# MĀORI VALUES IN THE WORKPLACE

# Investing in diversity

Fleur Harris\*

Sonja Macfarlane†

Angus Macfarlane‡

Matt Jolly§

#### **Abstract**

This article is part of a pilot study that addresses the issue of Tiriti o Waitangi/Treaty of Waitangi obligations in creating and sustaining inclusive workplaces that are reflective of Māoritanga (things Māori) so as to promote equitable Māori-Crown partnerships. Conversational interviews with four employees (two Māori and two non-Māori) of a Crown Research Institute (CRI) highlighted how elements of Māoritanga had been included in the workplace during the previous decade, with leadership from a Māori manager. Their descriptions of the current status, however, painted a picture of diminished practices resulting from various contextual factors. Those interviewed were keen for their CRI to reinvigorate and instantiate Māoritanga in the workplace. This article unravels the voices of these employees, briefly describes workplace Māori iconography, signals the positioning of non-Indigenous employees as "allies" in the workplace, and considers ideas to increase cultural consciousness in accordance with the Treaty of Waitangi principles.

- \* Research Analyst, Te Rū Rangahau: The Māori Research Laboratory, College of Education, Health and Human Development, University of Canterbury, Christchurch, New Zealand. Email: fleur.harris25@gmail.com
- Ngāti Waewae, Ngāi Tahu. Associate Professor of Education, Te Oranga: School of Human Development and Movement Studies, Te Kura Toi Tangata: Faculty of Education, University of Waikato, Hamilton, New Zealand.
- <sup>‡</sup> Te Arawa. Professor of Māori Research and Director of Te Rū Rangahau: The Māori Research Laboratory, College of Education, Health and Human Development, University of Canterbury, Christchurch, New Zealand.
- Ngāpuhi. Summer Intern 2014/2015, Te Rū Rangahau: The Māori Research Laboratory, College of Education, Health and Human Development, University of Canterbury, Christchurch, New Zealand.

DOI: 10.20507/MAlJournal.2016.5.1.4

# Keywords

Māori, Indigenous, workplace, Māoritanga, employees

#### Introduction

For approximately the past four decades in Aotearoa New Zealand (hereafter referred to as New Zealand), the 1840 Tiriti o Waitangi/ Treaty of Waitangi (hereafter "the Treaty") has driven the government's commitment to the underlying Treaty principles of partnership, protection and participation and to ratifying workplace inclusion of Māoritanga (or the synonymous term tikanga Māori) and te reo Māori (Berryman & Macfarlane, 2011; Durie, 2011; Kingi, 2007; Macfarlane, 2004; Manna, 2002; Margraine & Macfarlane, 2011; Whitinui, 2011). Such a commitment is embedded in the Treaty pledge for Māori to retain tino rangatiratanga (Wihongi, 2010) that was promised when the Treaty signatories, the British Crown and most Māori iwi, set the foundation for a constitutional agreement to sustain an equitable partnership within a bicultural and bilingual New Zealand. However, the 1840 Crown commitment was short-lived and the ensuing oppressive hegemony of British colonialism was far removed from the original intent of the Treaty agreement (Durie, 2011). The European colonial assault has created an inequitable relationship with grievous injustices to Māori—specifically the detrimental loss of people, culture, language and land (Durie, 2004; L. T. Smith, 1999; Walker, 2004).

By the 1960s and 70s, at a time when global human rights movements were gaining traction, an intensified responsiveness among Māori about endured inequities and injustices manifested in a protest and renaissance phase. Anti-racist protest was visible on many fronts (see Poata-Smith, 1997, for an in-depth overview). For example, Ngā Tamatoa campaigned for Māori rights, fought racial discrimination, and confronted injustices perpetrated by

the New Zealand Government, particularly violations of the Treaty. In addition, the combined activism and force of the following movements and actions sustained the campaign and invigorated change for social justice and equity in a bicultural-bilingual New Zealand: the Land Rights movement, the 1975 Land March on Parliament and the occupation of Bastion Point and Raglan; the Waitangi Action Committee, the Maori People's Liberation Movement of Aotearoa, and the Black Women Movement; the trade union and women's liberation movements; and Māori and non-Māori opposition to the New Zealand Rugby Football Union's relationship with the apartheid doctrines of their South African counterpart (Harris, 2007; Poata-Smith, 1997).

In this milieu of anti-racist protest an education campaign about the looming death of te reo Māori gained momentum (Walker, 1996). Māori took control of the education for their children, and the birth of Te Kohanga Reo movement in the early 1980s was one of the most successful actions for tino rangatiratanga (Irwin, 1990; Kaai-Oldman, 1988). Further, recognition of te reo Māori as an official language of New Zealand and the establishment of Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori/Maori Language Commission were sanctioned by the 1987 Maori Language Act. In 1999 the government officially took responsibility for "increasing proficiency and use of Māori and fostering an environment in which Māori-English bilingualism is accepted" (Peterson, 2000, p. 1). Further, the need for tikanga and te reo Māori to be embedded and enacted in all aspects of daily life is signalled by R. Bishop and Glynn (1999), Macfarlane (2012) and Macfarlane, Macfarlane and Gillon (2014).

State legislation, such as the 1975 Treaty of Waitangi Act, the 1986 State-Owned Enterprises

Act (SOE Act) and the 1988 State Sector Act have, in part, responded to the advancement of the recognition of Māori rights by the Crown and the increasing call for Treaty justice (Hayward, 2012). The Treaty of Waitangi Act established the Waitangi Tribunal, a permanent commission of inquiry entrusted with making recommendations to the government on the claims presented by Māori relating to grievances concerning the Crown's contravention of Treaty promises. The government is not legally bound to ratify these recommendations into law, and as a consequence grievances can be ignored (Belgrave, 2005; McDowell & Webb, 2006).

The Waitangi Tribunal's (2011) report Ko Aotearoa Tēnei on the Wai 262 claim considered more than 20 government departments and agencies in terms of their adherence to the Treaty. The report made recommendations relating to the reform of laws, policies or practices concerning health, education, science, intellectual property, Indigenous flora and fauna, resource management, conservation, the Māori language, arts and culture, heritage, and the involvement of Māori in the development of New Zealand's positions on international instruments affecting Indigenous rights. However, as noted above these are not legally binding and the Crown has not yet acted on them.

The SOE Act also allowed for major changes to the public service sector, and section 9 asserted: "Nothing in this Act shall permit the Crown to act in a manner that is inconsistent with the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi." As a result of the SOE Act and the 1988 State Sector Act, the public sector has been required to act in a manner consistent with the principles of the Treaty (Barrett & Connolly-Stone, 1998; Human Rights Commission, 2010; New Zealand Teachers' Council, 2009). Public service management must "recognise the aims and aspirations of Māori people, the employment requirements of Māori people in the Public Service, and the need for greater involvement

of Māori people in the public service" (Durie, 2003, p. 134).

In a similar vein, the non-Indigenous "Tiriti Allies" movement has advocated for a socially just and equitable place where Māori can live and be respected as the Indigenous people of the land (Margaret, 2013). Ally groups are a global reality where non-Indigenous people work with Indigenous people in their struggle for liberation from oppression (Aveling, 2004; A. Bishop, 2002; Davis, 2010; Davis & Shpuniarsky, 2010; Kivel, 2010; Margaret, 2013; McGloin, 2015; Regan, 2010). Margaret (2013) explicitly outlines the qualities needed to be an ally—an affiliation that can be problematic due to a complexity of particular dynamics, including understanding the ally position, time and people commitments, and the real value or obsoleteness of "white allyness" (our term), to name a few (Aveling, 2004; Barker, 2010; Barnes, 2013; Davis, O'Donnell, & Shpuniarsky, 2007; Fitzmaurice, 2010; James, Wychel, Short, & Wilson, 2014; Lehavot, 2007; Tatum, 1994; Vernon, 2010). In commenting on this global reality of ally groups, Barker (2010) wrote:

It is no easy thing to be a Settler person committed to acting as an Indigenous ally; combinations of active, social and cultural pressures; passive understandings of "normal", and internal psychological and emotional barriers often create paralysis for Settlers attempting to act in de/anti-colonial ways. (p. 316)

In New Zealand allies work in various organisations, for example, the Auckland Workers Education Association is particularly immersed in education for social justice and honours the Treaty relationship with Māori through a range of activities, including Treaty education for Pākehā, Crown submissions and protest activities (Barnes, 2013; James et al., 2014; Margaret, 2013; Nairn, 2009). While there are non-Indigenous allies in many organisations it

is not clear how many non-Indigenous allies there are in the public service.

Research related to Māori employees' perceptions of workplace Māoritanga is scarce (Kuntz, Naswall, Beckingsale, & Macfarlane, 2014). This is not surprising given that research focusing on the values of Indigenous people in workplaces and organisations is relatively sparse internationally (Haar & Brougham, 2013). However, the limited research to date has illustrated that particular workplaces benefit when they reflect employees' cultural values and practices (Haar & Brougham, 2011; Hook, Waaka, & Raumatic, 2007; Kuntz et al., 2014). Māori employees tend to support the workplace culture if it reflects their values (Hook et al., 2007), and they are more likely to show support to the employer and remain in the organisation (Haar & Brougham, 2011).

Kuntz et al. (2014) used a core set of te ao Māori values (see Table 1) to study 91 Māori employees' perceptions of the extent to which their workplaces (five organisations employing mainly Māori) included tikanga Māori in their daily practices. Although they also investigated whether the perceived inclusion of Māori values resulted in employees' affective commitment and organisational citizenship behaviours—and if Māori identity influenced this—for the purposes of this article, perceptions about core values in the workplace are foregrounded.

In line with prior research, Kuntz et al. (2014) found that organisations tended to benefit from

higher employee commitment when employees' cultural values were present and manifested within workplace practices. They also reported that of the five core values, wairuatanga could stand independently as a value, and the others—manaakitanga, whakawhanaungatanga, auahatanga and kaitiakitanga—could be afforded a common dimension—hakamana tangata (placing people first).

The extent to which the Crown's commitment to honouring their Treaty promises is genuinely incorporated into workplace daily life is contestable, and therefore a major concern (Macfarlane et al., 2014; Whitinui, 2011). In the health sector, Whitinui (2011) signalled the disparities between Māori and non-Māori as discordant with a Treaty partnership. He contended that Māoritanga is clearly absent from many health workplaces, and that:

closing the gap between Māori and non-Māori will not be achieved if as a nation we continue to create health models, frameworks, programmes, initiatives and interventions that are mere reflections of mainstream health processes. Such processes have had a negative and disproportionate effect on the health status of Māori for a great many years. (p. 142)

In their work related to inclusion, disability and culture in education, Macfarlane et al. (2014) urged attention to Māoritanga in education settings. There is a need to ensure that:

TABLE 1 Five core te ao Māori values (adapted from Kuntz et al., 2014, pp. 105–109).

Manaakitanga	Reciprocity of kindness, respect, humility, responsible hospitality, caring for others and the environment	
Whakawhanaungatanga	Genealogy connects people through generations, kin and lasting non-kin relationships	
Wairuatanga	Spiritual dimension of thinking, being and doing—with a spiritual and physical being connected by a mauri—a unique life energy in everything	
Auahatanga	Creativity, entrepreneurship, problem solving, learning, confronting challenges and adapting	
Kaitiakitanga	Preserving, sheltering, and protecting in relation to the environment	

Māori thinking and knowledge is central to culturally responsive and inclusive policy development, and programme selection; [it is] not to be viewed as merely an add-on (by way of a cultural enhancement) to evidence based programmes that emanate from another worldview perspective. (p. 267)

Furthermore, even though the public service sectors, health and education in particular, are constantly scrutinised by academics, practitioners, Crown agencies such as the Education Review Office and others, their development and sustenance of Treaty obligations is variable (Durie, 2011; Harris & Kaur, 2012; Penetito, 2010; L. T. Smith 1999). This is critically significant given the context of colonial hegemonic practices since the Crown signed allegiance to an equitable partnership with Māori in 1840, and the public service's claims of commitment to honouring Treaty obligations over recent decades. This begs the following questions: What is actually happening? Is the rhetoric surrounding the Crown's commitment to the Treaty partnership with Māori a reality or not? How do Indigenous and non-Indigenous public servants perceive Treaty commitments and the inclusion of Māori values in their workplaces? How might Indigenous and non-Indigenous alliances be positioned in the workplace? What supports do Crown institutions need to further develop inclusive Māoritanga practices?

These questions have informed this inquiry into the accountability of the Crown to its Treaty obligations. In order to understand how effectively the public service is honouring the Treaty principles it is important to examine workplace contexts, in line with the SOE Act's section 9 commitments, and the State Sector Act. Such scrutiny is a prerequisite for Crown organisations to gain insight for further evolution and sustenance of an authentic workplace Treaty accord.

In line with the discussion above, and after a Crown Research Institute (CRI) approached our research group regarding their desire to review and increase Māori values and tikanga in their organisation, the major research questions for this study were:

- 1. What are the Māori and non-Māori employee perceptions of how effectively their CRI includes Māori values?
- 2. In what ways can the CRI evolve to sustain their Treaty commitments to Māori values in the workplace?

#### Crown Research Institutes

Seven government-owned CRIs were established in 1992 and are governed by two shareholding ministers to protect the Crown's investment, the Minister of Science and Innovation and the Minister of Finance. The CRIs include AgResearch, Institute of Environmental Science Research, Institute of Geological and Nuclear Science, Landcare Research, National Institute of Water and Atmospheric Research, Plant and Food Research and Scion. Dedicated to scientific research for the benefit of New Zealand, CRIs attend to the country's most pressing issues, achieve economic growth through sectoral productivity, and progress the sustainable use of natural resources. All CRI scientists must successfully bid annually for project funding to maintain their operation.

## Methodology

Adopting a qualitative research approach, this pilot study embraced kaupapa Māori theory as an all-encompassing research "genre" in order to partner and consult with the CRI. We were guided by whakawhanaungatanga in conjunction with hermeneutic phenomenology. We were constantly mindful of the following: ongoing partnership and consultation with the CRI, the CRI's recent commitments and inroads into workplace Māoritanga, and research activities that did not intrude on the participants' busy schedules.

Kaupapa Māori theory provides a Māori-centred, culturally safe Indigenous research methodology that reflects Māori goals and aspirations (Barnes, 2004; Irwin, 1994; G. H. Smith, 1990; L. T. Smith, 1999). Over the past three decades it has evolved as theorists position themselves as researchers and subscribe to the shifting core elements, or principles, of self-determination: cultural aspirations, culturally preferred pedagogy, socioeconomic mediation, whānau, a kaupapa of collectivity, and respectful relationships (R. Bishop, 2005; Cooper, 2012; Pihama, 2001; Pohatu, 2005). Pihama (1997) encapsulates this in stating:

Intrinsic to Kaupapa Māori theory is an analysis of existing power structures and societal inequalities. Kaupapa Māori theory aligns with critical theory in the act of exposing underlying assumptions that serve to conceal the power relations that exist within society and the ways in which dominant groups construct concepts of "common sense" and "facts" to provide ad hoc justification for the maintenance of inequalities and the continued oppression of Māori people. (pp. 284–285)

Hermeneutic phenomenology was used because it involves asking questions in the pursuit of meaning-making and understanding another's experience of a certain phenomenon (Cohen, Kahn, & Steeves, 2000). In this study we aimed to understand the experience of Māoritanga for employees in their CRI. What were their meanings related to the inclusion of Māori values in their workplace?

The research outlined in this paper was assigned to a summer intern who was domiciled in Te Rū Rangahau: The Māori Research Laboratory at the University of Canterbury, and supported by Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga. Following an approach by a CRI to carry out a study in their setting, a team from Te Rū Rangahau converted the internship into a pilot study for completion within an extended threemonth summer time frame.

### **Participants**

Four participants—two Māori and two non-Māori—were selected through the CRI liaison, the human resources manager, who identified a number of employees who were willing to participate, would be on-site, and had "workspace time available" during the Christmas/January break. One Māori employee had previously been in a management position as a kaihautū to foster Māori tikanga in the organisation but was now in a part-time contract position. The other Māori and two non-Māori employees held a non-managerial scientist position and administrative roles respectively.

The research team included Māori and non-Māori employees so as to acknowledge and reflect the CRI's staffing and its desire to hear from both employee groups, and to acknowledge that there appears to be a paucity of research related to Māori and non-Māori perceptions of Treaty obligations in the workplace. This was seen as an opportunity to audit, in a non-threatening way, the Crown's promises.

#### **Fieldwork**

One-to-one (either face-to-face or via teleconferencing) semi-structured "conversation" interviews were audio-recorded with each participant. These were timetabled according to the participants' work schedules and accomplished using questions similarly grouped according to the core Māori values framework embedded in the work of Kuntz et al. (2014), namely: wairuatanga and whakamana tangata (kaitiakitanga, manaakitanga, whakawhanaungatanga and auahatanga). Questions related to mana motuhake were also asked. The physical CRI environment was described and photographs taken to record iconography that was representative of te ao Māori.

#### **Analysis**

Each conversation was repeatedly listened to and notes recorded for each question. While data was recorded in predetermined "topics", Braun and Clarke's (2006) six-step thematic analysis was also employed. Māori iconography (symbolic cultural forms and use of te reo Māori), descriptions and photographs were also analysed using Braun and Clarke's thematic analysis.

## Results: The Employees' Voices

The conversations and iconography painted a landscape that had five major themes:

- 1. Māoritanga is essential in the workplace.
- 2. Māori leadership is critical.
- 3. Māoritanga in the recent past.
- 4. Māoritanga in the "now".
- 5. Funding cuts impact responsiveness to te ao Māori.

# Theme 1: Māoritanga is essential in the workplace

All employees indicated that there had been a genuine attempt by senior management and staff at the CRI in question to adopt Maoritanga in the workplace—particularly in the recent past (discussed below). They were adamant that Māori tikanga and reo were essential in their workplace, that it "must be intertwined into the daily life of the Institute" (Tika, female, 61 years old), and appealed to their CRI to rejuvenate and expand the inclusion of workplace Māoritanga. For the Māori staff this appeal was strengthened by their yearning to have connection with te ao Māori throughout the day, which is illustrated by the following quote: "(Te ao Māori is) who I am, what I am" (Rangi, male, 65 years old).

## Theme 2: Māori leadership is critical

The need for Māori leadership to tautoko the CRI in its inclusion of Māori values and practices was clearly stated by the Māori and non-Māori participants. In particular, the former kaihautū stated:

Wairuatanga requires constant and real leadership . . . Without exception if you don't have the leadership, the guidance and the mentorship within an organisation to take it along this pathway I would argue, it wouldn't happen (Rangi, male, 65 years old).

A non-Māori employee talked about leadership for the practice of karakia at meal times and at the beginning of meetings—how karakia had become "a regular thing and normal" (Donna, female, 49 years old) and led by the kaihautū.

# Theme 3: Māoritanga in the recent past

As signalled above, all employees acknowledged their CRI's endeavour to embrace Māoritanga, and from all accounts there has been a genuine attempt in the recent past. However, this had "dropped off" (Mere, female, 32 years old) with the loss of the kaihautū position and funding issues. In the past inclusion of wairuatanga was more visible, even though it could have been developed further at that time.

Wairuatanga appeared to be expressed in a number of ways at the time of data collection. In terms of bereavement leave for tangihanga attendance, there was acknowledgement that the statutory three days often required extensions. Time for bereavement was taken seriously by the CRI, which is evident from the following quotes:

The general principle is three days' leave. We can always take whatever time is required. Bereavement is taken seriously within the organisation (Rangi, male, 65 years old).

The organisation is very flexible if more (than three days) leave is required (Mere, female, 32 years old).

Furthermore, opportunities to enact pōwhiri or mihi whakatau, mihimihi, karakia and waiata existed to welcome important visitors and new staff members (including an introduction by the newcomers' capability/team leader and a self-introduction by new staff members if they wished), which were followed by kai. However, such opportunities had waned since the former kaihautū had become part time and on contract, and participants noted that currently:

There are some opportunities (for karakia and waiata) but I wouldn't say they are significant (Tika, female, 61 years old).

Karakia is not part of the daily life. It happens only at significant events. There is a waiata group practice every week, and waiata are sung when new staff are welcomed (Tika, female 61 years old).

Welcome practices varied according to the context at the time of data collection. A pōwhiri would be enacted for important visitors, especially for someone Māori or if the visit was significant to Māori. Throughout the year mihi whakatau would be performed for new staff members by a Māori staff colleague. In addition, important objects such as buildings would be blessed; the iconography of the Māori world in the form of art, carvings, Māori names for different rooms and te reo Māori on business cards were visible, and outdoor plantings comprised only native species.

The decline of workplace wairuatanga was evident to all participants, who fervently wanted it to return to the cultural consciousness of the CRI on a daily, or at least regular, basis, as reflected in this quote by a non-Māori participant:

The waiata group participation has dropped

off. It was enjoyable. I found it uplifting. Haven't experienced karakia much at the Institute. If the occasion calls for it, it does happen but would be good to see an advancement of it (Donna, female, 49 years old).

### Theme 4: Māoritanga in the "now"

Whakamana tangata (kaitiakitanga, manaakitanga, whakawhanaungatanga and auahatanga) continued to be active in the workplace. All participants talked about how whakamana tangata was currently being espoused by the CRI in a variety of ways and contexts.

Kaitiakitanga, a construct which upholds the notion of being responsible for sustainability by protecting the environment and natural systems in New Zealand, was central to the CRI's culture. The staff were described as people who treasured the environment "very highly" (Mere, female, 32 years old) and who "absolutely care about the environment. It is the nature of our work" (Rangi, male, 65 years old). They were the "key driver(s) for the environment, finding ways to minimise damage to it" (Rangi, male, 65 years old).

Manaakitanga was talked about in terms of the CRI's culture being caring, respectful and supportive:

I have a sense of whānau in my team. (The CRI is a) warm and welcoming organisation to staff (Tika, female, 61 years old).

In the research team supportive of each other (Mere, female, 32 years old).

When asked "Do you enjoy working within this organisation?" all participants answered positively, as evidenced by this quote from a Māori participant: "I have loved it. I wouldn't have stayed otherwise" (Rangi, male, 65 years old).

Tika, a non-Māori participant (female, 61 years old) talked about how hard it was when she was a new staff member, but added

that she now felt "part of the organisation and accepted." She went on to say that "within teams there is a lot of respect for each other" and that "across teams there can be a dynamic. This is an area we are working on." Clearly, within any organisation, relationship dynamics occur and the CRI had acknowledged their existence and was addressing them.

Whakawhanaungtanga in the CRI was embedded by way of supporting employees to achieve their goals and aspirations, the provision of space for whānau involvement in work-life balance, the involvement of staff in company procedures and some decision making, and an overall effort to build positive employeremployee relationships. Whānau were being supported and invited to events, and new staff were especially encouraged to bring whānau in for their welcome. The organisation was being particularly supportive if family or dependants were unwell, allowed time for leave, and was amenable to children coming into the office for any reason. Leave to support children in sports or other events was also granted.

The CRI provided the opportunity for employees to communicate their goals and aspirations combined with the necessary training to achieve them. For example, senior management was able to approve activities that would benefit staff as Māori researchers, via the payment of course fees and encouraging course completion. However, although the CRI was keen to create new ventures for employees, funding dictated the viability of those ventures.

There was a desire and willingness in the CRI to build capacity and capability around Māori values, issues and aspirations; for example, it encouraged non-Māori staff to learn about the significance and intricacies of te ao Māori. In terms of decision making, managers had some input into organisation decisions and were able to ask the perspective of staff at times, depending on the context. The Māori research team, for example, was fully involved in the Māori five-year strategy planning.

Caring for others was a natural characteristic

shown by people on a daily basis at the Institute. Senior-level employees cared for the wellbeing of staff, and those senior people were well respected. Staff members took the time to help and care for the wellbeing of each other, creating a positive collegial atmosphere where employees collaborated on projects. Staff members helped each other with heavy workloads to ease the stresses. Health and safety managers and the Human Resources Department endeavoured to make contact with staff suffering hardship and took the time to offer support, resolve issues, and create a safe and enjoyable environment. This helped to create an environment with good working relationships where the CRI put an emphasis on people working together well.

All the employees interviewed stated that they enjoyed working at the CRI, although some external systems (e.g., funding and reporting specifications) placed stresses on employees and resulted in a loss of motivation. For all this, the staff respected the workplace environment and the organisation as a whole.

Auahatanga manifested in the way employees were encouraged to be innovative and creative and to find new approaches for potential revenue and project completion: "There are opportunities to be creative if there is potential for revenue" (Donna, female, 49 years old). However, time constraints due to work commitments limited this. Employees were being supported and encouraged to complete training programmes to build better capacities as quality professional researchers.

# Theme 5: Funding cuts impact responsiveness to te ao Māori

The four participants talked about funding cuts to science research, and its impact on their work and the inclusion of Māori values and practices in the workplace. Because of government funding changes in the 1990s, the CRI staff were constantly under pressure to write bids to secure resources, for example,

to the Ministry of Business, Innovation and Employment, Department of Conservation, Ministry of the Environment, and regional councils. Competition for limited and reducing funding is extreme. Science in New Zealand was perceived as being fraught with tight, unrelenting time frames and constant changes to processes. Hence staff members were constantly under pressure to gain funding and complete projects within constricting, specified periods.

Pressures of this nature often meant that much time was being spent applying for funding, often with the intention of making it possible to retain current staff at the expense of recruiting younger employees, or making commitments to tikanga Māori in workplace responsibilities. These stressors were known to have a ripple effect because of impacts on time to attend to creativity, innovation and entrepreneurship. Auatahanga was therefore compromised. Although the CRI encouraged employees to be innovative and take up new ventures, resourcing such activities was difficult. The uncompromising drive for revenue, and the funding-centred culture meant that employees needed to designate and record work time to (funded) project numbers. Unlike scientific endeavours, the learning of Māoritanga was not a funded project with a time-allocated number. Consequently, one question frequently raised was: How then can we legitimately account for our work time when engaging in things cultural?

#### Discussion

Although this was a pilot study carried out essentially in the course of a summer internship—with consequential limitations in breadth and depth of findings—it provides some important markers for consideration. Given the core question related to the Māori and non-Māori employees' perceptions of how effectively their CRI includes Māori values in the workplace, it is clear that all participants desired workplace

Māoritanga and perceived their CRI as genuinely active in promoting Māori values in the workplace in the recent past. They discussed a number of ways in which Māori values and practices had been embedded in the day-to-day functioning of the workplace but were disappointed to observe how wairuatanga had waned in recent times—largely, but not solely, due to the loss of leadership and guardianship of Māoritanga, staffing reconfigurations, work pressures, and where things cultural featured (or not) on the list of priorities. In the final analysis, the employees adamantly expressed the need for their CRI to rejuvenate Māori values and practices.

Are the findings from this study indicative of all the CRIs and the public service in general? How would the results look if this research project was a full-scale study that included a much wider sample of participants?

Support to strengthen an Indigenous/ non-Indigenous alliance would be a positive development and could be promoted in a number of ways, such as:

- 1. Provision of mātauranga (education) with ongoing professional development for all staff to cover the topics of oppression and how it pervades the workplace, personal cultural positioning, the Treaty, and enacting an equitable Treaty partnership within organisational core business.
- 2. Whakawhanaungatanga: Acknowledgment of whakapapa connections that connect the staff to whānau and whenua. Adopting an organisational workload model that is reflective of a "collective responsibility" culture and acknowledges activities that are undertaken by staff due to cultural obligations within the workplace.
- 3. Auahatanga: Including ongoing audit and review activities that evaluate and monitor workplace Treaty status and are part of core business. Investment and commitment to adequate resourcing for the activities that will support sustainability.

4. Kaitiakitanga: Committed and accountable leadership that enables, advocates for, and models the five key Māori cultural values in the workplace. Acknowledgement of the importance of further developing policies and strategic initiatives that are not at odds with the facilitation of the five key Māori cultural values.

Disconcertingly, Crown rhetoric surrounding its commitment to an equitable Treaty partnership with Māori is sometimes in jeopardy of "slipping back". In order to avoid the hapless shedding of its responsibilities the Crown must actively reflect on its duty-of-care responsibilities and the obligations it holds in terms of fostering a partnership approach with Māori, as per the principles of the Treaty and stipulated in the section 9 of the SOE Act: "Nothing in this Act shall permit the Crown to act in a manner that is inconsistent with the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi."

#### Conclusion

The adoption of te ao Māori values has been a focus for the CRI that sought an evaluation of their workplace practices which led to the carrying out of the pilot study reported in this article. The five themes identified—Māoritanga is essential in the workplace, Māori leadership is critical, Māoritanga in the recent past, Māoritanga in the "now", and Funding cuts impact responsiveness to te ao Māori—signify a real attempt by the CRI to fulfil its Treaty obligations to provide a bicultural and bilingual workplace that is inclusive of Māoritanga. The employees interviewed spoke about values being more vigorously adopted in the recent past when a senior Māori manager provided leadership in this area. However, engagement in te ao Māori values had significantly decreased after this position became part-time and contractual, and this was exacerbated by time and funding constraints related to annual project funding bids, the success of which ensures the CRI's survival.

While all participants valued workplace inclusion of Māoritanga, enjoyed working in the CRI, respected their colleagues and environment, and were committed to their workplace tasks, they all felt there was a need to reinvigorate the organisation's and employees' commitment to te ao Māori values. The senior leadership position of General Manager Māori had recently been advertised by the CRI in this study. The diminishing evidence of Māori values and practices in this CRI was due, it would seem, to limitations imposed on it and beyond its control, emphasising a need for more enthusiastic commitment on the part of those at the very highest level to a Crown and Māori partnership.

It is contended that if the four cultural values were to be enacted at a management level, then the fifth value (wairuatanga) would be an emanating outcome for individual staff *and* the organisation, which is committed to this kaupapa.

Furthermore, it is recommended that more research should be conducted on this topic to include more CRIs, business entities and other such organisations where cultural consciousness should, authoritatively, be a part of their very fabric. Including Māori values in the workplace is an investment in diversity and therefore, it is argued, is an asset in terms of growing the bicultural heritage of New Zealand.

# Acknowledgements

This research was supported by a grant from Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga, the Centre of Research Excellence funded by the Tertiary Education Commission, and hosted by Te Rū Rangahau: The Māori Research Laboratory, in the College of Education, University of Canterbury, during the summer of 2014/2015.

Glossary		tikanga Māori	Māori values and practices
Aotearoa	Māori name for New Zealand; literally "land of the long white cloud"	tino rangatiratanga waiata wairuatanga	Māori sovereignty, self-determination song; to sing the spiritual
auahatanga	creativity; entrepreneurship; problem solving		dimension/essence; the unique life energy
hakamana tangata	placing people first	whakamana	honouring
kai	food	whakamana tangata	placing people first;
kaihautū	leader; manager		honouring people
kaitiakitanga	stewardship; guardianship; protecting; preserving	whakawhanaungatanga	relationships; connections with others
karakia	prayer; incantation	whānau	family/families
kaupapa	philosophy; purpose; goal	whenua	place; the environment
kaupapa Māori	Māori philosophy		
mana motuhake	identity; autonomy; self-determination		
manaakitanga	reciprocity; kindness; hospitality		
Māori	the Indigenous first people of New Zealand		
Māoritanga	Māori culture		
mihimihi	greeting; acknowledgement		
mihi whakatau	a less formal ritual of encounter/welcome		
Pākehā	non-Māori; new settler		
pōwhiri	a formal and structured ritual of encounter/welcome		
tangata	people; person		
tangihanga	bereavement; funeral; to mourn		
tautoko	to support		
te ao	the world; worldview		
te ao Māori	Māori worldview		
te reo	the language		
te reo Māori	the Māori language		
tikanga	practices		

#### References

- Aveling, N. (2004). Critical whiteness studies and the challenges of learning to be a "white ally". borderlands e-journal, 3(2). Retrieved from http://www.borderlands.net.au/vol3no2\_2004/aveling\_critical.htm
- Barker, A. (2010). From adversaries to allies: Forging respectful alliances between Indigenous and settler peoples. In L. Davis (Ed.), *Alliances: Rel Envisioning Indigenous-non-Indigenous relationships*. Toronto, Canada: University of Toronto Press.
- Barnes, A. (2004). Social justice theory and practice: Pākehā, Kaupapa Māori and educational leadership. *New Zealand Journal of Educational Leadership*, 19, 47–62.
- Barnes, A. (2013). What can Pākehā learn from engaging in kaupapa Māori educational research? Wellington, New Zealand: New Zealand Council for Educational Research.
- Barrett, M., & Connolly-Stone, K. (1998). The Treaty of Waitangi and social policy. *Social Policy Journal of New Zealand*, 11, 29–47.
- Belgrave, M. (2005). *Māori claims and reinvented myths*. Auckland, New Zealand: Auckland University Press.
- Berryman, M., & Macfarlane, S. (2011). Hui whakatika: Indigenous contexts for repairing and rebuilding relationships. In V. Margrain & A. H. Macfarlane (Eds.), Responsive pedagogy: Engaging restoratively with challenging behaviour (pp. 128–146). Wellington, New Zealand: NZCER Press.
- Bevan-Brown, J. (1998). By Māori, for Māori, about Māori—is that enough? In Te Pūmanawa Hauora (Eds.), *Proceedings of Te Oru Rangahau* (pp. 231–246). Palmerston North, New Zealand: Massey University.
- Bishop, A. (2002). *Becoming an ally: Breaking the cycle of oppression* (2nd ed.). Crows Nest, Australia: Allen and Unwin.
- Bishop, R. (1996). Addressing issues of selfdetermination and legitimation in kaupapa Māori research. In B. Webber (Compiler), *He* paepae kōrero (pp. 143–160). Wellington, New Zealand: New Zealand Council for Educational Research.
- Bishop, R. (2005). Freeing ourselves from neocolonial domination in research: A kaupapa Māori approach to creating knowledge. In N. Denzin & Y. Lincoln (Eds.), *The Sage handbook*

- of qualitative research (3rd ed., pp. 109–239). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Bishop, R., & Glynn, T. (1999). Culture counts: Changing power relations in education. Palmerston North, New Zealand: Dunmore Press.
- Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2006). Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, 3(2), 77–101. http://doi.org/fswdcx
- Cohen, M. Z., Kahn, D. L., & Steeves, R. H. (2000). Hermeneutic phenomenological research: A practical guide for nurse researchers. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Cooper, G. (2012). Kaupapa Māori research: Epistemic wilderness as freedom? *New Zealand Journal of Educational Studies*, 47(2), 64–73.
- Davis, L., O'Donnell, V., & Shpuniarsky, H. (2007). Aboriginal social justice alliances: Understanding the landscape of relationships through the coalition for a public inquiry into Ipperwash. *International Journal of Canadian Studies*, 36(1), 95–119. http://doi.org/bd97
- Davis, L., & Shpuniarsky, H. (2010). The spirit of relationships: What we have learned about Indigenous/non-Indigenous alliances and coalitions. In L. Davis (Ed.), *Alliances: Re/Envisioning Indigenous-non-Indigenous relationships* (pp. 334–348). Toronto, Canada: University of Toronto Press.
- Durie, M. (2003). Whaiora: Māori health development. Melbourne, Australia: Oxford University Press.
- Durie, M. (2004). *Ngā kāhui pou: Launching Māori futures*. Wellington, New Zealand: Huia Publishers.
- Durie, M. (2011). *Ngā tini whetū: Navigating Māori futures*. Wellington, New Zealand: Huia.
- Fitzmaurice, K. (2010). Are white people obsolete? Indigenous knowledge and the colonizing ally in Canada. In L. Davis (Ed.), *Alliances. Rel Envisioning Indigenous-non-Indigenous relationships* (pp. 351–367). Toronto, Canada: University of Toronto Press.
- Haar, J. M., & Brougham, D. (2011). Consequences of cultural satisfaction at work: A study of New Zealand Māori. *Asia Pacific Journal of Human Resources*, 49(4), 461–475. http://doi.org/d4x7jx
- Haar, J. M., & Brougham, D. (2013). An Indigenous model of career satisfaction: Exploring the role of workplace cultural wellbeing. Social Indicators Research, 110, 873–890. http://doi.org/b8kchb

- Harris, F. (2007). (Re)-constructing Māori children as achieving learners (Unpublished doctoral thesis). University of Canterbury, Christchurch, New Zealand.
- Harris, F., & Kaur, B. (2012). Challenging the notions of partnership and collaboration in early education: A critical perspective from a *whānau* class in New Zealand. *Global Studies of Childhood*, 2(1), 4–13. http://doi.org/bd98
- Hayward, J. (2012). Principles of the Treaty of Waitangi—ngā mātāpono o te tiriti—Treaty principles developed by the Crown. In *Te Ara—the Encyclopedia of New Zealand*. Retrieved from http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/principles-of-the-treaty-of-waitangi-nga-matapono-o-te-tiriti/page-1
- Hook, R. G., Waaka, T., & Raumati, L. (2007). Mentoring Māori within a Pākehā framework. *MAI Review*, 3(1), 1–13.
- Human Rights Commission. (2010). Human rights in New Zealand/Ngā tika tangata o Aotearoa. Wellington, New Zealand: Human Rights Commission.
- Irwin, K. (1990). The politics of Kohanga reo. In S. Middleton, J. Codd, & A. Jones (Eds.), New Zealand education policy today (pp. 110–120).
  Wellington, New Zealand: New Zealand Council for Educational Research.
- Irwin, K. (1994). Māori research methods and processes: An exploration. *Sites*, 28, 24–43.
- James, D., Wychel, J., Short, M., & Wilson, L. (2014).
  Standing in this place: How do Pākehā support justice for Māori? Quaker Lecture, Mt Eden, Auckland, New Zealand. Retrieved from http://quaker.org.nz/sites/quaker.org.nz/.../Quaker\_Lecture\_Flier\_MtEden.pdf
- Jolly, M., Harris, F., Macfarlane, S., & Macfarlane, A. (2015). Kia aki: Encouraging Māori values in the workplace. Report for Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga. Christchurch, New Zealand: University of Canterbury. Retrieved from http://www.maramatanga.co.nz/sites/default/files/14INT05%20%20Monograph%20Internship%20UC.pdf
- Kaai-Oldman, T. (1988). A history of New Zealand education from a Māori perspective. In W. Hirsh & R. Scott (Eds.), *Getting it right: Aspects of ethnicity and equity in New Zealand education* (pp. 22–29). Auckland, New Zealand: Office of the Race Relations Conciliator, Smart Group House.
- Kingi, T. K. (2007). The Treaty of Waitangi: A framework for Māori health development. *New*

- Zealand Journal of Occupational Therapy, 54(1), 4–11.
- Kivel, P. (2006). Guidelines for being strong white allies. Retrieved from http://www.racialequity tools.org/resourcefiles/kivel3.pdf
- Kuntz, J., Naswall, K., Beckingsale, A., & Macfarlane, A. H. (2014). Capitalising on diversity: Espousal of Māori values in the workplace. *Journal of Corporate Citizenship*, 55, 102–122. http://doi.org/bd99
- Lehavot, K. (2007). Between two worlds: A psychology student's international experience in Māori New Zealand. *MAI Review*, 3 [Research Note 1], 1–6.
- Macfarlane, A. H. (2004). Kia hiwa rā! Listen to culture: Māori students' plea to educators. Wellington, New Zealand: NZCER Press.
- Macfarlane, A. H. (2012). "Other" education Downunder: Indigenising the discipline for psychologists and specialist educators. Other Education: The Journal of Educational Alternatives, 1(1), 205–225.
- Macfarlane, A. H., Macfarlane, S., & Gillon, G. (2014). Inclusion, disability and culture: The nexus of potential and opportunity for policy development. In R. Wills, M. Morton, M. McLean, M. Stephenson, & R. Slee (Eds.), *Tales from school: Learning disability and state education after administrative reform* (pp. 255–270). Rotterdam, the Netherlands: Sense. http://doi.org/bfbb
- Manna, L. (2002). Biculturalism in practice, "Te pounamu": Integration of a Māori model with traditional clinical assessment processes. In L. W. Nikora, M. Levy, B. Masters, W. Waitoki, N. Te Awekotuku, & R. J. M. Etheredge (Eds)., The Proceedings of the National Māori Graduates of Psychology Symposium 2002: Making a difference (pp. 37–44). Hamilton, New Zealand: Māori and Psychology Research Unit, University of Waikato.
- Margaret, J. (2013). Working as allies: Supporters of indigenous justice reflect. Auckland, New Zealand: Auckland Workers Education Association.
- Margrain, V., & Macfarlane, A. H. (2011). He tapuwae mō muri: Footsteps to guide the future. In V. Margrain & A. H. Macfarlane (Eds.), Responsive pedagogy: Engaging restoratively with challenging behaviour (pp. 7–26). Wellington, New Zealand: NZCER Press.
- McDowell, M., & Webb, D. (2006). The New Zealand legal system: Structures and processes (4th ed.). Wellington, New Zealand: LexisNexis.

- McGloin, C. (2015). Listening to hear: Critical allies in Indigenous studies. *Australian Journal of Adult Learning*, 55(2), 265–280.
- Nairn, M. (2009). Thoughts on social justice: Being allies. Retrieved from http://www.awea.org.nz/sites/awea.org.nz/files/reflections/Being%20allies\_MN.pdf
- New Zealand Teachers' Council. (2009). Registered teacher criteria. Wellington, New Zealand: Ministry of Education.
- Penetito, W. (2010). What's Māori about Māori education? Wellington, New Zealand: Victoria University Press.
- Peterson, D. R. (2000, March 14). Te Reo Māori—the Māori language Part 1: Overview, government funding, broadcasting, overseas comparisons. Retrieved from http://www.parliament.nz/resource/0000000292
- Pihama, L. (1997). Policy constructions: In whose interest? A critical analysis of parents as first teachers in relation to Māori education. In M. Olssen & K. Matthews (Eds.), Education policy in New Zealand: The 1990s and beyond (pp. 283–303). Palmerston North, New Zealand: Dunmore Press.
- Pihama, L. (2001). Tihei mauriora, Honouring our voices: Manawahine as a kaupapa Māori theoretical framework (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). University of Auckland, New Zealand.
- Poata-Smith, E. S. (1997). He pokeke uenuku i tu ai: The evolution of contemporary Maori protest. In P. Spoonley, D. Pearson, & C. Macpherson (Eds.), Nga patai: Racism and ethnic relations in Aotearoa/New Zealand. Palmerston North, New Zealand: Dunmore Press.
- Pohatu, T. W. (2005). Āta: Growing respectful relationships. Retrieved from http://www.kaupapamaori.com/assets/ata.pdf

- Regan, P. (2010). *Unsettling the settler within*. Vancouver, Canada: UBC Press.
- Smith, G. H. (1990). Research issues related to Māori education. Paper presented at the NZARE Special Interests Conference, Education Department, University of Auckland, New Zealand.
- Smith, L. T. (1999). Decolonizing methodologies: Research and Indigenous peoples. London, England: Zed Books.
- Tatum, D. B. (1994). Teaching white students about racism: The search for white allies and the restoration of hope. *Teaching College Record*, *95*, 462–476.
- Vernon, C. (2010). What new relationship? Taking responsibility for justice and sustainability in British Colombia. In L. Davis (Ed.), *Alliances: Re/Envisioning Indigenous-non-Indigenous relationships* (pp. 276–294). Toronto, Canada: University of Toronto Press.
- Waitangi Tribunal. (2011). Wai 262: Ko Aotearoa tēnei: A report into claims concerning New Zealand law and policy affecting Māori culture and identity (Te taumata tuarua—Vol. 2). Waitangi Tribunal Report. Wellington, New Zealand: Legislation Direct.
- Walker, R. (1996). *Ngā pepa a Ranginui: The Walker papers*. Auckland: Penguin.
- Walker, R. (2004). Ka whawhai tonu matou: Struggle without end. Auckland, New Zealand: Penguin.
- Whitinui, P. (2011). The "Treaty" and "treating" Māori health: Politics, policy and partnership. *AlterNative*, 7(2), 138–151.
- Wihongi, H. A. (2010). *Tino rangatiratanga in health policies and practices* (Unpublished doctoral thesis). University of Waikato, Hamilton, New Zealand.