulfilment) because such utilitarianism does not adequately represent human well-being. From Sen's perspective, human capability is about 'the ability of human beings to live lives they have reason to value' (Sen, 1997, p. 1959). The key idea that emerges from this perspective is that social arrangements should 'aim to expand people's capabilities, their freedom to promote or achieve valuable beings and doings' (Bryson, 2007, p. 180).

Instead, what is required is 'a more direct approach that focuses on human function(ing)s and the capability to achieve valuable function(ing)s' (Clark, 2005, p. 4). Sen (1985, 1993) distinguishes between functioning and capability as:

- 'a functioning as an achievement of a person: what he or she manages to do or be. It reflects, as it were, a part of the "state" of that person' (Sen, 1985, p. 10). A functioning therefore refers to the use a person makes of the commodities at his or her command. Functionings can be considered as the combination of doings and beings that constitute the state of a person's life.
- A capability, in contrast, reflects a person's ability to achieve a given functioning ('doing' or being') (Saith, 2001, p. 8, referenced in Clark op. cit. p. 4). Sen typically uses the term capability in a more general sense, as a set of attainable functionings a person can achieve. A capability set (or human capability) thus reflects 'a person's real opportunities or positive freedom of choice between possible life styles' (Clark, *ibid.*).

The Māori research strand

The idea of developing human capability as social arrangements which expand people's opportunities and positive freedom of choice between different functionings or states of existence, resonates strongly within the cases in the Māori research strand.

The broader context of a number of Māori organisations studied in this research is one of a conscious effort by Māori organisations to grow the Māori economy. There are two closely articulated threads within this activity. The first thread consists of efforts to reclaim tino rangatiratanga, or Māori self-determination beyond concerns of social justice and cultural restoration, as evident in claims before the Treaty of Waitangi and the retention and revitalisation of the Māori language and tikanga Māori, into 'expand[ing] Māori economic pathways' so as 'to have the freedom to live the sort of life [Māori] value' (Reeves, 2005, p. 2). As expressed by iwi organisations and through tripartite approaches such as Hui Taumata, this is a deliberate attempt to move from looking to governments and big business to lift Māori economic development towards a situation where Māori are the trend setters and action takers for their own economic future. Hui Taumata strategies advise the way forward is 'through the development of Māori enterprise, developing life-long learning, particularly through growing workforce skills, and through developing the asset base of iwi in a new era of partnership with other social and economic actors' (Reeves, op. cit.).

Discourse on Māori development suggests the process of increasing Māori and iwi economic wealth and per capita incomes gives the means by which Māori ‘have the freedom to live the sort of lives they value’. Analysis of organisations in this Māori research strand, however, concludes that such a link between an economic means and a cultural end is overstated. Rather, both the political agenda of tino rangatiratanga, and the cultural agenda of freedom to live as Māori or iwi permeate Māori organisations and affect why, what and how they do things. The organisation's approach, as well as hopefully adding to Māori economic wealth and money incomes, also reproduces the political and cultural fields within which Māori and iwi identity is constructed. In the Māori/iwi organisations studied, the economic, political and cultural fields were thus intertwined and together, as a process, facilitated for the people concerned the freedom to live the sort of life they valued. Such a process, by bringing the political and cultural fields into economic production, is fundamentally developing human capability.

The second thread influencing contemporary Māori economic development approaches is that of a New Zealand economy in which the human input is at or close to capacity, albeit unevenly so. From a low-base, the economic and social circumstances for Māori deteriorated significantly during the period of economic reforms in the 1980s and early 1990s.² Since the early 1990s, the economic and social circumstances for Māori overall have improved, in many cases at a faster rate than non-Māori, although on average Māori remain less well-off than non-Māori.

The Maori unemployment rate in March 2007 was 7.9 percent, compared with 3.7 percent for the New Zealand labour force overall (Statistics New Zealand, 2008). At the same time, the Maori employment rate was 62 percent compared to 67 percent for the total working age population. This level of employment represents an increase of 41,900 Maori workers in employment since 1991, at which time the Maori employment rate was 55 percent compared with 68 percent for the total working age population (op. cit.). As with overall employment trends, there is a general Māori workforce trend towards employment in the service sector and this sector now employs two thirds of Māori workers (Department of Labour, 2007). The proportion of Māori families on low incomes in 2004 dropped to around 24 percent compared to 19 percent for family units overall. Average earnings for Māori since the early 1990s have increased faster than for non-Māori but are still on average about seventy percent that of non-Māori. Participation of Māori in education has seen a sharp increase since the early 1990s. Although Māori adults continue to be less likely to have higher qualifications than non-Māori, the growth in the proportion of adults with at least upper secondary qualifications was faster for Māori than for non-Māori. There has also been a sharp increase in Māori participation in tertiary education, largely in industry training/certificate courses (Ministry of Social Development, 2006).

Thus, whilst Māori overall fare less well in social and labour market outcomes than the overall population, there is little room for Māori economic development to increase through more employment. Rather, for such development to occur, as for the whole of New Zealand,

² The Māori unemployment rate rose steadily over this period to 25.4 percent in 1992, compared to 10.4 percent for the total population. Over this same period the Māori full-time employment rate fell to 46 percent, compared to 51.5 percent for the total population. The proportion of Māori families on low incomes rose to 42 percent in 1993 compared with 28 percent for family units overall (Ministry of Social Development, 2006). These figures, as with the general population, only represent those who have formally registered as unemployed, thus real rates may be higher.

there is a need for economic transformation strategies to lift productivity or outputs per labour input, and/or produce different outputs per labour input or innovation.

The case studies in the Māori research strand tend to be representative of the latter approach towards economic transformation or innovation. However, it is in the occupations which underpin such sectors, loosely termed 'knowledge-worker occupations', that Māori employment, despite a higher rate of up-skilling compared to non-Māori, remains relatively low (NZIER, 2003). Insight into how Māori workers become knowledge workers may therefore be developed out of this research stream. This theme is pursued in this discussion paper, particularly the role of formal and informal (on-the-job) training in the career paths towards becoming knowledge workers³.

Methodology/Approach

A methodological issue facing the Māori research strand concerned the question of definition of Māori organisation prior to survey design. The term Māori organisation can encompass a broad range of organisational types, from privately-owned businesses where Tikanga Māori is important, to activities based on collectively-owned Māori assets, to businesses of self-employed who identify as Māori, to commercial transactions involving Māori culture to public services oriented to specific Māori needs (NZIER, 2003). Criteria defining 'Māori business' range from ownership, style of governance and management, employment of Māori staff, contribution to broader issues of Māori development, and sets of underlying Māori values as underlying principles that are characteristic of Māori-centred businesses (Durie, 2003). Ruwhiu (2005) cautions against establishing set criteria for inclusion in defining Māori business as this risks creating an element of exclusiveness. She, drawing upon Bourdieu (1977, 1998), identifies three interconnected elements characterising Māori business organisation: institutional arrangements and their policy making (structures), identity (habitus) and practice. The advantages of Ruwhiu's taxonomy are the recognition of structures beyond organisations (particularly state structures) which shape, limit and privilege power, the exercise of which in turn shapes cultural rules, identity and practice.

Without therefore wanting to place too much a priori limit on the criteria defining a Māori business or organisation, and drawing upon Durie and Ruwhiu, the taxonomy in Table 1 below describes the characteristics of the Māori organisations chosen for this study. Vertically, the columns reflect a spectrum of dominant cultural norms shaping Māori

³ A particular issue here is the relevance and importance of on-the-job training for such knowledge workers. skill levels (as measured by qualifications), 40% of the working age Māori population have no qualifications, and one in three Māori leave school with no qualifications. Learning at work may therefore be a critical path to develop human capability for many Māori workers. At the same time, participation in industry training (i.e., training which counts towards unit standards and qualifications on the National Qualifications Framework) has doubled for all the population, including Māori, over the past five years. Recent statistics show that 9% of the workforce are Māori, and that Māori represent 18% of all industry trainees with 31,506 participating in 2006 – up from 28,636 in 2005 (Tertiary Education Commission, 2007). Despite such seemingly high rates of participation in industry training, it should be noted that these figures do not represent some sizeable employment sectors such as health. Some recent research shows that the probability of participating in job-related training, either provided by an employer or provided externally, is only three-quarters as high for Māori as it is for European New Zealanders (Watane & Gibson, 2001). The barriers to job-related training are commonly cited as cost and time, for all ethnic groups. However, Watane & Gibson show that family circumstances (childcare, and other family responsibilities) were cited as barriers to training with significantly greater frequency by Māori.

organisations. Horizontally are characteristics reflecting the degree of Māori-centred identity and practices which organisations reveal.

Table 1: A Taxonomy of Māori Organisation

Dominant Cultural norms	Māori	Partnership	Dual?	Western/Pākehā	Other/Non-Māori
Type of organisation	Iwi collective	State-funded organisation	Māori-owned business	State /public sector organisation	Non-Māori owned business
Māori-centred characteristics					
Māori governance and management	✓✓	✓	✓		
Employment of Māori staff	✓✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Focus on Kaupapa Māori	✓✓	✓			
Returns dividends to Māori through profits or service	✓✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Affirms a Māori identity	✓✓	✓	✓	✓?	
Creates employment for Māori	✓✓	✓	✓	✓	✓?
Creates Māori wealth in economic or human capital terms.	✓✓	✓	✓	✓	

The organisations chosen for the Māori research strand thus cross the perceived surrounding dominant cultural contexts in which they were placed and their degree of Māori-centredness. Numerically, interviews were conducted with 27 individuals across seven organisations. These organisations included two iwi collective organisations employing Māori predominantly; and five private organisations producing Māori cultural objects for exchange; one of which was Pākehā-owned but employed some Māori staff, the other four were Māori-owned and employed some Māori staff. The organisations ranged in size from two to two hundred staff. In addition 7 other stakeholders around these organisations were interviewed (e.g., training providers, industry representatives, government policy makers and funders). This research has also drawn on findings from our study of developing human capability in mental health services in the Northland region. In that study eight mental health provider organisations were canvassed in which approximately fifty percent of staff were Māori and at least two of whom were Māori-owned.

This Māori research strand utilised a team of Māori and Pākehā researchers with a range of

levels of engagement with Māori world views. In particular Māori researchers conducted the bulk of the interviews in the two iwi organisations and in the five private organisations. The Northland mental health services case research used four Pākehā researchers, two of whom were local to the Northland region. Feedback was sought on drafts of this Māori research strand discussion paper from a range of Māori advisers and key contributors.

For simplicity the report refers to 'Māori organisations'. A Māori organisation is more likely to have a particular business focus or more narrowly-defined sphere of activity, for example, Māori health or Māori arts. Iwi organisations are the primary agent for Māori development across a broad spectrum of activity, and particularly in relations with the Crown. Iwi organisations are central to cultural revitalisation and the preservation of iwi identity. Treaty of Waitangi settlements and the growth of iwi providers of publicly-funded services have also boosted the influence of iwi organisations into political and economic spheres.

Interviewees were recruited to participate in the study through a phone call to the organisation concerned and a follow-up email. Some interviews were conducted on-site at the organisations and some by telephone. Interviews followed a semi-structured format and were taped for later transcription and analysis. Interviewees were assured of confidentiality and that data that could be used to identify individuals and organisations staff would be removed from the final transcripts. Questions examined perceptions of the sector or industry context; individual work and capability development histories; and perceptions of personal and organisational influences on capability development.

Additional, contextual information was gathered through interviews with government decision makers, industry representatives, training providers, and union officials, examination of website information, and from relevant literature.

Themes in Developing Human Capability in Māori Organisations

Introduction

As indicated in the introduction, the aim of the developing human capability research project is to identify the conditions for the optimal development of human capability in New Zealand organisations. To meet this end, qualitative research was undertaken through interviewing people at various levels of organisations. The information that was sought were the role and influences of the broad institutional framework shaping labour markets, the role of workplaces and the role that individuals themselves played in shaping human capability development.

A feature of the information obtained was the diversity in workplaces and in people's life stories. It is impossible to report on these individual life stories and their relationship to workplaces, other than to acknowledge this diversity as a factor in human capability development. To respect the individual information through personal interviews, it is important to maintain the anonymity of the individuals and the organisations concerned. It is thus difficult in this discussion paper to reflect on the diversity found yet maintain the anonymity of the interviewees.

However, a line of enquiry that arose out of the taxonomy used to define Māori organisation in this study, is the degree to which human capability development differed from or remained similar to human capability development in mainstream organisations. This comparison forms the basis of the discussion which follows. This discussion presents the themes that are apparent in this comparison. These themes are summarised in Table 3 below, and the discussion follows the order in Table 3. First, the role that the institutional framework has in developing human capability in Māori organisations compared with mainstream organisations is discussed. This is followed by the same comparison at the level of the organisation and at the individual level.

Role of State institutions in driving Māori cultural and economic resurgence

In the contemporary context, across all organisations surveyed in this study, the influence of the State as a driver of capability development of Māori organisations is evident. This is not one-sided however, as Māori organisations themselves have adapted, or been created, to respond to State initiatives. This pairing of pertinent State initiatives with Māori aspirations for Māori social and economic development has resulted in ongoing human capability development since the 1990s.

In contemporary times, iwi organisations are a key nexus for Māori development. Since European colonisation in New Zealand, iwi (tribes) have begun to replace hapū⁴

⁴ The hapū was the most significant political unit in pre-European Māori society. Hapū ranged in size from one to several hundred people and consisted of a number of whānau (extended families). Hapū controlled a defined portion of tribal territory and undertook all the major tasks necessary for group survival such as fishing, land clearing, building and defence of land. Following European colonisation, the term iwi came to signify the larger aggregation of hapū that more regularly came together for political purposes. European ethnographers saw iwi as 'tribes' and hapū as 'sub-tribes', when in reality the hapū were the tribes while various combinations of hapū could constitute an iwi or people (Taonui, 2006, Meredith, 2000).

Table 2: The Social Arrangements for Developing Human Capability in Māori Organisations

	Iwi collective	Māori-owned business	Service provider to Māori
Institutional drivers	Political shifts extending tino rangatiratanga through transfer to iwi of assets. Iwi decision-making objectives. Strong focus on tūrangawaewae and growing iwi asset base.	Cultural restoration and revitalisation of te Reo Māori & state funding of private provision, growing interest in Māori brands in global market place. Technology enables use of skilled peripheral contractors, reduces overheads, organisation structure peopled with generalists.	State funding of private provision & State/Iwi partnerships, government strategies. Increasing confidence in Māori providers for meeting funded service needs. Workforce shortages.
Institutional barriers	Identity-based organisations have limited recruitment pool. Absence of unions.	Fragmented industry – wide institutional structures. Narrow market opportunities. Small scale. Absence of unions.	Reliance on state funding for developmental activities. Rural geography barriers.
Organisational drivers	Hapū and Iwi mandated accountability and shared goals. Genealogical affiliation may determine structures. Iwi-mandated decisions focus of activity. Large voluntary component.	Māori-owned, focus determined by cultural development objectives, profit objectives. Principals and core workers may share similar values.	Marae/iwi mandate to provider organisations, focus determined by social development objectives. Dual industry structure.
Organisational barriers	Lack of coherent strategy for economic self-determination. Insufficient resources to attract, train appropriate people.	Small size does not allow specialisation. Competition for skilled workers and specialists.	Lack of resources to fund occupational training.
Individual drivers	Genealogical affiliation. Commitment to whanau/hapū/iwi development. Access to Wananga. Comfort and preference for work relations based on whanau/hapū/iwi parameters and within own rohe.	Commitment to Māori identity restoration and revitalisation. Comfort and preference for work relations based on kaupapa Māori values and visions.	Commitment to Māori service delivery models and priorities, helping Māori in need. Pro-activity. Formal education, family background and work experiences shape work relations.
Individual barriers	Limited paid work and development opportunities. Pull of urban areas for whanau of rural iwi. Cost of training prohibitive.	Limited progressivity, difficult to specialise on the job as focus more on developing generalists.	Limited progressivity. Low wages.

(clans or descent groups) as the main political body in Māori society. Government policy actually favoured the shift from hapū to iwi, as the Crown preferred to deal with a small number of regional groups rather than the numerous hapū (Taonui, 2006). After 1945, tribal trust boards, and later, runanga-a-iwi, were established under State legislation as bodies mandated by their iwi to negotiate, receive and manage settlements of historical Māori grievances under the Treaty of Waitangi. This process continues today, with iwi proponents also asserting their legitimacy, in a manner supportive of government policy, using the arguments of the ‘simple logic’ and ‘common sense’⁵ of dealing with iwi rather than the numerous hapū groups in settling grievances under the Treaty of Waitangi.

The formal existence of most iwi organisations is commonly driven by complex relations with the Crown. The principal driver is the Crown's obligation to settle Treaty of Waitangi grievances with Māori organisations that have a mandate to represent their constituency. The Crown's preference is to settle such grievances with iwi organisations, or large natural groups of tribal interests, rather than individual hapū (Office of Treaty Settlements, 2006). One could argue the formal existence of most iwi entities is due to the legal system of the dominant culture and adopted by iwi through signing the Treaty of Waitangi. Control of assets through freehold title, individual ownership was, and still is, the primary driver and determinant of wealth creation under the imported traditions and laws of the dominant culture.

Associated with Treaty of Waitangi settlements, the Māori Fisheries Act, 2004, prioritises iwi in the re-distribution of property rights in fisheries to Māori peoples. Similarly, in environmental matters, the Resource Management Act, 1991, recognises iwi organisations as the authorities with whom to consult over guardianship of local environments. However, while the Resource Management Act may have provided for iwi to be consulted on such matters it is uncertain if these ‘rights’ are uniformly applied or supported effectively by all local authorities. Areas in which they are tend to have iwi with considerable political clout or a particularly effective senior Māori official within a local authority of regions with high Māori population.

A corresponding driver is the desire by the Crown to devolve the governance and delivery of social services from central agencies to regional agencies. Iwi organisations, as mandated organisations, play a key role in this devolution, both in governance through the representation of local Māori peoples’ interests in formal bodies such as Health Boards, Wananga (education and training providers), and other social agencies, and as legitimate organisations through which regional social services are delivered. Another driver for the existence of iwi organisations in relations with the Crown, but not exclusive to iwi, are as the agencies to be responsible for the property rights of traditional collectively-owned land. Many whānau- and hapū-based farm and land trusts also operate in this area.

Internally, the mandates which most iwi organisations claim arise from the hapū and whānau who constitute the iwi. The exception to this would be urban Māori who have lost their connection to their original hapū through the dislocations caused by the move to the cities in search of waged work. Typically, with traditional iwi, the principal iwi organisation is a charitable trust which is charged with various purposes, the primary purpose usually being the receipt, holding, management and disbursement of trust funds for the collective

⁵ For a discussion of the framework for settling Treaty of Waitangi claims which seems to privilege iwi, see Meredith, 2000, pp. 9-12

benefit of those who belong to the iwi. The principal iwi organisation may also directly receive and hold collective assets, including assets received through Treaty of Waitangi settlements, but also indirectly hold such assets in asset holding companies, and be charged with the governance of these assets to generate the funds for the trust. Some principal iwi organisations, often in partnership with other principal iwi organisations, disburse trust funds in a manner consistent with positive Māori development⁶ such as seeding possible Māori business ventures, through the delivery of services back to iwi members through a confederate or regional trust or holding companies. Such services may include, housing, social services such as whānau support, health, youth mentoring, kura, kohanga reo, learning and employment programmes, and development projects. Often such service provision links with public good service provision from state and regional government agencies.

The existence and structure of iwi organisations in contemporary times thus has a particular history which is tied to the space opened up for Māori/iwi aspirations for positive Māori development through the addressing of Treaty of Waitangi grievances by the Crown, the restructuring and devolution of state agencies towards private provision of public services, and a corresponding desire by the state to address long-standing socio-economic disadvantage of Māori relative to non-Māori. As a trust member states,

People themselves within the iwi areas were having – reaffirming and showing a resurgence in their hapū status and so we were working to have a governance board that was aligned to that. So I don't think the Treaty and the fish were the only catalyst to build the iwi authorities. I think it was more of a whole raft of issues that saw a dedicated group of people start to meet to talk through the issues.

This space continues to be contested and there are continuing tensions particularly in relations between iwi and the Crown. These tensions are fundamentally about power and the articulation, at the national level, of Māori and iwi aspirations for Māori development based on tino rangatiratanga (self-determination) and a Māori world view, with a State which wishes to devolve a degree of self-determination to the local and regional level but retain overall sovereignty and control (Humpage, 2005).

This struggle for self-determination is clearly seen within Northland mental health. Underpinned by the large Northland Māori population, Northland iwi had the ability to organise politically towards tino rangatiratanga as the State sought more devolved, community-driven provision of public goods, including mental health of the population, by creating iwi-based health bodies⁷.

Northland's Māori non-government organisation (NGO) mental health providers are part of a wider grouping of Māori health providers who meet as an Alliance, under a collaborative approach to contracting opportunities in the region across health sectors. This regional Alliance of Māori providers is unique in New Zealand and serves as a forum for the discussion of new national policies and initiatives and for strategic planning around implementation at the local level. There is a pragmatic acceptance that development benefits are both prioritised to have the most effect and that knowledge obtained is shared

⁶ For discussions of positive Māori development see Durie et. al. 2002, Te Puni Kokiri, 2002, Humpage, 2005.

⁷ See the Developing Human Capability report on Mental health services in Northland, O'Neil et al, July 2008

across the group for the benefit of the alliance as a political unit as well as for individual member organisations.

I think it's exciting times for Māori and in particular mental health now... We were talking about Māori models of practice and from this, all these people from all over the rohe all of a sudden are writing all these emails and having their say ...we need to have a Māori MH [and we would] hui so that we can ...share the models we're currently working with. Share the issues that are going on for us as Māori providers, how can we make it better for us. How can we make it better for our people around accessing these services, accessing sufficient funding to produce the goodies, to give good service? ...I'm very much focused around Māori for Māori. By Māori, for Māori, with Māori. Where we can.

NGO Manager

Within these iwi NGO organisations it is possible to initiate Māori health initiatives, for Māori mental health workers to be able to apply their Māori mental health pedagogies, and where the principle of whānau and the practice of whanaungatanga is an integral part of the practice of mental health and of day-to-day relations. Although it should be noted that this is also increasingly a part of mental health practice in District Health Boards.

Correspondingly, the preference for the State to seek private provision of public goods where it can has fostered the development of Māori business models. Contracting for services by State agencies was observed in both health and media fields. In the latter, State agencies such as the Ministry of Education, are significant players supporting revitalisation of te reo Māori and actively seek private provision of te reo Māori educational resources. Private providers, predominantly Māori owned, have moved into this space and they thoroughly understand the capitalist imperative:

you have to make a profit so you have to do everything that you can to make sure that that's a long term thing..... We've chopped a whole business unit right off because it wasn't working but that just shows that we're prepared to do that and bad luck for the people that were there..... But if you tolerate poor performance or - any business practice you can think of, there's no real difference except that the people doing it are Māori. There's no real difference any other way, we apply the same sorts of rules as [mainstream business], you know, you have to do the work, you have to be able to do the work, have to make a profit and do your jobs on time and to budget otherwise the business craps out

Principal - Māori business

but, their business goals articulate with Māori cultural aspirations:

[this company] thrives as a business, but it also thrives as a place where Māori aspirations are acknowledged and pursued and it's a focussed pursuit and also I think we function in a whānau way too

Principal - Māori business

In sum, considerable capability development of Māori as a people within the social formation of New Zealand occurs at the macro- or meso-level where State intervention joined with Māori organisation:

- Provides a wealth base and income base for Māori organisations, from which to engage in economic activity that is of benefit to Māori, both culturally and economically;
- Builds processes through which Māori in Māori organisations have the opportunity to participate in decision-making and to have a voice and influence;
- Facilitates the self-respect to live and be Māori in the land to which Māori are indigenous.

The role of Māori organisations as drivers and barriers to human capability development

The previous section argued that human capability development for Māori was the capability as a people to be Māori. Such capability was developed out of social struggle, is an ongoing process, and has resulted in deep institutional frameworks, including the diversity of Māori/iwi organisations. These organisations facilitate and legitimate Māori cultural and economic development which in turn underpins the capability to be Māori within the social formation of New Zealand.

In this interpretation, and in the context of a developed, capitalist economy, economic development is closely entwined and inseparable from social and cultural development. Social and cultural development supports economic development and economic development supports social and cultural development. In this interpretation, human capability takes the feature of the ability of people to lead the kind of life they want to lead and developing human capability the social arrangements that permit this choice.

The products of the Māori organisations in this study thus contribute to both cultural and economic development of Māori. This section looks at how such organisations more directly contribute to the human capability of the people they employ to work in producing these cultural and economic objects.

The dominant (but not sole) social arrangement to organise work in the Māori organisations in this study was the wage relation. Here, as in mainstream organisations, wage workers legally surrender control of their labour power in return for a wage to employers to direct in work effort to employers' ends. The wage that each worker receives in this exchange adds to their capability to sustain themselves and their families through the consumption benefits the wage purchases. However, human capability is also affected in the labour process as a consequence of the inalienable character of labour power, i.e., the worker as a person and his /her labour skills, are inseparable.

The contradiction in the wage relation is that, unlike all other commodities which become the objects of contract and exchange, labour power is not separable from its owner. Unlike other inputs into capitalist production which literally change hands when they are bought and sold, human labour power can only ever be hired in a 'free' labour market. Several consequences flow from this restriction on property rights in the wage relation which have relevance for human capability development.

First, the subject of the wage relation, the individual worker, is at the same time its object. The employer may be interested only in those objective qualities of the worker which are strictly pertinent to the work in hand; the workers' skills, reliability, durability and so on. Workers remain integrated personalities and retain the capacity for thought and feeling in this wage relation. This endowment makes labour power simultaneously the most versatile and the most problematic of all the inputs into capitalist production. On the one hand, as integrated personalities, workers do not need to be precisely programmed or regulated for the full potential of their productive services to be delivered. On the other hand, workers can use their autonomy of thought and action to evade managerial control and impose their own ends on the labour process. Because workers in the wage relation legally surrender control over something that physically remains under their control, the labour process is thus always to some degree affected by workers' willingness to perform their work. As integrated personalities, workers cannot help but judge the work they do, and the effort they put in, by the degree to which such work answers distinctly human, culturally determined needs. Thus workers cannot help but subjectively feel and respond to whether the work makes use of their talents and enables them to acquire new talents, whether work enriches their experiences, whether the objects of production serve a socially useful end, whether they can perceive some significance of their individual contribution to the collective enterprise, and so on. Developing human capability is therefore as much about how work is organised to meet these subjective human needs as it is about the objective work qualities and corresponding wage sought in the wage relation.

The Māori organisations which employed people in return for wages addressed this fundamental contradiction in the wage relation in a dual way. The objective characteristics in the wage relation were largely established in a mainstream (Pākehā) manner through the selection of core workers who had the objective work qualities the employer was seeking:

there are work skills related to the technical skills and then there are others, like people skills, like being self reliant but part of the team, being able to contribute to a team, being able to contribute to the environment of the organisation, having a sense of being results focussed, of being able to actually complete things and get things [done].....and so there's a very strong ethic to ensure [employees] are product focused

Consultant – Māori business

A number of social arrangements also existed to encourage the consent of a large pool of peripheral and contract workers to organise their work to the productive aims of the organisation, particularly evident in organisations developing cultural objects. The most significant arrangement is the dependent nature of peripheral or contract employment itself: unless the work is done to the quality and time frame of the project, such workers do not get paid and may not be re-employed in future projects. This applied to both self-employed and to firms contracted to larger organisations.

Because if you don't want to be successful don't get organised. That's really the key and really that's what we want, is people who are organised who can deliver and deliver quality and will listen

Principal - Māori business

A lot of these people who are in business anyway, they're motivated and they're self starters, so once they've got their brief and they know that they're contracted into

receiving some payments as well as giving across our work, once they're tied into that, then it's up to us to check that progress and how it's going, so it's very much a two way thing

Principal - Māori business

We're contracted to do a job, we'll do the job to the level of dollars that they provide us.

Manager – Māori NGO

Addressing the subjective needs of workers so as to motivate their work effort was however often done in a number of distinctly Māori ways. Firstly, the socially useful end of production was always emphasised down through the organisations.

this organisation established itself to assist the development of Māori and so it looks at its staff in that way and that if it's not in the employment agreement it's definitely part of the way in which it is operated

Principal - Māori business

Secondly, people (both Māori and Pākehā) who share these Māori development aspirations are sought in employment selection.

the position descriptions have got very good statement about the vision and about the values, and so we're looking for people who will fit within the organisation

Consultant – Māori business

Thirdly, the traditional social structures which regulate iwi and whānau relations, also act to regulate labour relations and motivate workers to work towards the ends of the business. Such regulation seems to be not imposed, as in mainstream organisational attempts to 'create' an organisational culture. Rather, the culture 'is' through people being free to be who they are. This in turn fosters the employment of Māori within the organisations.

In production I can go to other places and do it. I can go back to advertising agencies ... but it's not so family – to me this is the whānau – this is – you enjoy it. You go to other places and you're just a number or whatever

Worker – Māori business

You come in and you take Māori for granted – you take being Māori for granted – whether it be using Te Reo or mihi mihi and just doing things the Māori way

Worker – Māori business

There seems to be a good blend. When I say "blend", everything's well integrated – the organisational culture and Māori culture which in a way you can't really separate. So everything just blends and integrates quite well

Principal - Māori business

[this company] thrives as a business, but it also thrives as a place where Māori aspirations are acknowledged and pursued and it's a focussed pursuit and also I think we function in a whānau way too

Principal - Māori business

I'm quite glad and quite pleased to be working in a field that's creative and positive. So that's really good – it's a really big plus – I'm really pleased to be working in that positive way – creatively and in the sphere of te reo

Worker – Māori business

The second consequence of the inalienability of labour power to developing human capability lies in the conditions of the reproduction of labour power. In common with other non-natural productive inputs, labour power is a produced agent of production. But, unlike other commodities which tend to be produced under capitalist relations, labour power is not capitalistically reproduced. The reproduction of labour power is carried out through an enormous variety of activities from the basic act of procreation to formal education and training programmes. While capital (and the capitalist state) from time to time seeks to influence particular aspects of the reproduction of labour power, from standards of childcare, control over school curricula, methods of financing schools and student learning to industrial training schemes, the reproduction process is substantially autonomous and rests in the social sphere. The corollary of this autonomy is that the end-product of the reproduction of labour power is not labour power in just those quantities and qualities which employers require. Rather, the end-products consist of whole human beings in whom are some capacities which are relevant only or mainly outside the sphere of market relations. Correspondingly, those reproductive activities which are directly relevant to the job market, invariably contain some extra-market significance as well. Thus, for instance, schooling may well augment skills and attributes as 'human capital' but at the same time transmits prevailing cultural patterns and norms.

That the reproduction of labour power is inextricably wound up with the reproduction of social relations in general has some significance for developing human capability within Māori organisations. In particular, such organisations want to use Māori social relations such as te reo Māori and local tikanga in productive settings, as in the delivery of health care to Māori or in the production of cultural goods, but undervalue those skills because they can largely be only socially reproduced, not primarily through formal education. With exceptions for particularly rare talents, organisations thus tend not to pay for such skills because they are not capitalistically produced and recognised as formal skills or assume that because a person has acquired such skills through social relations that they will make them available along with the formal skills they have acquired.

But what [Māori workers] also have is something that you can't learn, you can't go and do a course on, and that is that inherited-ness about the Māori world view and how you deal with Māori clientele and how you actually support Māori through the system, because they're going to be in the system, it's a dominant culture system.

Manager – Māori NGO

One of the things that often happens is that Māori get used, Māori staff, regardless of where you are. That skill base of yours gets tapped into all of the time, but it is never acknowledged as being a valid skill base as such.

Worker – state sector

Conversely, it is difficult for Māori organisations in traditional areas to attract or retain workers who have acquired skills and qualities employers value because of superior employment opportunities and pay rates in the big cities and towns away from traditional (often rural) areas.

How much do you pay? that's the first thing people say, and it's like, oh no I'm not gonna come there, because when you go and work for iwi it's really for nothing rather than for, it's about the people and not about the pay.

Manager – Iwi organisation

Because it is difficult to attract and retain workers who have been raised in these traditional areas, existing workers become very busy and lack the time and resources to expand the activities they are engaged in.

We never typically felt anything would ever be simple but what it means is it [expanding activities] takes a bit longer because we have to do these things alongside our main job. So we're listening – who's out there – who's got the qualities – but we're doing it really just as secondary to our main jobs. If it was part of our role or we knew we had the funds sitting in there, no problem at all to lift the pace up to secure this person

Worker – Iwi organisation

Another driver is the extent of resources available to the organisation to pay for or facilitate training and the availability of relevant industry training which has been customised or developed to meet the unique needs of Māori organisations.

[A local polytechnic] has [generic skills training] but there's nothing specific for [our company's needs]. So in discussion with [the local polytechnic] we've looked at what we can do for them... I do a slot in their course about Māori language, [and] we're looking at some discrete components of their programme that we would like to enrol our staff into that basically – generic skills, what everyone should know. We're trying to find those sorts of things because there's no course out there for it. And a lot of the stuff is part of [the company's] role in terms of contributing to Māori development.

Principal - Māori business

Advantage is often taken of the knowledge gained in voluntary work done for marae by extending this relation into productive work. Voluntary work at marae is the backbone of service to the hapū and a key demonstration of commitment to the general welfare of the group. Through voluntary work, various skills are developed, as is familiarity with the marae setting, and familiarity with marae politics. Voluntary work provides almost an essential 'apprenticeship' for entry into further, more permanent, paid work within iwi organisations, but such work is also often not paid for.

I believe it was my voluntary work and everything like that, that I probably got the position that I did here, because the person that applied here as well she had a degree and everything, and I thought ah well, there goes, I'll probably miss out because someone else has got something that I haven't got.

Worker – Iwi organisation

We do things voluntary and there are some things that you need to do voluntary – it's just to keep you honest really.

Worker – Iwi organisation

In sum, the organisational perspective within the Māori research strand highlights how human capability is not solely about the capability to serve the ends of the organisation. This is because of the inalienable character of labour power: labour power that is of use to employers is not separable from its owner and labour power is largely reproduced in the social sphere. Māori organisations largely understand this and make use of Māori social relations within wage-labour relations. Because much reproduction of labour power is autonomous from the productive sector, human capability development has to include the relations of reproduction in the social sector. Developing human capability for Māori in this context thus includes developing those extra-social relations which are part of the reproduction of Māori social relations in general.

The individual: the opportunity for choice as a driver and as a barrier to human capability development

A theme emerging from the previous sections is that what constitutes the integrated personality of each person is socially constructed. Hence the activities involved with the capability of people to engage in productive work are inextricably intertwined with those activities which develop people as social beings. This theme is particularly apparent in the Māori research strand where it is clear that in order to become a significant economic force in New Zealand, Māori as a people also have to assume an identity as a social force. Deep institutional structures and organisational practices now exist which support both cultural and economic development of Māori. These structures and processes can be considered to be driving human capability development of Māori within New Zealand's social formation.

Whilst individual identities are socially constructed, individuals remain integrated personalities and thus retain the autonomy for agency – to make decisions on their own behalf or on behalf of others. Such agency presupposes both the existence of the availability of choices and a willingness of the individual to make decisions when choices appear. This section examines individual agency within Māori organisations. Clearly, given the social emphasis in this discussion paper, each person has their own story about their life opportunities and decisions. In acknowledging this diversity, there are a number of themes that arise out of the interviews that a number of interviewees have in common. These themes are reported in this section.

Across the interviews, the choices for capability development for many depended upon one's rank and status within the organisation. For lower positions, more often than not, there was little opportunity for capability development. At this level, when it did occur, such development tended to centre on work-task related training such as learning to use a particular computer programme. It was rare that such training contributed to a formal qualification attesting to that individual's learning. In those situations where work-based training was attached to a formal qualification, as for instance with mental health support workers, this was driven by external forces such as a requirement for organisational accreditation with the health funder. There was little evidence that the individual received additional benefits such as increased pay or different work as a consequence of such training. This is similar to workplace findings in the general population.

In contrast, for higher-level and status positions, particularly for those individuals who belonged to a professional body, such as teachers and nurses, there were wide opportunities for development and considerable autonomy in the choice of what such development

comprised. Often these development opportunities were driven by the need to maintain professional competency with the professional body, not with the employer, and legitimated through collective bargaining. However, professional development often articulated with internal organisational career structures and the opportunity existed to use this as evidence in promotions and pay increase processes.

Often, as with mainstream organisations, opportunities for development arose through new employment opportunities rather than through development opportunities once employed. As with mainstream culture, but more explicit, is the use of family and social networks around Māori organisations, to find and encourage Māori into employment in Māori organisations.

It's because Māori are more likely to be more open about employing Māori and have no issues about employing Māori....there is always a connection somewhere, and quite often you rely on your networks, your connection. There's that expectation that you belong to them so you are not going to let them down and you will perform, because if you don't perform, you're letting your whānau down. So there's that wider understanding about how Māori operate so you tend to have no issues about trust, about even seeing their potential; that they will perform given the opportunity
Manager – Māori business

Aside from varied opportunities, there seemed to be a high willingness to take or to seek opportunities for development when it was opportune. Most of those who worked for Māori organisations, whether or not the position was facilitated through family or social ties, had to persist in order to obtain such positions.

I've always been in computers since college days and I enrolled myself on a role, tried to get into computer classes at college and back in those days the teachers were like oh no, you're not good enough, you can't be here. And so I was like well I'll show you, I'll show you I can do this. And so I met up with [a relation] and she was talking to me about the [Iwi] Trust and I was interested and wanted to work there and she said to me well, what you need to do is you need to go and get some skills qualifications first and then come back and see me and we'll see what we can do. And so I took her advice and I enrolled in [a course on] Information Technology and passed that and then the next course I did was multi media design as I wanted to learn how to draw and how the computer works behind the scenes, operating systems. Just to back me off any computer work that I wanted to do. And then I heard, before my course finished, multi media, I heard that the [Iwi] Trust were looking for someone [to work on computers] so I got asked if I was interested and I was like yes, I am. So then I finished my course and started here and that was about 5 years ago.
Worker – Iwi organisation

Persistence or proactivity is a valued personal characteristic within Māori organisations because so much work is developmental and thus very dependent upon someone championing the work concerned.

Whilst proactivity may reflect a personal trait such individuals are born with, it is also clear from the interviews that the motivation to be so is driven by a strong social identity with things Māori. This identity was often learned through a strong family background where

expectations were placed on the individual by family members of the need to work to strengthen the whānau and/or the iwi.

The common element I see, and it's very simply that they want the best for their whānau. They want to make a difference to their whānau. So they come to the Trust to see what that difference can look like

Worker – Iwi organisation

So I think ... the fact that your parents had expectations has a huge part to play because it seems that where you see that family disconnection of no expectation that the things don't quite turn out as well for them as you would want them to. So having expectations – having whānau expectations – are really critical. And the same goes with us with our children because I've learnt that you have expectations and you work to help your children to achieve them because that's what happened to us.

Worker – Iwi organisation

But I guess my primary role model then would have been my father in terms of his very clear belief, conviction and passion [for] iwi development

Worker – Iwi organisation

Education, particularly through non-mainstream institutions such as Wananga where the opportunity to learn te reo, Māori customs and history, also proved pivotal in developing this strong social identity.

So working with iwi authorities was really led by my father and I guess also – I also had the experience or the opportunity to stay for my Masters...I took two years and during that time it was clear that [I wasn't studying for] a Masters of Ngā Tangata Māori, it was a Masters of [my iwi identification]. Having been brought up in [this area], it was very clear that all of my filters and my analysis of the world were very much due to my experiences having been brought up here. And so at that time I began to believe that everything that I had, and everything that I was, was a result of being brought up in this area and so it was time to come home and give back to my marae and to my people and to my iwi.

Worker – Iwi organisation

Education, too, proved an important driver in the production of the skilled or 'knowledge' worker. This role was however indirect, by furnishing individuals with the credentials to obtain a 'white collar' or professional job. Knowledge or skill, however, came from work experiences. It was this knowledge, developed from work experiences which education gained entry to, which invariably skilled workers brought with them to their jobs within Māori organisations.

It's a package of skills and expertise that I've got that I started developing at the age of 18 when I started my university work. And it's really just length of time doing it. It's not the sort of stuff I think that you can pick up in two or three years. It's the experience... and opportunities to work on new things.. That's a different slant to the work that I was only ready for because of all those other things I'd done.

Worker – Māori business

Summary and conclusion

Considerable capability development of Māori as a people within the social formation of New Zealand occurs at the macro- or meso-level where State intervention joined with Māori organisation: provides a wealth base and income base for Māori organisations, from which to engage in economic activity that is of benefit to Māori, both culturally and economically; builds processes through which Māori in Māori organisations have the opportunity to participate in decision-making and to have a voice and influence; facilitates the self-respect to live and be Māori in the land to which Māori are indigenous.

For Māori businesses in the case study, the core-peripheral worker arrangements commonly in place are well adapted to the vagaries of uncertain demand facing firms in contemporary, globalised times. As a model in which high-value production is undertaken and in which meaningful work occurs it is a model for developing human capability. The weakness of this model also lies in its network structure. Whilst flexible at the micro-level, the absence of governance arrangements at the industry level leaves the sector exposed to inadequate capacity development – for example, investment in new technology, professionalisation of management, improved communication and co-ordination systems and training of new entrants. The networked structure also keeps firms small. Small firms are thus slow to develop capacity because they lack the time and resources to do so. Another driver for developing human capability is the extent of resources available to the organisation to pay for or facilitate training and the availability of relevant industry training which has been customized or developed to meet the unique needs of Māori organisations.

Governance and industry training arrangements might assist to resolve common problems across firms and to supply the collective goods needed to sustain this decentralised production system; notably peripheral worker training and development. Firms would also benefit from measures to relieve the financial and opportunity cost of training core workers particularly in new technologies. Understanding socio-economic barriers to tertiary and industry training of Māori will inform strategies for developing Māori knowledge workers and industry specialists.

The Iwi organisations of this case study are legal organisations, usually Trusts, mandated to act for the hapū who constitute the iwi in relations with the Crown and to manage assets and distribute revenues in behalf of the hapū. They exist to serve the collective interests of those who constitute the iwi. The people who work in iwi organisations, belong to the iwi, and have learned to, or have been shaped by family social relations, to identify with the aims of iwi organisations, and so have the motivation to work in the collective interests of members of the iwi.

Due to the complexity of social arrangements which foster iwitanga, the people who work in iwi organisations are engaging in work, whether paid or voluntary, which has a use-value in that it meets social needs, and which has meaning to them as individuals.

There are considerable constraints or barriers to developing human capability in iwi organisations. For many iwi the loss of land and identity through colonisation, even with Treaty settlements, leaves them at a structural disadvantage to seek economic self-sufficiency. This disadvantage is compounded if the iwi are located in a rural area where

economic opportunities to produce for exchange and profit are few. The social arrangements developing human capability are thus often beginning from very low bases, and often dependent upon employment and training with a state agency providing regional social and economic support, than on career progress and support in iwi organisations themselves. Additionally, the attractions of good pay and amenities in the urban areas, makes it difficult to attract back iwi members who have migrated to urban areas.

There is also a tension in the strategic direction of iwi organisations which act as a barrier to human capability development. This tension seems placed in a lack of coherence in what economic self-sufficiency or positive Māori development means for iwi. Fundamentally, positive Māori development in the contemporary context means the development of Māori enterprise to accumulate capital and to provide employment for iwi people. Iwi organisations have many competing demands placed upon them for the resources which they have available to distribute to iwi members and have to find a balance between retaining funds for investment in Māori business with distribution of returns back to hapū or individual members. In this balancing act, iwi organisations seem torn between being capitalist organisations themselves and growing capital and Māori employment within the iwi organisation with being a governance structure which facilitates Māori business at the level of the marae or individual members within marae. With this tension in place and until the strategic direction of many iwi organisations are established to regulate this tension, the resources allocated to human capability development in iwi organisations will be constrained. The resolution of clear strategic directions for iwi organisations are thus key challenges for iwi organisations, the outcomes of which have significant implications for the future development of human capability.

For employers of Māori and Māori mental health service providers surveyed, it is evident that institutional and organisational arrangements have a significant impact on the development of human capabilities for workers. Key drivers of capability development included a focus on national strategies, a contracting environment to encourage investment in formal upskilling, staircasing to capture 'second chance' learners, sharing knowledge and expertise through balanced work teams. Māori institutional and organisational arrangements to developing capability in a Māori environment were also important, as were the challenges for Māori to develop their capability within and outside such an environment.

Māori health providers, Māori fisheries asset managers, Māori education providers, Māori broadcasters have boosted the Māori asset base and provided employment, income and development opportunities for many Māori workers. For other Māori and Iwi organisations, the focus is less exclusively economic and more focused on revitalising and restoring culture or wellbeing.

It was evident Māori and iwi organisations allow Māori to work as Māori often utilising Māori skills to attain Māori objectives. Objectives may be personal, for example, self esteem, validating cultural skills and community networks, working for good of whānau/hapū/iwi and for Māori, being able to work in tūrangawaewae or home regions. They may be focused on wider Māori community aspirations, for example, providing a Māori voice, Māori development or growing the Māori economy.

There are differences in the opportunities for individuals to develop within organisations. A driver for much of these differences is the level or status the individual holds within the organisation. This notwithstanding, regardless of the level and the opportunity, a common

theme was the willingness of individuals in Māori/iwi organisations to be pro-active in seeking and taking advantage of opportunities when it was opportune. The weight of expectations placed by family and the emancipation through education were common themes in driving this individual proactivity.

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