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Te Tai Tini
Transformations 2025
Mason Durie

Contents

Preface

Hui Taumata 2005 was a hui held in Wellington from 1-3 March 2005 that brought together a wide range of perspectives from across Te Ao Māori to look at ways to accelerate Māori economic growth. It was the second of its kind.

The first Hui Taumata, the Māori Economic Development Summit Conference, called by Hon Koro Wetere, the then Minister of Māori Affairs, in October 1984 to set a platform for the following 20 years that would lead to a cultural and economic renaissance for Māori. Nearly 200 Māori leaders participated in the Hui which aimed to understand the economic issues for Māori, and find a way forward to a "truly equal status in the economic and social life of New Zealand". Following the Hui, New Zealand entered a period of major economic reform. Māori were disproportionately affected by the economic reforms which, in turn, impacted on the social and economic wellbeing of Māori families.

Hui Taumata 2005 aimed to both celebrate what Māori have achieved over the past 20 years and to once again bring the power of Māori thought together to develop strategies for the next 20 years. The vision for Hui Taumata 2005 was:

"to expand Māori economic pathways: Creating, growing and succeeding in our future together - ka hua, ka tupu, ka toa!"

To this end, the Hui was supported by a programme of research and discussion that gathered and analysed relevant research, from new perspectives where necessary, to point to possibilities for moving forward under the major themes of People, Assets and Enterprise.

Professor Durie's paper was presented as part of the theme Developing People.

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Biographical Note

Professor Mason Durie is currently Assistant Vice-Chancellor (Maori) and Professor of Maori Research and Development, Massey University, New Zealand. He is of Rangitane, Ngati Kauwhata and Ngati Raukawa descent. He was a Commissioner on the Royal Commission on Social Policy from 1986-1988, and was also appointed to the chair in Maori Studies at Massey University. He has also been Chair of Te Runanga o Raukawa, and between 1990 and 1995 was secretary to the Maori Congress.

Professor Mason Durie's continuing interest in health, mental health and social policy is reflected in an extensive range of publications and research achievements. In addition to his teaching and research activities, he has served on a number of community and national organizations, including: the National Health Committee; Foundation for Research, Science and Technology; Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa; the Law Commission (Maori Advisory Committee); Mental Health Foundation; Alcohol Advisory Council; the NZ Board of Health; and the Ministerial Advisory Committee on Maori Health.

Glossary

Hapū	Clan
Hui	Meeting
Iwi	Confederation of clans/tribe
ka hua, ka tupu, ka toa!	Creating, growing and succeeding in our future together
Kohanga reo	Māori language pre-schools
Kura kaupapa	Māori language primary schools
Runanga	Tribal organisation
Te Ao Māori	The Māori world
Te Tai Tini	The many tides
Te Urupare Rangapū	Partnership Response – a new Government discussion document
Wananga	Māori tertiary organisation
Whānau	Extended family

Māori Potential

The potential within the Māori population has never been greater. According to the 2001 census, 604,110 people are descended from a Māori, and of those 526,281, identify as Māori (Statistics New Zealand 2002). Further, high growth rates over the next fifty years will continue. Although Māori accounted for some fifteen percent in 2001, notwithstanding trans-Tasman movement by 2011 a population of 700,000 is predicted, and by 2021 perhaps 770,000 or seventeen percent of the total New Zealand population. By 2051, this may rise to 800,000, or twenty-two percent of the total New Zealand population (and there could be more than 100,000 living abroad). Even more dramatic, by 2031 thirty-three percent of all children in the country will be Māori , and Māori in the working age group (15 to 64 years) will increase by eighty-five percent. But within the age category of 65 and over, the growth is projected to be in excess of 300 percent and there will be substantial increases in the very old, that is people over the age of 75 years. The two trends, a higher proportion of Māori in the school age population and a rapidly increasing older cohort means that the dependency ratio will be altered, imposing additional burdens on the working age group. But it will also mean that Māori will have the potential to face the future with both the freshness of youth and the wisdom of age.

A Century of Change

The Hui Taumata 2005 took place twenty years after the first Māori Economic Summit, the Hui Taumata 1984. But it is worth remembering that Māori development has a long history and has been influenced by a range of actions and reactions – some predictable, others opportunistic, many imposed by external agencies, many generated by Māori explorers, leaders and innovators. Change has often brought benefits, but not infrequently there have also been catastrophic consequences. For the last half of the nineteenth century, for example, the level of devastation was so severe that it appeared Māori might not survive as a people beyond the twentieth century and the duty of the government was to 'smooth the pillow of a dying race' (Miller 1958: 104). Māori it seemed would share a fate similar to the extinct moa bird.

Even allowing for inaccuracies in enumeration and inconsistencies in determining who was Māori, the census in 1896 certainly raised serious cause for concern; the Māori population had declined from around 150,000 in 1840, to 42,000 (Pool 1977). The decline resulted from a range of causes including short distance factors such as high mortality rates from infectious diseases, warfare, and poor nutrition; medium distance factors such as a rapidly changing economy aggravated by an alarming rate of land alienation and loss of customary lore; and long distance factors such as political oppression, and colonial assumptions of superiority (Durie 1998b).

By 1905, however, it seemed that depopulation had been arrested and there were early signs of recovery; the population had risen from 42,000 to 45,000. A sense of cautious optimism was conveyed in several reports from Dr Maui Pomare to the Government. In 1901 Pomare had been recruited into the Department of Public Health as 'Medical Officer to the Māoris', and in 1905 he was joined by Dr Peter Buck (Te Rangi Hiroa). Together they trained and supervised a team of community leaders, the Māori Sanitary Inspectors, in the art and science of public health. Their collective efforts - a combination of professional expertise and wise community leadership - played some part in effecting the positive change.

Meanwhile other developments were also re-shaping the Māori world as hapū and whānau struggled to adapt to new lifestyles, new economies, and new social mores. Two significant events occurring in 1905 are especially worthy of note.

First, Turakina Māori Girls College was opened. Sponsored by the Presbyterian Church, the new school was located in the small township of Turakina in the Rangitikei before it was moved to the present site in Marton in 1927. Like other Māori church boarding schools Turakina was small — an intake of 30 in 1905 - but increasingly it was to play a significant role in Māori development through a dedicated commitment to education, Christian principles and Māori values. Moreover, the College showed a capacity to adapt to changing times with a curriculum that kept pace with altered societal needs providing greater opportunities for Māori women. As a beacon for Māori education, Turakina provides a sense of continuity and purpose and is part of a growing network of schools that offer niche programmes for Māori students.

Second, 1905 saw the passage of the controversial Māori Land Settlement Act, but it was also the year that Apirana Ngata entered Parliament as the member for Eastern Māori. In the election Ngata successfully defeated Wi Pere who by then was 68 years old, and who, apart from one term (when the seat was taken by Carroll), had been in Parliament since 1884 (Walker 2001). Pere was an effective leader whose strength lay in his close affinity to conservative Māori networks. He was an advocate for Māori autonomy and a Māori Parliament but was less able to manage Parliamentary subtleties or to enter into Parliamentary debate in English. Ngata on the other hand represented a new type of politician — educated in two worlds: energetic, and ready to apply the values and aspirations belonging to one world to the conventions and technologies of the other. His tenure in Parliament lasted until 1943 and perhaps most importantly he is remembered for his inspirational leadership and his ability to integrate economic, social and cultural policies and programmes (Sutherland 1950).

The reason for recalling those events in 1905 is not necessarily to shed light on the issues facing Māori in 2005 but to underline enduring principles for Māori economic development. Demographic challenges and the inspirational work of the Māori Sanitary Inspectors have shown that Māori are resilient and have been able to respond to adversity with innovation, adaptation, determination, and strong leadership. The example of Turakina College is not only a reminder that Māori progress depends heavily on educational achievement but that effective Māori education cannot always be met within the rubric of a homogenous state system. Ngata's election to Parliament and his ballot box defeat of Wi Pere, illustrates another point but one which also has continuing relevance. Modern Māori leadership requires a set of competencies that are necessary for today and tomorrow. Unlike Ngata whose skills, knowledge and charisma were germane to the twentieth century, Pere's leadership was for a different era and a different forum. And arising from Ngata's leadership is the further example of integrated development — Māori advancement is as much about language and culture as it is about land, social circumstances and economic growth.

Although emerging a century ago, these principles — resilience, educational achievement, skilled leadership, and integrated development - remain applicable to today and the decades ahead. They also demonstrate that development needs to be considered as a long term process, the fruits of which might not necessarily be enjoyed by those who pioneer change but by future generations who have not been part of the earlier struggle.

The Hui Taumata 1984

In that sense it is perhaps easier to view the 1984 Hui Taumata with a greater sense of perspective. Although billed as an economic summit, discussions covered social, cultural and economic policies and marked the launch of a decade of positive development. To some extent the new direction for Māori fitted well with the new right agenda; the major goals of the government's economic reforms - reduced state dependency, devolution, and privatisation - were also seen as preconditions for greater Māori independence, tribal re-development, and service delivery to Māori by Māori. Deregulation, the introduction of market driven policies, and a downsizing of the state were accompanied by a parallel devolution of many functions to tribal and community organisations. Matua Whangai, Mana Enterprises, and Maccess Training Programmes, for example, were government programmes managed and delivered by Māori using Māori resources and Māori expertise. They were consistent with Te Urupare Rangapū, a Government policy sponsored by Hon. Koro Wetere that was designed to guide Māori towards greater self-sufficiency and reduced dependency on the state (Wetere 1988).

Devolution coincided with Māori ambitions for greater autonomy and the re-establishment of social structures such as iwi (tribes). It appeared to offer a degree of self-governance although clearly it was a government agenda with limited Māori control and confused grounds for its justification. Sometimes devolution was promoted as a partnership between Māori and the state, sometimes as community empowerment, sometimes as de-bureaucratisation and sometimes, especially in Māori eyes, as government abandonment of responsibility for Māori affairs (Fleras and Elliot 1992). Māori saw the process from two quite different perspectives. In a positive sense, devolution presented opportunities for assuming new levels of responsibility, but there were also some disquieting signals that it was a government manoeuvre for economic reform and cost cutting at Māori expense (Durie 1998a).

In the event, within a decade Māori had become major players in service delivery and had effectively entered the health, education, social welfare and labour sectors as providers of a range of services that had previously been the province of the state or of professional enclaves. Often services became part of tribal systems though many non-tribal organisations based on urban affiliations or communities of similar interest also assumed major provider roles.

However it was not only the delivery of social services that enthused Māori. By acknowledging that the Treaty of Waitangi guaranteed Māori property rights, the Government was also persuaded to see language and culture as a type of property that also deserved protection. In 1986 the Waitangi Tribunal had delivered a report recommending greater government resolve to protect a language that was headed for extinction (Waitangi Tribunal 1986). As a result the Māori Language Commission was established and Māori was declared to be an official language of New Zealand. Seventeen years later a Māori television channel was launched.

During the Decade of Māori Development new approaches to education from early childhood to tertiary allowed for greater Māori participation and the reflection of Māori world views in the curriculum and in teaching practice. Although a number of studies have shown that Pākehā/European, Asian and 'other' European children perform better than Māori and Pacific children (according to the Data and Analysis Unit of the Ministry of Education, 2002), the substantial gains made by Māori

should not be overlooked. The establishment of Māori alternatives such as Kōhanga Reo provided new incentives and even within the mainstream, higher Māori participation rates in early childhood education were evident, growing by over thirty percent between 1991 and 1993. By 2001 forty-five percent of all Māori children less than five years of age were enrolled in early childhood services, nearly one-third were in Kōhanga Reo (Ministry of Education 2004).

At secondary levels, between 1983 and 2000 the percentage of Māori students who left school with no qualification decreased from 62 percent to thirty-five percent, while at the tertiary level, Māori participation actually increased by 148 percent between 1991 and 2000.   By 2002 Māori had the highest rates of participation in tertiary education of any group aged at twenty-five and over. Most of the growth occurred through wānanga which increased enrolments from 26,000 students in 2001 to 45,500 in 2002 (Ministry of Education 2004).

Transformations

These changes and others like them represent major transformations, the extent of which would have been difficult to predict even twenty years ago. Then, the inclusion of Māori perspectives within health services or in environmental management were exceptions rather than the norm. In the same year as the 1984 Hui Taumata, the Hui Whakaoranga, the first national Māori health hui was held at the Hoani Waititi Marae and the possibility of Māori health delivery systems was raised.   Critics were concerned that any move away from conventional medical models of delivery would disadvantage Māori, creating a type of separatism. But others argued health statistics clearly demonstrated that a type of separatism already existed.   Māori were simply not gaining adequate access to health services and facilities. The conservative call then was for New Zealand to have single systems of education, health and justice based essentially on majority perspectives.

An apparent irony is that Māori were able to assert demands for social systems that supported Māori values and ideals within a market driven environment. The Welfare State had presumed that its duty to Māori was discharged when the worst features of poverty had been eradicated. Being Māori meant being poor, not necessarily being indigenous or being able to live as Māori.   Although the economic and government reforms instituted in the 1980s impacted heavily on Māori causing unemployment to suddenly escalate, they were also accompanied by a fresh spirit of independence and a renewed determination to retain those elements of indigeneity that were essential to being Māori in a complex and modern society.

As a consequence, when the twenty-first century dawned, Māori were in a stronger position to be Māori than they had been two decades earlier. Prior to 1980 there were only a handful of Māori providers and they often had to contend with dogmatic assumptions that all New Zealanders shared the same cultural values, aspirations and histories.   In contrast, by 2000, there were several hundred Māori providers of health, education, and social services and Māori language and culture had become more or less accepted as part of the operating norm in schools, hospitals, state agencies and community centres.

Although the reformation over the past two decades has neither been as even or as extensive as many would wish, it nonetheless represents a series of major transformations. Notwithstanding continuing inequalities between Māori and non-Māori, Māori experience has been radically changed in the direction of:

- greater involvement in the delivery of social services, including health care
- improved access to services
- a proliferation of semi-independent Māori organisations
- higher participation rates in the education system at all levels
- immersion Māori education programmes from early childhood to tertiary levels
- significantly raised membership in the legal and health professions
- escalating entry into the fields of commerce, business, and science
- a major increase in the number of children who are native speakers of Māori
- a re-emergence of hapū and iwi as agents for Māori development
- the settlement of major historic Treaty of Waitangi claims.

The question now arises as to whether further transformative experiences are needed over the next 20 years so that future generations can realise the dual goals of 'living as Māori and being citizens of the world' (Durie 2003).

Transformations for 2025

While the decades 1984-1994 and 1995-2004 were witness to significant changes for Māori, the directions set in train then may not necessarily be the best options for a world which will be radically different by 2025. Transformations are time-bound so that major advances in one era may be insufficient or even inappropriate for another. The 1984 Hui Taumata for example ushered in a decade of development taking Māori in new and positive directions. But beyond the developmental mode is a more confident mode, where not only can Māori build on gains already made, but also shape the directions to suit new times and rebalance some of the imperatives that were so necessary in 1984 (see Table 1).

Quality and High Achievement

During the Decade of Māori Development, an emphasis on participation and access were important goals and there were spectacular increases in the levels of active educational participation, especially in the early childhood and tertiary years. Greatly improved rates of participation were also evident in health care, Māori language learning, business, sport, music, film and television, and information technology. However, while access to education and other endeavours must remain an important goal for Māori so that the benefits can be felt across all marae and in all communities, access by itself will not be a sufficient measure of quality for 2025. Increasingly the emphasis will shift from access and participation to quality and high achievement. That will be true equally for second language learners, consumers of health services and tertiary education students. Otherwise, high participation rates might simply denote marginal involvement and mediocrity with a lack of comparability to other groups, either within New Zealand or abroad.

Table 1: Transformational Shifts 1984 – 2025

1984 – 2004 Development	Gains	Limitations	2005 - 2025 Sustained Capability
Participation and Access	Improved levels of participation in education, health, etc.	Marginal involvement Mediocrity Uneven gains	1. High achievement, quality, excellence.
Iwi development	Iwi delivery systems; cultural integrity; commercial ventures.	Benefits not shared by all Māori.	2. Enhanced whānau capacities.
Settlement of historic grievances	Major settlements completed.	Energies absorbed into exploring the past.	3 Futures orientation and longer term planning.
Proliferation of independent Māori providers.	Improved service delivery. 'By Māori for Māori' Independence and autonomy.	Reduced incentives for collaboration; Dependence on state contracts; Lack of readiness for multiple roles.	4. Collaborative opportunities and networks; 5. Multiple revenue streams; 6. Quality governance and organisational leadership.

Source: Author

Whānau Capacities

Another transformation that occurred over the past two decades was renewed confidence in Iwi to undertake functions across a broad spectrum of activities including environmental management, tribal research, the delivery of social programmes, broadcasting, and fisheries management. Runanga demonstrated that in addition to reconfiguring tribal structures to meet modern needs and to operate within commercial and legal environments, they could also act as anchors for cultural revival and the transmission of customary knowledge. However, although Iwi development will likely continue as an important pathway for Māori advancement, it is also likely that there will be an increasing emphasis on building whānau. Expectations that Iwi gains might trickle down to whānau are probably unrealistic, given contemporary Māori affiliations and different priorities between small groups such as whānau and large groups such as iwi. Iwi may well contribute to whānau aspirations but for the most part the tools necessary for building Iwi capacities will not be the same tools required for developing whānau capacities, including the capacities for caring, for creating whānau wealth, for whānau planning, for the intergenerational transfer of knowledge and skills within whānau, and for the wise management of whānau estates.

Future Orientation

The settlement of historic grievances against the Crown, though still in progress and far from complete, has nonetheless also been a salient feature of the past two decades. Direct negotiation between Māori and the Crown, sometimes on the basis of a Waitangi Tribunal report, sometimes simply on agreement that an injustice occurred, have led to several momentous settlements. Most have been the result of individual tribal claims but at least in respect of the fisheries settlement, the Sealords agreement was 'ultimately for the benefit of all Māori'. Settlements were seen as necessary steps before both parties could 'move on.' However, the process of negotiation, coupled with a rehearsal of past events tended to reinforce an adversarial colonial relationship between Māori and the Crown. Beyond grievance there is a need to focus less on the past and more on the future. Settlements have very often diverted Māori energies into the past, sometimes at the expense of the present and often away from considerations of the future. But the rapidly changing world with new values, new technologies and global communication, will require Māori to actively plan for the future so that generations to come will be able to stand tall as Māori and as global citizens.

Collaborations

Reference has already been made to the greatly increased number of Māori providers, operating either from a tribal base or from communities of interest. This has been especially evident in health and education and has greatly contributed to higher rates of Māori participation and improved access to services and facilities. But three aspects of provider development warrant closer comment. First, within a framework of commercial contestability, provider organisations have prized their independence and have been correspondingly suspicious of their neighbours. The resulting proliferation of independent, semi-autonomous Māori organisations has counted against collaboration, shared infrastructure, and economies of scale.

Multiple Revenue Streams

Second, for the most part providers, including some iwi, have depended almost entirely on state contracts for sustaining their business. Having contested the notion of state dependency and welfare benefits at the Hui Taumata in 1984, there would be an irony if provider development were to create another form of state dependency, albeit at another level. It is a reminder that multiple revenue streams embracing the private sector, combined perhaps with a system of user co-payments, might create more sustainable provider arms than total dependence on state contracts.

Governance and Leadership

A third aspect of provider proliferation is to be found in the steep learning curve that Māori community workers have experienced. The rapid growth of organisations in size and number has required workers to learn new skills and to straddle several positions often without formal training in any. For many it meant fronting up in classrooms, offices, homes or communities with little more than raw talent and abundant enthusiasm. Sometimes there were additional expectations of senior leadership responsibilities. Often those expectations have been

unrealistic, highlighting the need for more dedicated training for both managerial and governance roles. While twenty years ago there was an acute shortage of front line workers who could bring a Māori perspective to service delivery, there is now a shortage of skilled people who can offer sound governance advice and provide effective leadership for successful ventures. Table 1 summarises the perceived transformational shifts that will be necessary to navigate the next twenty years. They build on the gains made since 1984 but identify new emphases and new directions. Overall the significant shift will be a refocusing from developmental mode to a mode of greater confidence and certainty.

Towards a 2005: A Futures Framework

Arising from experiences over the past two decades, and in anticipation of a rapidly changing world, a framework for considering Māori in 2025 can be constructed. The framework contains five goals, and five themes, and identifies key areas where strategic direction is needed at both local and national levels.

Goals

Reference has already been made to goals that might be important for Māori over the next twenty years.

They include:
- extending the emphasis on access and participation to **high achievement and quality outcomes**
- creating, alongside iwi and hapū development, a specific focus on **enhanced whānau capacities**
- developing **collaborations and clustered networks** between Māori organisations so that economies of scale can be realised and the best use made of resources
- building a strong **governance and leadership** capacity

Themes

In moving towards those goals, five major themes will be important
- a Māori paradigm
- an outcome focus
- 'futures' orientation
- flexible delivery
- extended relationships

A Māori Paradigm

In many respects Māori individuals share similar aspirations to other New Zealanders. However, in addition they also subscribe to aspirations, values and affiliations that align them with each other and with the range of institutions that characterise the contemporary Māori world.

Although there is no stereotypical Māori, and even allowing for diversity among Māori, it is possible to identify a number of attributes that contribute to 'being Māori'. These include:
- identifying as Māori
- being part of a Māori network or collective
- participating in Te Ao Māori, and enjoying a closeness with the natural environment

- celebrating the use of Māori language
- possessing some knowledge of custom and heritage
- participating as a whānau member
- having access to Māori resources

In addition, the Māori paradigm is reflected in the activities and aspirations of Māori collectives such as hapū, sports teams, iwi, church groups, land incorporations, communities of interest, whānau and musical groups.

Defining best outcomes for Māori requires that the Māori paradigm is well considered so that 'being Māori' is adequately recognised as a determinant of wellbeing, alongside health status, educational achievement and economic wellbeing.

An Outcome Focus

An outcome focus contrasts with a focus on processes. During the past two decades considerable emphasis has been placed on processes with particular stress on tikanga, bicultural procedures, and the creation of opportunities for active Māori involvement. While those processes have been useful, and should continue to be pursued, they should not be confused with end points. The practice of cultural safety in health services, for example, is not justified simply as a celebration of culture but as a means of achieving better health outcomes. Similarly, the involvement of whānau in meetings about child and youth welfare is not simply intended to fulfil a cultural preference but to ensure the best possible outcome for a child and the family. Because most measurements are process measures, rather than measures of outcome, it has been impossible to judge the effectiveness of a number of interventions. Detailed records may document the number of home visits made by a community health worker but are unlikely at present to note whether the visits have contributed to gains in health. Part of the difficulty lies in the complexities associated with outcome measurements; there is a time lag between intervention and result; many variables apart from a specific intervention may impact on the outcome; and a good outcome for one group may be regarded as an unsatisfactory outcome by another group.

Complexity, however, should not be used as a reason for avoiding a focus on outcomes. Promising Māori-centred measurement tools have actually been developed and trialled. An outcome measure for mental health interventions for Māori, Hua Oranga, employs a Māori health framework as the basis for measuring impact (Kingi 2002). Similarly a Māori development outcome framework, He Ngahuru, recognises cultural identity, participation in Te Ao Māori and access to cultural heritage as important indicators of outcome, alongside more conventional indicators such as material and social wellbeing and health (Durie *et al.* 2002).

Futures Orientation

Planning typically occurs in time frames of three to five years. This short term approach encourages incremental change but runs the risk of being unable to respond to major societal or environmental changes and leans heavily on precedent, convention, and crisis management as the drivers of change. The planning process tends to perpetuate sameness. A futures orientation introduces longer time spans – twenty or twenty-five years – and the directions that Māori might take in order to be relevant to Māori society, New Zealand society and global society in 2025. A future orientation means that urgent and pressing

demands of the moment will not totally obscure those issues that will assume importance in five, ten fifteen or twenty years time. Although some iwi such as Ngai Tahu have developed longer term plans (Te Runanga o Ngai Tahu 2003), there has been relatively little exploration of futures methodologies by Māori, nor is there a dedicated capacity to do so. Too much planning for Māori development has been in response to a crisis or on the basis of short term goals. As a consequence initiatives, while valuable in their own right, have not been integrated into a wider schema that will be congruent with a changing world. To that end Māori capacity for serious futures planning is needed.

Mapping the future for Māori requires that changes within Te Ao Māori and beyond are considered. Some of theses changes will be in the broad field of Māori social, economic and cultural development, others will be demographic. It seems that the Māori population will continue to expand; there will be proportionately more children, and more older people, and there will be greater ethnic diversity among Māori. The wider scene will also change. Globalisation will make the world into a market place for Māori and all New Zealanders and will dictate fashion, music and food preferences, scientific discoveries and new technologies. National sovereignty will be balanced by international collegiality and inter-dependence and New Zealand will be reminded that it is a Pacific nation in close proximity to Asia. Technological changes will lead to revolutions that cannot yet be conceived.

The Māori economy is particularly likely to change over the next two decades. Treaty settlements will provide iwi with capital to enter the commercial world. Household incomes are likely to increase, less and less transfers from the state to individuals will occur, and land based and resource based economies will be increasingly supplemented by the knowledge economy. Change will also affect Māori parents. By 2025 they will be older than they were two decades ago and may not have children until they are in their thirties. They will show greater socio-economic diversity and may have a wider range of affiliations with other ethnic groups, especially Pacific and Asian. It is likely that they will have more disposable income, will be more likely to be competent Māori speakers than their parents and possibly their grandparents, will be expecting high levels of achievement from their children and will want an education system that can accommodate unique aspirations.

Flexible Delivery

There is no single pathway that will lead Māori towards high capability by 2025. Instead multiple pathways must be considered. Using educational pathways to illustrate the options, it is possible to identify Māori centred pathways (Kohanga reo, Kura Kaupapa, Whare Kura, Wānanga), bicultural pathways (Bicultural units), and generic pathways (ostensibly 'neutral' as to culture though usually based on conventional Western educational models). While those three broad options have allowed choice, the links between them have been relatively frozen. In the future, however, it is highly likely that parents will seek customised learning experiences and may wish to enrol their children in all three options at the same time. Or they may wish to access some programmes provided by one particular kura kaupapa while still enrolled in another kura. Institutional loyalty and institutional autonomy will be of less interest than gaining access to particular programmes, regardless of where they are offered. When coupled with online learning opportunities, students will be keen to extend the principle of choice from choice of institution to choice of modules with flexibility in delivery options. Similar principles will arise in the delivery of health services and other human development sectors.

Extended Relationships

Over the past two decades Māori and the Crown have formed relationships to advance a wide range of issues, including Treaty settlements, education and health policy, environmental protection, land and fisheries policy, and heritage preservation. In working together, the Treaty of Waitangi has been an important touchstone that has allowed expressions of indigeneity to be realised within contemporary societies and within the context of a modern state. But a partnership with the Crown need not be the only partnership entertained by Māori. Indeed state dependency, whether through policies of benign paternalism or as a consequence of state contracts or prolonged negotiations, is unlikely to encourage innovation or enterprise. Rather, there is room for a range of pathways and partners. The private sector, global partners and other indigenous peoples have the potential to open new doors and allow for diversification and increased sustainability. Those new relationships, whether with CISCO, Microsoft or First Nations, might well be ratified through formal agreements or treaties and in time might stand alongside the Treaty of Waitangi and the Māori-Crown relationship. It is a matter of some surprise that Māori, as a people, have not entered into a single treaty since signing the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840.

Table 2: A Framework for Considering Māori Transformations 2025

Themes	Goals			
	High achievement	Whānau capacities	Collaborations and networks	Governance and leadership capacity
Māori paradigms				
Outcome focus				
Futures orientation				
Flexible delivery				
Extended relationships				

Source: Author

Strategic Direction

Many of the goals and themes raised in this paper have already been embraced by iwi, whānau and Māori communities. However, there remains a place for a more dedicated commitment to longer term planning, both at local levels and nationally. To that end, it would be prudent for Māori organisations, especially those charged with shaping tomorrow, to add a futures dimension into developmental plans. A futures plan might encompass:

- a Māori workforce strategy
- a Māori high achievement strategy
- a Māori governance and leadership strategy
- a whānau capacity strategy

At the same time, given the demands on Māori communities and an array of urgent short term matters, there is also a place for a national Māori futures group to provide leadership in futures planning by developing appropriate methodologies, creating a focus for futures thinking, and providing assistance to those groups who are keen to actively engage with 2025.

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