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How Pākehā in Not-for-profit Organisations Implement Te Tiriti o Waitangi

A thesis

submitted in partial fulfilment

of the requirements for the degree

of

Master of Māori and Pacific Development

at

The University of Waikato

by

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THE UNIVERSITY OF
WAIKATO
Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato

2019

ABSTRACT

The aims of this research are to understand what is happening in not-for-profit organisations in relation to our obligation to honour Te Tiriti o Waitangi, and to describe some strategies Pākehā can use to implement Te Tiriti o Waitangi in our work in the not-for-profit sector.

The history of, and current circumstances affecting, the not-for-profit sector have formed a disabling context, diverting energy away from deepening relationships with local hapū (subtribe). Compounding this situation, the core texts about the Te Tiriti and not-for-profit organisations are inconsistent and mainly focus on the first steps of the journey: Treaty education and self-assessment.

After writing about my own experiences with Te Tiriti and working in the not-for-profit sector and comparing my stories with the stories of other Pākehā, I recorded and transcribed conversations with six anonymous Pākehā not-for-profit workers and analysed our commonalities.

All participants and their organisations wanted to enact best practice, although this aspiration was challenged by many factors, including: a spectrum of understandings about Te Tiriti which often led to piecemeal attempts at power sharing; concerns about the effectiveness of self-assessment by Pākehā about our own Treaty work because of inevitable and inbuilt biases; experience of minimisation or exclusion for speaking up about Te Tiriti at work; box ticking Treaty policies; Māori employees being treated differently to other staff; and confusion between cultural expression and genuine power sharing.

Protective factors that came through in interviews included: cultural practices that were woven through organisations in a way that was beneficial and welcoming to Māori; relationships with kaumātua (elders); appropriate and emotionally engaging Treaty education; Māori governance members, Māori led research in the community, and Māori involvement in all projects; te reo (Māori language) being a commonly used language in the work place; acknowledgment

of our own privilege as Pākehā; and engagement in continuous dialogue about racism.

Reflections on these issues led to recommendations for how to move forward with implementing Te Tiriti in not-for-profit organisations. These recommendations hinge on a set of actions underpinned by a set of values. Three change management strategies are also described to assist organisations with this transformation.

This research is intended to be a building block towards empowering Pākehā allies to identify practices, policies, and power structures that could be developed to transform our organisations, and embody our obligations to Te Tiriti, leading to more effective outcomes for all New Zealanders.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank my supervisor Professor Linda Tuhiwai Smith, my Mum and Dad who have always encouraged me, and my children Sage and Tobias, who are the only reason I have ever started anything.

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PROLOGUE

In 2014 I attended my first one-day Treaty workshop. Soon after, the national meeting of the not-for-profit organisation I worked for was held. At the meeting we discussed our organisational goals, one of which was to become a bicultural organisation. So far, we had a Māori word of the month, a Māori version of our organisational name and a whakataukī (proverb). For some people this was evidence of sufficient good practice.

Suddenly I realised that our Pākehā driven efforts were sadly superficial. I felt compelled to say, “I think we should do something else to make our organisation more bicultural”. I had just learned about tino rangatiratanga (Māori sovereignty) and knew that becoming bicultural meant changing power structures, as it says in the Treaty. There was an opportunity to say more, so I added, “like actively recruit Māori for governance and coordination,” because we had an all-Pākehā compliment of these roles.

A heated discussion ensued. One staff member said I did not have the right to say those sorts of things because I am Pākehā. She was Pākehā, like me. While ideally Māori should take the lead on issues relating to them, we had no Māori staff members and I believed we had to start from where we were. Nothing was going to happen if we did not make it happen. It seemed like a circular no-win situation: How could we, an all Pākehā team, make any changes if we could not talk about making change because we were all Pākehā? I recall saying, “actually Pākehā are Treaty partners too, so we have just as much responsibility to put the Treaty into practice as Māori do, and considering we are the side that has breached it, we probably have even more responsibility.”

This interaction marked a turning point for me. I realised that Treaty education was not enough, and that having good intentions was not enough.

This thesis has grown as a response to the feelings and frustrations I experienced on that day. If I could go back in time, this thesis expresses what I would say.

INTRODUCTION

Any organisation can deal with new and challenging knowledge by designing a superficial 'tick the box' activity, but when it comes to implementing Te Tiriti o Waitangi it takes critical analysis, hard work and courage for Pākehā in the not-for-profit sector. Most people working in the not-for-profit sector want to make a positive difference in the community but often lack the skills and knowledge to implement change. This is reflected in what one of the participants in this research said,

We have done some Treaty education at work, but I don't think people have the skills to translate what that means into other aspects of the work.

This research hypothesises that progress towards social justice can only be made when Te Tiriti o Waitangi is at the forefront of our work, because the inequalities that funding and workflows into the not-for-profit sector aim to address are often caused by Treaty breaches. Failing to honour Te Tiriti o Waitangi will continue the status quo of racial disparities in health, education, life expectancy and incarceration outcomes in New Zealand (Human Rights Commission, 2013). As a person in the process of unlearning racism I am trying to find out what it means to honour Te Tiriti o Waitangi in a not-for-profit setting. This study is part of my journey towards understanding what it means to be Pākehā in relationship with Māori as defined by Te Tiriti o Waitangi, and how this relates to my work in the not-for-profit sector.

In this thesis a 'not-for-profit organisation' refers to legal entities as described in legislation written by the New Zealand Government, and does not include indigenous structures (Margaret, 2016). The term 'Treaty' refers to Te Tiriti o Waitangi, the Māori Treaty. Te reo words will be briefly translated into English in brackets beside their initial usage.

The aims of this research are to understand what is happening in not-for-profit organisations in relation to our obligation to honour the Treaty; and to describe

some strategies Pākehā can use to implement the Treaty in our work in the not-for-profit sector.

The methodology of this thesis explores the journey participants and I are on towards being an ally to our Treaty partners. The first step is to employ consciousness raising strategies personally, from a place of acceptance that living within a racist culture necessitates unlearning unhelpful judgements and relearning equitable thinking patterns. Five core texts which talk about applying the Treaty to this work are analysed. In this analysis key words and ideas such as Te Tiriti o Waitangi, and colonisation are searched for, and the purpose and process of the texts are considered. The *Self-Assessment* chapter leads into a parallel exploration of the stories of participants, who share their experiences of being Pākehā working in the not-for-profit sector. These stories form counter narratives to the master narratives which are outlined in the five core texts. A theme analysis is applied to the stories shared by participants, identifying and grouping themes that form the overlap between what indigenous authors have asked Pākehā to do, and what participants in this study have talked about.

The *Self-Assessment* chapter describes my personal journey from growing up blissfully unaware of my privilege and Treaty issues, interrupted by learning about the real history of New Zealand at a Treaty education workshop. This political and cultural awakening recalibrated my path and caused me to question myself and my work in the not-for-profit sector. It chronicles my conscientisation process, and the experiences I have had which have shaped my understanding of the challenges and opportunities of implementing the Treaty in the not-for-profit sector today.

Then a brief explanation of the Treaty as it relates to the not-for-profit sector is discussed. This section contains an outline of the Treaty in plain English, with my interpretation of how this applies to not-for-profit organisations. Then a synopsis of the history of colonisation in New Zealand comes before an outline of the recent Waitangi Tribunal finding that Māori did not cede sovereignty. Finally, a table of common Treaty principles shows how this way of understanding the Treaty has evolved over time.

The thesis then moves to a description of the not-for-profit sector, including its definitions, history, underlying models, and how funding and contracting standards challenge the sector and may create barriers to the implementation of Treaty-based practice. Even when the Government and other funders stipulate this as a requirement.

The not-for-profit sector already has Treaty stories and guides like *Nga Rerenga o Te Tiriti: Community Organisations Engaging with the Treaty of Waitangi* (Margaret, 2016) and *Treaty Journeys: International Development Agencies Respond to the Treaty of Waitangi* (Council for International Development, 2007). However, the stories of progress and hope these resources talk about do not match my experience of piecemeal attempts, isolated rituals, conflict over interpretations, and elements of good work when the right people were involved. The guides read straightforward on paper, but always seemed too hard, too much of a divergence from our organisational purposes, too costly, or not valued by the people who had the power to implement change. If the information needed to implement the Treaty in not-for-profit organisations is available, and most not-for-profit workers want to honour the Treaty, then why is there still a lot of tension about what this looks like in practice? This research seeks insights to these issues.

In the next chapter, five core texts that talk about the Treaty and the not-for-profit sector are described and analysed according to who they are by and for, and what messages they convey. This section critiques the five core texts because the positioning and recommendations they make varies widely, and the quality of the work done by not-for-profit organisations is influenced by the information available to them.

The chapter *Sharing Experiences* involves anonymous participants in a range of roles, contrasting with the managers and board members who have given their public stories in other publications. People often paint a different picture of their organisation when they have the freedom to say what they want. In a field dominated by master narratives, that not-for-profit organisations are values focused (CommunityNet Aotearoa, 2017), help others (Tennant, et al., 2006), and

do 'good' work (McLeod, 2017) this research digs into the contradictions within organisations, including those which support colonisation, as perceived by the people who participated in this study.

This research began with a pilot study which tells the story of one Pākehā not-for-profit worker's experience of being a bicultural advisor in a Pākehā only organisation serving a mainly Māori client base. This pilot informed the methodology used when interviewing another five participants.

I analysed the transcripts of conversations and identified themes from the narratives of the five other participants, which described their journeys while trying to implement the Treaty in their not-for-profit organisations. I compared the observations and recommendations of participants with what has been written by indigenous authors.

This research then discusses some recommendations for how to implement the Treaty in not-for-profit organisations in New Zealand based on what worked well for participants and what they saw could be improved. As the participants', and my own experiences has shown, it is difficult to translate knowledge about the Treaty into actual work in not-for-profit organisations. Then a section containing ideas that contribute to an implementation framework is put forward.

Management theories are suggested to guide readers through the change process. This section talks about public narrative, leadership qualities and transformability.

Finally, this research discusses its limitations. Mainly that as I have intentionally chosen participants who are similar in background to myself, offering deep conversations based on pre-existing trust, but also limiting the scope of this study to a narrow range of experience and privilege.

METHODOLOGY

The methodology for this research draws on Pākehā ally traditions. It embraces the theoretical backbones which inform and prepare us as Pākehā for our ally journey: examining our own privilege and critiquing colonisation (Land, 2015). Firstly, I position myself, delving into the experiences that motivate my interest in the Treaty and how those events serve as filters of my understanding of Treaty application. Next, I interrogate the colonising foundations of our not-for-profit system in New Zealand. Then, I engage in educating myself and other Pākehā by reading about the Treaty and talking with other Pākehā who are active in engaging with the Treaty. By doing this we strategise ways to transform our organisations to mirror Treaty based Māori sovereignty.

The structure of the research is to look at what has been done already, though the analysis of five core texts; what we are doing, through interviews with other Pākehā not-for-profit workers; and what we can do next, by applying change management strategies to recommendations about the Treaty and not-for-profit organisations. By looking at my own life, the lives of other people in similar situations with similar aims, and the broader context that frames our work, this thesis aims to validate a small contribution to the Pākehā Treaty journey.

Being an Ally

The decisions that inform my research originate from ideas about how I, as Pākehā, can be an ally in an academic space. These include examining myself and the parameters of my space to act in, using the universal research method of storytelling, and reflecting on the work of indigenous authors.

Allies of indigenous peoples are non-indigenous people who continuously aspire to understand our unearned privileges, critique colonisation, and support indigenous priorities (Land, 2015). Being an ally means finding out what the group you seek to be an ally to wants you to do and using that as a guide for practice.

Examining Self

As we as Pākehā are raised in a racist culture we need to interrogate our thinking to avoid replicating unconscious racism. This thesis uses autoethnographic methods to unpack my own experiences coming to terms with new understandings about the Treaty.

The first step towards being an ally for a “newly cognizant non-indigenous person” (for example someone who has recently completed a one-day Treaty training) is to understand that we must first decolonise ourselves (Land, 2015, p. 164). To do this we must pause and pursue a self-understanding which identifies our racist assumptions and leanings (Land, 2015). As New Zealanders we are all affected by racist ideologies because “everyone who has grown up in a racist culture has to work at unlearning racism” (Ellsworth, 1989, p. 303). As allies we need to consciously undertake a mission to develop as non-racists (Land, 2015).

Non-indigenous activist Land (2015) encourages us as non-indigenous people to examine our own privileges by considering how we relate to, and benefit from colonialism; uncover the motivations which lead us to be interested in indigenous issues; what might we gain and what might we lose from becoming active in this space; and to think about our ally strategy - what the concept means to us personally. These topics are threaded through the self-assessment section of this thesis.

Through self-assessment I endeavour to demonstrate vulnerability and be open to internal and external critique, providing a window for other Pākehā who may identify with aspects of my story. These ideas are supported by autoethnographic methods.

Autoethnography is a subset of storytelling in which the author tells their own story (Adams, Holman Jones & Ellis, 2015). Instead of writing about a culture, the autoethnographer uses their personal experience to make a record through the lens of what it is like to be in that group (Adams et al., 2015). In this case the group I am talking about is Pākehā not-for-profit workers.

Autoethnography is telling our own story without distorting it through interpretations and formulations (Moloney-Moni, 2006). There is no set way to write autoethnographically, in fact, it is the personalisation of writing style that makes the work autoethnographic (Moloney-Moni, 2006). Numerous authors have debated the validity and reliability of autoethnographic research (Moloney-Moni, 2006). However, this research contends that validity can be measured by whether the work is used to affect change, and reliability correlated with the assertion that each person is the expert in our own experiences.

The self-assessment section of this thesis aims to give time and space to my own development as an ally, while also demonstrating this process for other Pākehā.

Parameters

A key role for Pākehā allies is to educate ourselves and other Pākehā (Land, 2015; Funk, 2016; Huygens, 2007). This is because evidence shows Pākehā are more likely to engage with, and be changed by, information about colonisation and approaches to the Treaty partnership that is by and for people from our own culture (Huygens, 2007).

Interviewing Pākehā is important because implementing the Treaty in not-for-profit organisations is a Pākehā issue. This is because Pākehā are responsible to take remedial steps after breaching the Treaty. As a Pākehā researcher talking to Pākehā about Pākehā Treaty work I believe that asking other Pākehā about being Pākehā in relation to the Treaty is culturally appropriate.

Therefore, I have used the words 'our' and 'we' throughout, writing to an audience of myself and other Pākehā.

Storytelling as Research Method

Storytelling is a methodology whereby people describe their own experiences in their own words. Reasons why storytelling is best practice for this research include that it is culturally appropriate, relationship building, decolonising and political (Sium & Ritskes, 2013). Additionally, the process itself is beneficial as it supports people to process the past and future (Smith, 2017).

Storytelling is a way to build a relationship between the researcher and participant (Kovach, 2010). In telling their story “the storyteller, rather than the researcher retains control” (Smith, 2012, p. 146). By telling their story participants define their own knowledge, experience and voice (Bishop, 1996), and participate as a co-creator in the research (Sium & Ritskes, 2013). It allows the teller to connect with the political nature of their personal story, by valuing their story and experience (Sium & Ritskes, 2013). This process is important in order to work with participants to learn alongside them, developing ourselves together.

The universal mode of storytelling (Smith, 2012; Lekoko, 2007) is a culturally appropriate decolonising methodology for me as a Pākehā to use. It produces learning, while minimising the use of rules and criteria which define western academia, resisting the homogenisation of knowledge (Sium & Ritskes, 2013). Allowing “the diversities of truth to be heard, rather than just one dominant voice” (Bishop, 1996, p. 24). This is a key factor in promoting power sharing.

Storytelling is an innate skill that shares, processes, and makes sense of our experiences (Smith, 2017). Stories can be used to develop new learnings and explore new ideas (Cron, 2012), storytelling “tests out ideas and feelings” (Lekoko, 2007, p. 84), and can act as a “dress rehearsal for the future” (Cron, 2012, p. 9). Storytelling promotes an emotional process (Archibald, 2008), which is a crucial ingredient for Pākehā change in response to learning about the Treaty (Huygens, 2007).

This research cocreates an opportunity to explore our experiences, ideas and feelings through telling our stories. Hopefully by doing so we will progress in our understandings of, and propensity to act on, our commitment to the Treaty.

Reflecting on the Work of Indigenous Authors

It is important that we as Pākehā use indigenous authors as our touchstone for research. Ideas from indigenous authors are embedded in the body of my research. This process recognises the pre-eminence of indigenous knowledge,

and that the work of Pākehā allies needs to be measured against what Māori have identified as important.

Critiquing Colonisation

The aspect of colonisation most relevant to my study is the not-for-profit sector. The value of charity, which was copied from English law, has merged into the not-for-profit narrative and grown into a multi-billion-dollar industry tightly controlled by the Pākehā government. The *Treaty and the Not-for-Profit Sector* section was written by researching information about the sector and looking for themes and models; notably the charity model and the neoliberal model, which have heavily influenced what it means to be a not-for-profit organisation today.

Reflecting on Literature about Implementing the Treaty in the Not-for-Profit Sector

I selected five publications meant to support the not-for-profit sector to engage with the Treaty. These were produced by government departments or have attracted government funding (including the lotteries commission), demonstrating that the Government endorses these publications. I asked questions of each publication to measure their alignment with key positions identified by my research. I arranged evidence from the texts of how they relate to each question into a table.

Interrogating these five core texts may inspire readers to develop their own metric for assessing assumptions behind information about the Treaty and the not-for-profit sector.

Beginning Research

The first part of the research was a pilot story whereby a participant told me about their experiences, which I recorded, transcribed, formed into a narrative and compared with my own story. This process confirmed that our experiences are part of a pattern which is different to master narratives in the not-for-profit sector.

While published stories about implementing the Treaty within not-for-profit organisations are overwhelmingly positive (Margaret, 2016; Council for

International Development, 2007) my gut feeling was that this is not truly representative. I theorised that this is because the people and organisations telling their stories are named in those publications; and they may not want their employability or organisation to be tarnished by saying anything negative. The published stories are written by people in positions of power, such as managers and board members. These people may not see the reality of what is happening on the frontlines or may be selected into their roles because of their ability to communicate positively about their organisation.

My experience, and critical conversations with other workers in not-for-profit organisations, has described a more complex mix of values, priorities and understandings. The flavour in the organisations I, and the people I conversed with, did not match up with the templates we learned about in Treaty education, or read about in books. This other story is called a counter narrative. Counter narratives “broaden and complexify traditional ideologies” (Milner & Howard, 2013, para 1). I hope that using anonymous personal stories from people in a range of roles within not-for-profit organisations will share new perspectives about the reality of wrestling with Treaty issues in 2019.

I tested my ideas with a pilot study. This involved interviewing a friend about our experiences as Pākehā working in the not-for-profit sector. I invited this first participant to join me in creating a pilot study because we are from the same culture, and we have similar experiences and education about the Treaty. This is helpful as it allowed us to begin conversing from a shared platform, one person was not ‘teaching’ the other, we were learning together.

The participant and I exchanged and discussed one of our personal stories about engaging with the Treaty in a semi-structured conversational style interview. With a list of possible questions for reflection which we could refer to (see appendix C) I audio recorded our conversation, accepting whatever was said, however it was articulated. The purpose of this strategy was to respect the participant as the author of their own knowledge (Bishop, 1996), and to acknowledge that I am learning from and with the participant (Ellsworth, 1989).

I wrote a transcript of the interview by typing out the recording word for word. Then I reordered excerpts from the transcript so that it would read as a cohesive story. I wanted to maintain the integrity of this participant as an expert in their own experience, so I edited as lightly as possible. I put any words that I added in square brackets so that it is clear what the additions were. This is important for me because my role is to present the lived experience of participants, not to interpret it through my own lens.

On reflection I learned that I would like to be more intentional about power sharing next time. I still had more agency over when to speak and what was said. For example, the participant could choose how to tell their story, orally, written, or visually, however on this occasion they not think they knew enough about the task to prepare a written story. Afterwards they wished he had written a story, like I did, to give them more time to remember the details of their experience.

Best practice for power sharing includes thinking about the depth and breadth of every aspect of research such as “the choice of the research questions, the research paradigms, the design and methodology of the research, and even of the conduct of the control over the whole case study and ownership of data, in order to address the potential for imposition of the researcher's agenda in unequal power situations” (Bishop, 1996, p. 34). And on a practical level, working intraculturally can facilitate the reflective process (Barron & Giddings, 1989).

In response I composed an initial email to be sent to subsequent participants so that they could be more informed and prepared before agreeing to the interview. This consisted of suggested discussion questions, a description of the interview process (see appendix D), and an example personal story from my own experience (See *Self-Assessment* chapter).

This pilot story enabled me to test out my idea and know that the direction of this research is positive and possible. It also helped me to refine my approach ahead of a larger study.

Sharing Stories with Five Not-for-Profit Workers

This research formalises examples of critical conversations with Pākehā peers in the not-for-profit sector and makes them available to the public reader. I am interviewing five Pākehā who currently work or volunteer in different roles in different organisations. This will improve anonymity and show the similarities and differences between organisations that range in size and service. Choosing to interview people connected to my peer group allows us to have full and frank discussions based on our pre-established trust (Pack, Tuffin & Lyon, 2016). As much as this research looks outwards to find other people's experiences of implementing the Treaty in their not-for-profit organisation it also looks inwards as a not-for-profit worker wanting to learn and develop in her own practice. This has led me to seek out those in the same time, place and set of privileges as me as we symbiotically build the development of our practice (Moloney-Moni, 2004). In this tradition I have interviewed participants who have shared life experiences with me and intersected with my practice.

I put a post on Facebook asking if anyone Pākehā who works for a not-for-profit organisation in or near Hamilton is interested in participating in my research about implementing the Treaty in their work (see appendix G). I initially received responses from four females in the roles of board member, manager and two frontline workers in Hamilton, as well as one other from another part of the country. I decided to restrict my study to Hamilton so that I could conduct face to face interviews. I interviewed these people. Then I became concerned that there were no males in my research, and I am aware that there are differences in the way that males and females relate to indigenous issues (Pihama, 2001). Then I asked for a male in a not-for-profit role who would be willing to participate, and two people were interested, a manager and a board member. I selected the first participant to respond.

As I found that the pilot participant did not feel they were representative of the average not-for-profit worker I introduced a preliminary evaluation. This enabled participants to outline the prior knowledge and values they hold. The evaluation was informed by my understanding of aspects that underpin different attitudes

towards the Treaty and race relations in New Zealand (see appendix E). I am qualifying my analysis with information about participants from this evaluation. A summary of the evaluation results can be found in appendix F.

The study was conducted in Hamilton, New Zealand, with individual interviews taking place in the locations of the participants choice. I took a plate of food to each interview and made participants aware of their access to my findings, no other transactions took place.

My intention with the interview was to allow participants to guide the discussion in a way that is relevant to their organisation and experience. Although a printed sheet of questions (see appendix D) was present at each interview, participants were free to direct their own discourse, referring to the questions only if they wanted to. The mutually constructed conversations with other Pākehā was intended to allow us both to learn, discuss and problem solve together.

I recorded the interviews on my phone and typed out transcripts of each one. After that I emailed the transcripts back to participants to give them an opportunity to change or correct their words.

Then I conducted a theme analysis by re-reading the transcripts and comparing our experiences with literature. I looked for commonalities in theme within the set of transcripts and with indigenous authors. I grouped common themes into categories. These formed the headings within the analysis of what five Pākehā not-for-profit workers from Hamilton said about their experiences.

These conversations highlighted more similarities among Pākehā not-for-profit workers and lined up with written works by indigenous authors.

Ethical Considerations

The key ethical consideration salient to this research is anonymity. It is important that I take all possible steps to protect the identities of participants who have offered critical information. It is also important to protect the characters I discuss in my own story.

Relationships are paramount to Treaty work, and any work in the not-for-profit sector. I aim to be careful that participants are anonymised, so they are not outed as disruptive, or prejudiced from further work. Anonymity is also an important factor in my research methodology because there is a difference in the framing of stories between those that are anonymous and identified.

As the not-for-profit sector in Hamilton is small, and I have narrowed the field further by saying participants are Pākehā and describing their educational backgrounds there is no real way for participants to be truly anonymous. However, to protect anonymity as much as possible there are no names or gendered pronouns in this work. I have also generalised or omitted some information such as role titles, service types or names of funders.

I emailed the exact quotes that I would be using from each person's transcript to them and asked for their feedback a second time, then changed elements which participants requested to protect their anonymity.

In *A Critique of Current Practice: Ten Foundational Guidelines for Autoethnographers* Tolich (2010) explains that published research is an indelible mark that cannot be hidden, and also exhorts researchers not to publish anything they would not say directly to the person involved. In my story I own my journey which includes racism and professional errors of judgement, however I believe that my story is not unique; it is an echo of the journey which countless Pākehā have trodden in the quest to decolonise ourselves and our work. I am confident that admissions will be seen in the light of continuous learning. However, my personal story includes the relationships I have had with other people, so I have generalised or deleted information that could lead to their identification. I chose to use potentially identifying information in two places: the British immigrant, and the titles of some qualifications I have completed. Where people have been named work to the same effect is already in the public domain. I also checked in with my parents about my personal story as it could reflect on them and made minor alterations based on their advice.

There is often a sense of alienation and social discomfort towards Pākehā who speak up about the Treaty in the not-for-profit sector. The principle of anonymity extends to other people within my own story, as they are part of my learning. This thesis aims to mitigate risks to others by protecting participants and characters from being recognised.

Conclusion

This research combines elements of autoethnography, storytelling, discussions and theme analysis. It aims to formalise everyday conversations about experiences of trying to implement the Treaty in day to day work in the not-for-profit sector. The ally tradition is used as an overarching approach to the Treaty. Reflections on contributions from Pākehā and indigenous scholars contribute to enhance our ongoing work of becoming more Treaty focused. A key aspect that sets this approach apart from others is anonymity.

THE TREATY AND THE NOT-FOR-PROFIT SECTOR

This chapter informs not-for-profit workers about the Treaty and links the Treaty specifically to the not-for-profit sector.

The Treaty is often discussed as an agreement between the Crown and Māori only, obscuring how the Treaty relates to all areas of governance of society, including those not specified by negotiators situated in 1840. Understanding the Treaty as a framework brings the document to life and asks us to interpret the articles in our circumstances today. This thesis explains how the Treaty relationship includes the not-for-profit sector.

The not-for-profit sector is inextricably linked to Crown because it is a beneficiary of the Government, which was set up by British colonists citing the Crown as their authority. One of the devices the Government uses to avoid its Treaty responsibilities today is the not-for-profit sector. As the public system fails to protect all people, individuals who become unable to meet their needs are outsourced to the not-for-profit sector. The not-for-profit sector is implicated in those Treaty breaches because we blunt the effects of colonisation, buffering the wider community from the sharpest edges of our failing system.

As such the not-for-profit sector has a moral, political and contractual obligation to be engaged in the Treaty, and have the Treaty inform our work. Otherwise we will not make the positive difference we believe we are making but intensify social problems instead.

This chapter will overview what the Treaty is, and how the population profile of its time affected negotiations. Next the two treaties are described, with an assertion that Te Tiriti o Waitangi, the Māori Treaty is correct, followed by a section about the Treaty principles. An argument for how Treaty breaches committed by the Government implicate the not-for-profit sector in colonisation is put forward. Finally, the articles of the Treaty are applied to the not-for-profit sector.

Understanding the Treaty

The Treaty is an agreement between Māori and the Queen of England, outlining a relationship between Tangata Whenua, the people of the land, and Tangata Tiriti, the people of the Treaty (Network Waitangi, 2018).

The Treaty was negotiated and signed in 1840, following He Whakaputanga o te Rangatiratanga o Nu Tireni (The Declaration of Independence of the United Tribes of New Zealand) in 1835. At that time Māori were the majority (Awatere, 1984) with a population differential of 40 Māori to one Pākehā. The country was under Māori control. Inhabitants of the day could not have foreseen the dramatic population decline that would ensue, tipping the balance in favour of Pākehā (Pool & Kukutai, 2018), who now make up 84.4% of the population (Stats NZ, 2018). Compounding this change in demographic, the use of democracy as a source of authority (Awatere, 1984) now means that numbers equal power.

Two treaties were drawn up at Waitangi, Te Tiriti o Waitangi written in Māori, and another Treaty written in English. Te Tiriti o Waitangi, the Māori text is a confirmation of He Whakaputanga o te Rangatiratanga o Nu Tireni (The Declaration of Independence of the United Tribes of New Zealand), an earlier document asserting indivisible sovereignty of Aotearoa (Waitangi Tribunal, 2014). The Waitangi Tribunal has confirmed that the Treaty did not say Māori would give up control over New Zealand, explaining, “the rangatira who signed te Tiriti o Waitangi in February 1840 did not cede their sovereignty to Britain... They agreed to the Governor having authority to control British subjects in New Zealand” (Māori Law Review, 2014, para. 3). Contrarily the English Treaty is worded differently and has been interpreted as an act of cessation by Māori, allowing British to acquire sovereignty (Māori Law Review, 2014; Waitangi Tribunal, 2014).

There are ongoing disagreements in the public arena about which Treaty is correct, and ongoing iterations about how compromises might be made between the two documents (Network Waitangi, 2018). However, there are several legal precedents confirming that the Māori text, Te Tiriti o Waitangi is the pre-eminent

text. These are based on the international laws of contra proferentem, significant signature, oral agreement, and intent discussed on the day (for a fuller explanation see Network Waitangi, 2018, pp. 15-16).

Treaty Principles

One idea intended to bridge the Māori and English treaties are the Treaty principles. These have been devised by non-Māori and generalise the Treaty, finding common intentions between the two documents (Tankersley, 2004; Network Waitangi, 2018). The Treaty principles have changed over time and mean different things to different people.

Table 1: Common Treaty Principles

1975	The Waitangi Tribunal	Partnership; Tribal Rangatiratanga; Active protection; Mutual benefit; Consultation.
1987	Court of Appeal	Honour; Good faith; Reasonable actions; Partnership
1988	Labour Government	Kawanatanga; Rangatiratanga; Equality; Co-operation; Redress
1988	Royal Commission on Social Policy	Partnership; Participation and Protection

History of Colonisation Relating to the Not-for-Profit Sector

After the Treaty was signed Pākehā began to breach our commitment by setting up a government in New Zealand modelled after the government in England. Pākehā decided to make our government the leader of New Zealand and passed more than 50 laws that made it harder for Māori to support themselves, follow their own traditions, speak their own language, practice their own culture and live on their own land (For a list of these laws see Network Waitangi, 2018, pp. 56-63). Part of this process was to implement British models of charity,

volunteering and moral conduct in place of Māori structures (Tennant, et al., 2008). This arrangement facilitates continuous Treaty breaches, leading to racially demarcated inequality.

The inequalities caused by Treaty breaches often result in business and funding flowing into the not-for-profit sector as the not-for-profit sector is charged with addressing outcome disparities in areas as health, education, life expectancy and incarceration.

Applying the Treaty to the Not-for-Profit Sector

The promises made in the Treaty are applicable to the work of not-for-profit organisations.

In the first article the chiefs gave the “Queen of England the right to have a governor in New Zealand” (Tangata Tiriti, 2006, p. 43). In the not-for-profit sector this could mean Pākehā are charged with taking responsibility for our own affairs, firstly by educating ourselves and other Pākehā on how we might organise ourselves.

In the second article “The Queen agrees that Māori keep their independence... and everything that is important to them” (Tangata Tiriti, 2006, p. 43). In the not-for-profit sector this could mean supporting Māori authority over not-for-profit resources and services that are for Māori.

In the third article the Queen says she will “protect all the people of New Zealand, and give them all the same rights as those of her subjects, the people of England” (Tangata Tiriti, 2006, p. 43). This could mean using the not-for-profit sector to ensure Māori have access to the same rights that many more Pākehā enjoy, for example, the right to equality of income, education, justice and medical care.

The fourth article protects religious freedoms and customs (Tangata Tiriti, 2006). The advancement of religion is a charitable purpose and the not-for-profit sector works to uphold this promise (Poirier, 2013).

Conclusion

This section has briefly outlined the Treaty and explained why Te Tiriti o Waitangi, the Māori Treaty, is the ethical and legal Treaty. The promises of the Treaty are critical to the work of not-for-profit organisations. It is important for not-for-profit workers to understand the history of the Treaty and colonisation in New Zealand. A key understanding to be found in this curriculum is the domino effect of how Treaty breaches lead to inequality, leading to poor outcomes for some, but resulting in work integral to the success of the not-for-profit sector. Finally, the role of the Treaty principles must be appreciated considering their erroneous popularity.

CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF THE NOT-FOR-PROFIT SECTOR

The purpose of this chapter is to acknowledge the additional burdens that colonisation has yoked onto not-for-profit organisations, and how expectations on the sector often restrict best practice in the Treaty sphere. The New Zealand Government is continuously colonising, and the not-for-profit sector is intimately linked with this agenda through mechanisms such as government registration, regulation, and funding. This thesis argues that the disabling context not-for-profit organisations work in is an intentional facet of colonisation, purposed to maintain the current state of privilege and inequality. Therefore, the most likely path to overcoming problematic government-imposed challenges; and implementing the Treaty, an anti-colonial document (No Pride in Prisons, 2016), is decolonisation. As not-for-profit workers we need to be cognisant of the history and structures of our sector in order to change it.

This chapter will survey traditional Māori approaches to supporting people, and contrast this with early iterations of the not-for-profit sector. Underlying assumptions of the charity model are considered, then, an interrelated concept, the contemporary not-for-profit sector, is defined. Some of the ways Charities Services regulations can discriminate against Māori are discussed. Next the neoliberal model, a driver of current government policy is outlined, and some outcomes of neoliberalism on the not-for-profit sector are listed. Finally, the practice of government contracting services to not-for-profit organisations is examined with reference to how this protocol affects government, the not-for-profit sector, the community, and Māori sovereignty.

Early History

Māori have traditional ways of caring for their economic, social, political and spiritual wellbeing, directed by tikanga, “the customary system of values and practices that have developed over time and are deeply embedded in the social context” (Moorfield, 2018a, para. 1). According to tikanga Māori revere their elders, attend to children, the sick and disabled collectively (Walker, 2004), and have effective protocols for mending social harms (No Pride in Prisons, 2016).

Māori society is hierarchical and organised according to whakapapa (genealogy). The most common social grouping is the whānau (family group), whānau who share a common ancestor form a political unit known as a hapū. Many hapū who live in adjacent areas form an iwi, which has often been translated to mean tribe, however the closest approximation in English is more likely to be nation (Walker, 2004). This structure defines how Māori organise themselves and is disrupted by British methods of organising social care, which is arranged according to personally chosen occupations or elected posts, rather than birthright and obligation.

In contrast to existing political traditions, early not-for-profits imported different hierarchies. By the 1860's numbers of Pākehā sufficed the initiation of voluntary associations (Tennant, O'Brien & Sanders, 2008). These early organisations comprised of individuals joining together for a common purpose and occurred under the umbrella of British legal process which was gaining traction in New Zealand (Tennant et al., 2008). Many of these groups were based on white Christian morality (Tennant, Sanders, O'Brien & Castle, 2006), and assisting the colonial process, such as "missionary and emigration societies" (Tennant, et al., 2008, p. 6). Often the strategies were intertwined, placing "missionaries [at] the cutting edge of colonisation" (2004, p. 85). The dominant ideology directing this course was charity, a specific concept of largess originating from the French word 'charité' meaning "love in its perfect sense" (Poirier, 2013, p. 72).

The Charity Model

The charity model is an ideological framework stemming from white Christian trends of duty to the poor (Stephens, 2017). Hungover from our colonial history and blended with the bureaucratic ethos of neoliberalism (Stephens, 2017), charitable thinking hinges on a widening chasm between benefactor and recipient. In western culture charitable decision-making may have become innate as we unconsciously judge the deservingness of potential beneficiaries according to our internal values (Stephens, 2017). In Pākehā dominated spaces this process may continuously select certain groups as more deserving of investment.

Organisations that adhere to the charity model solicit funding and donations for their client group, often through emotive imagery, and make decisions about when and how resources will be allocated, and to whom. These organisations “choose for themselves how much benevolence to bestow” (Kelsey, 1995, p.295). This approach can provide workers and donors with a ‘feel good moment’ at the expense of patronising oppressed peoples (Gehl, 2018). Despite efforts to rebrand, the not-for-profit sector still struggles to relinquish the charity model, another stumbling block to the equitable relationship model outlined in the Treaty.

Defining the Not-for-profit Sector

The modern not-for-profit sector, also called the nonprofit, for-purpose, or third sector is an amorphous group of organisations that are not households, government entities, or for-profit businesses (Poirier, 2013). Not-for-profit organisations are legal entities that use all their funds for the purposes the organisation was incorporated for (Charities Services, n.d.). In general, the not-for-profit sector seeks to address social issues, such as health, education, housing, poverty, and animal and environmental welfare; religious and sporting organisations are also part of the not-for-profit sector (Poirier, 2013). This \$6 billion industry employs 136,750 paid staff and makes up 2.7% of New Zealand’s gross domestic product (Stats NZ, 2016). Additionally, the sector contributes 157 million unpaid hours by 1.2 million volunteers to the New Zealand economy annually (Stats NZ, 2016).

While the terms are often used interchangeably only around one quarter of not-for-profit organisations belong to a specific category called charitable organisations. These bodies have an approved governance structure and exist to perform one or more charitable purposes: the relief of poverty, advancement of education or religion, or benefit to the community (Poirier, 2013). Once registered with Charities Services they do not have to pay tax, and receive other benefits (Inland Revenue Department, 2016). Many organisations need to define themselves in terms of charitable purposes and avoid possible grounds for

deregistration (such as political advocacy) in order to remain financially viable (Poirier, 2013).

Māori groups have been disadvantaged by the criteria and regulations set out by Charities Services because traditional Māori activities and structures do not necessarily fit with the activities and structures required for charitable status. Charitable organisations exclude Māori groupings such as whānau, hapū, iwi, marae (meeting house) and Māori trusts, unless they meet the charitable purposes test and have an approved governance structure (Poirier, 2013). Māori groups have often found the charitable registration process onerous and many do not prioritise demonstrating compliance, foregoing benefits such as grants, contracts and tax exemptions (Durie, 2005). Also, Māori kin-based hierarchies do not lend themselves to Pākehā bureaucracies (Walker, 2004). This is because “customary methods of authority have not been found to be ideal for the governance of operations that have legal, commercial and contractual implications and accountability requirements that demand high levels of compliance” (Durie, 2005, p. 176). These issues are intensified by the ‘hyper-colonial’ neoliberal model.

The Neoliberal Model

In 1984, the Labour Government implemented a neoliberal approach to social policy in New Zealand (Poirier, 2013). Neoliberalism is based on individualism (Morvaredi, 2008) and theorises that society will work best when organised according to capitalist market principles (Harvey, 2005; Friedman, 1980). This is achieved through diminishing the role of the Government, which becomes a facilitator for competition in the market (Harvey, 2005). From a Māori perspective neoliberalism is “the fundamental beliefs that people, the power over life, birth and death can be exploited, and that it is alright to accumulate power within elite, small groups who can then determine priorities for a whole community, a whole region, a whole nation” (Sykes, 2007, p. 115). As part of switching over to neoliberalism the Government made deep cuts to its health, education, welfare and social services (Kelsey, 1995) and outsourced many social services to external providers, including not-for-profit organisations (Poirier,

2013). This process restructured the social contract, as “the citizen became a customer, buying a range of services from a public or private provider, which were once their entitlements under the social contract with the state” (Kelsey, 1995, p. 294). As government services diminished, more not-for-profit organisations were needed to fill the void (Tennant, et al., 2008). Increased demand for services was met with the rationing device of assessment criteria and the market mechanism of contracting.

The Neoliberal Model meets Charity.

The contracting approach refers to a market driven system used by the Government to purchase social services. In line with the neo-liberal concept of scarcity, the Government claimed the need to reducing the cost of, and ration services and resources using price to achieve this (Kelsey, 1995). How this works is the Government puts contracts describing services it is looking to procure out to tender, then commercial and not-for-profit organisations compete to win the right to supply those services to the Government (New Zealand Government Procurement, n.d.). Government contracts are typically stringent and part-fund or only fully fund specific priority services, without covering the organisational overhead costs required to provide those services (New Zealand Council of Christian Social Services, 1998).

The outcome of contracting on the Government is that it has achieved greater control over social services and has been able to focus on specified and countable outcomes (Nowland-Forman, 2015; Tennant, et al., 2006).

Organisations have become highly incentivised to produce government defined results and while this system does provide a measurable way of reporting what not-for-profit organisations achieve, numbers only capture part of the story (Nowland-Forman, 2015).

Although this strategy was marketed as empowering the community (Kelsey, 1995) the main outcomes of contracting on the not-for-profit sector are underfunding and increased costs; tension and competition instead of collaboration; professionalisation; ever increasing Government control; and a relentless focus on outputs that must be closely measured through onerous

accountability processes (Kelsey, 1995; Nowland-Forman, 2015; Tennant, et al., 2006; Tennant, et al., 2008). It has also been shown that Māori organisations have received fewer government contracts than Pākehā organisations (Tennant, et al., 2008) and that the Government employs racist “mono-cultural funding frameworks” (2015, p. 147).

Funding insecurity has resulted in a shift from organisational self-determination to aligning with Government priorities (Tennant, et al., 2006) in order to get contracts, in a ‘take it or leave it’ system (Tennant, et al., 2008) and caused competition between not-for-profit organisations (Tennant, et al., 2006). This undermines the values and philosophies of organisations who through compliance have become “state service delivery agents” (Butcher, 2015, p. 38). The overall effect is that not-for-profit organisations are continuously required to “achieve more with less” (Community Waikato, 2017). In order to meet pricing demands organisations may need to select the ‘best clients’, or as the practice is known in the sector ‘low-hanging fruit’, people who are most likely to achieve specified outcomes easily, cheaply or with the least amount of intervention (Nowland-Foreman, 2015). Due to the financial constraints and output requirements involved in contracting, many not-for-profit organisations are at capacity in terms of what they can do with the funding they have. Funding of narrowly defined government priority services comes at a cost to administrative and staff developmental strands of the organisation (New Zealand Council of Christian Social Services, 1998), under which Treaty training and relationship building is likely to fall.

As the Government is the “key funder” of the not-for-profit sector (Tennant, et al., 2006) it is difficult for organisations to be critical of the Government.

Although “most [people] that want to do something positive for our people rely to some extent on money from the Government... people literally cannot afford to bite the hand that feeds them” (Tuiono, 2007, p. 129). This creates barriers to the educational, introspective, agitative, and relationship work needed to implement the Treaty.

The contractual focus on outcomes only captures part of the work that not-for-profit organisations do as “the outcomes have either been achieved or they have not, [there is] no scope for valuing relationships and the spectrum of working with people” (Nowland-Forman, 2015, p. 10). Organisations have described quantifying outcomes as a “frustrating, fruitless task” (Nowland-Forman, 2015, p. 12) that takes emphasis away from meeting community aspirations.

Contract driven Government regulations have also caused the not-for-profit sector to become increasingly professionalised to comply with, including transparency and accountability to the tax payer (Tennant, et al., 2008). Professionalisation privileges western forms of knowledge such as managerialism and financial accounting. It is a culturally specific form of social control, promoting standardisation (Miller, 2013). As indigenous approaches are highly unique a move to professionalisation “will exclude some members because of their traditional ways of working and local knowledge” and resistance to uniformity (Miller, 2013, p. 1). This monocultural homogenisation promotes the creation of ‘business citizens’, which are far less threatening to government strategy than activists (Bargh, 2007).

The contracting approach is now intensifying with the Results Measurement Framework, social investment assessment, identification of individual client level data, and a move towards individualised funding (Nowland-Forman, 2015).

The outcome of contracting on people obtaining services is that some people are no longer able to meet their basic needs (Kelsey, 1995). People who are in a minority group are at a disadvantage in this system. “Māori, the poor, the sick, women and the unemployed” became more intensely dependant on not-for-profit services (Kelsey, 1995, p. 273), and of this group “Māori were the most marginal of the marginalised” (Kelsey, 1995, p. 283). This is the logical and expected consequence of reducing costs and rationing services through contracting.

Conclusion

The history of the not-for-profit sector dates to early colonists who introduced the charitable model of individualism, voluntary association and goodwill, thereby interrupting Māori traditions of collective responsibility and whakapapa. As the structure of not-for-profit organisations is mandated by Government and differs from traditional Māori groupings, it has become more difficult for not-for-profit organisations to implement the Treaty in our work.

Through a neoliberal approach, including service cuts, scarcity, and funding monopolisation the Government has introduced market drivers to the not-for-profit sector. Layers of legislation and social changes have culminated in a financially and organisationally problematic time for the sector, which often struggles to meet the demands of our principle funder, the Government, before rising to the additional challenge of reorienting our work to affirm Māori authority.

CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF FIVE CORE TEXTS

This chapter selects five prominent and accessible publications that inform the not-for-profit sector about applying the Treaty to review and critique (further information about criteria for these texts can be found in the *Methodology* chapter).

Information about implementing the Treaty in not-for-profit organisations is freely available. However, there is a gap between intentions of these texts and the actual impact they have in practice. This could be influenced by problems with the texts, the texts as a group, or what lies outside the texts.

The texts could be affected by inaccuracies, biases and conflict of interests, lack essential politicisation, or simply be unmoving. The texts as a group could pose difficulties, such as inconsistencies or changes over time which become confusing. Or the complications could originate outside of the core texts, in the community where most Pākehā have been misinformed or misdirected away from being interested in that Treaty. It could be that as Pākehā our internal values direct us to seek out less confronting information, maintaining wilful blindness towards our history, and that texts cater to this tendency by introducing us to Treaty work softly.

In order to consider these options this chapter analyses the texts according to key markers, then reviews each text individually.

Table 2: Five Core Texts

	Who is this resource for?	Does this resource follow the English or Māori text?	What relationship with Māori does this resource prescribe?	What reasoning does this resource give to honour the Treaty?	Does this resource acknowledge colonisation?	Does this resource use the 'principles' of the Treaty?	Who does this resource ask to take responsibility for honouring the Treaty?
A New Way of Working (Community Sector Taskforce, 2006).	Not stated	Uses the term Te Tiriti/Treaty of Waitangi	Two house approach	"A strong desire to work with both Māori values and non-Māori values" p. 4	Does not mention colonisation but does mention once that some people think the two house strategy is decolonising	no	All peoples
Treaty journeys (Council for International Development, 2007).	"we are writing from and for the tangata tiriti side of the Treaty relationship" p.9	Māori Text	"The primary relationship is with hapū in the area/s where [the organisation is] located. p.22	"a foundation for nationhood in Aotearoa/New Zealand... Rights... basis for the legitimacy of Government;	"over 160 years of violation by the Crown" p.10	No	Tangata tiriti

				...equity... social justice.” P.10			
Mana Mahi (Twyford et al., 2010)	“tangata whenua, community, and voluntary sector organisations” (p.5)	two versions, which are “subject to intense debate” (p.25)	“Obligation to consult” (p.25)	Social justice, founding document, “being an effective community organisation” p.25	“Many feel...The Crown has undermined [Māori] in the process of colonising New Zealand” (p. 26)	Yes	Not stated
Ngā rerenga o Te Tiriti (Margaret, 2016).	“Organisations who are primarily Tangata Tiriti/ Tauwiwi/Pākehā in their current ways of working.” P.4	Māori text	Two house approach	“Organisations will have different drivers for engaging with the Treaty” (p.7)	“Aotearoa is a colonial society structured on racism and injustice” p.24	No	“whole-of-organisation” P.16
Important Policies (CommunityNet Aotearoa, 2019).	Not stated	English text	“actively consult and ideally to work in partnership with Māori”	“an important part of being an effective community organisation in New Zealand”	No	Yes	Not stated

A New Way of Working for the Tangata Whenua, Community and Voluntary Sector in Aotearoa/New Zealand

Community Sector Taskforce, 2006.

A New Way of Working for the Tangata Whenua, Community and Voluntary Sector in Aotearoa/New Zealand is a short document outlining a framework that the Community Sector Taskforce and Te Wero created to apply the Treaty in not-for-profit organisations.

The Community Sector Taskforce are a group stemming from a joint community-government working party developed to strengthen the relationship between not-for-profit organisations and the Government (O'Brien et al., 2009). The Community Sector Taskforce were assisted by Te Wero (Action Group Māori), acknowledged on page four, to develop this resource, which is the culmination of learnings achieved from holding meetings, hui (Māori meeting) and fono (Polynesian meeting) across New Zealand.

A New Way of Working describes a power sharing relationships approach for organisational leadership. In this framework Māori and Pākehā/Tauīwi (foreigners) within an organisation caucus in separate units called 'two houses' to work according to their values, process information and make decisions. Then the groups come back together through a collective decision-making process on an equal basis to negotiate outcomes. The groups act independently to define and protect their own values and worldviews, and in consensus to agree on organisational matters. The document calls this process a Tiriti/Treaty Framework.

The Tiriti/Treaty Framework has been adopted by several major organisations including the Māori Women's Welfare League and the National Council of Women.

Regarding the history of New Zealand, *A New Way of Working* aims to be neutral and give equal weight to the needs of both Māori and Pākehā. It describes the past 165 years of Treaty implementation as "both good and bad" and says there has been attempts to use the Treaty both for "the good of some people at the

expense of Māori” and “by Māori at the expense of non-Māori” (p. 4). This over emphasis on equality fails to recognise the dominance of Pākehā culture and the historic marginalisation of Māori.

A New Way of Working covers key aspects of the work that organisations need to do but is limited in its framing of the issues.

Treaty Journeys: International Development Agencies Respond to the Treaty of Waitangi

Council for International Development, 2007.

Treaty Journeys outlines the Treaty stories of nine Council for International Development (CID) member organisations as they seek to transcend Treaty education and become Treaty-based organisations.

This project was researched and written by Christine Herzog, Jennifer Margaret and Deborah Radford. It was peer reviewed by Māori collaborators, and edited and commissioned by the CID, an organisation that combats poverty and injustice internationally (Council for International Development, 2018).

Some information given by interviewees was changed or anonymised, affording a level of protection so that people could report a balanced view of their organisation. Other stories were told with names attached.

Story excerpts from participants are arranged by theme and explain the issues involved which supports chapters on relationships, application, stakeholders and sustainability. It understands that cultural awareness, sensitivity, safety and competence are not enough to meet our obligations under the Treaty, clearly explaining that the Treaty is about relationships and power sharing. There are practical examples of what can and needs to be done in organisations to work towards implementing the Treaty; such as identifying how equity is met through employment practices, for instance in “job descriptions, recruiting, selection, [and] promotion” (p. 30). There are also excellent diagrams and flow charts which make important concepts clear and easy to understand.

An excellent critique of Treaty education explains that Treaty education can be helpful or unhelpful depending on course content, facilitation and ongoing support. In some cases, *Treaty Journeys* explains, Treaty education can be inspiring, but may not lead to change without ‘critical incidents’. This demonstrates that the book is political and critically self-reflective, as the authors are Treaty educators.

This valuable book commentates on each of the pieces of the puzzle involved with implementing the Treaty in not-for-profit organisations and is as valid now as when it was written.

Mana Mahi: Valuing the Work of the Tangata Whenua, Community and Voluntary Sector: A Guide to the Employment of People in Tangata Whenua, Community and Voluntary Sector Organisations

Twyford, Stevens, Woodcock and Ryall, 2010.

Mana Mahi is a manual that aims to help not-for-profit organisations understand and establish positive and lawful employment relations in all areas, bolstered by helpful policies and procedures. It has a chapter called *Working with Te Tiriti O Waitangi*.

The authors represent social service umbrella organisations and unions and received funding from the Department of Labour.

Chapter six recommends organisations consult with Māori and act upon that consultation to build relationships which “seek to redress the power imbalance” (p. 26). After outlining the reasons for having a Treaty policy *Mana Mahi* says “having considered the issues your organisation may decide it does not need a formal tiriti policy” (p. 26), perhaps because the organisation has become confident that the Treaty is woven into their everyday practice and does not want to diminish the importance of the practice to a policy, although this is not clear. The most helpful part of this chapter is the page of 28 well-rounded questions organisations can ask themselves about their implementation strategy.

The guide uses the English translation of the Treaty, saying “under article one of Te Tiriti Māori gave to the Crown kawanatanga, of the right to govern all the

citizens of New Zealand, whether they were Māori or tauwiwi” (p. 25). *Mana Mahi* acknowledges colonisation but tempers the discussion with the term “many feel” as it explains that the crown has undermined Māori by not honouring the Treaty (p. 26).

The strength of *Mana Mahi* is that it is by and for the not-for-profit sector and directs organisations to move towards Treaty based approaches, however it weakens those instructions with incorrect and otherwise ambiguous information.

Ngā Rerenga o te Tiriti: Community Organisations Engaging with the Treaty of Waitangi

Margaret, 2016.

Ngā Rerenga o Te Tiriti: Community Organisations Engaging with the Treaty of Waitangi supports not-for-profit organisations to engage with the Treaty. It was designed to be used online and has helpful links and a list of places to get further information.

Mana whenua, Māori practitioners, not-for-profit organisations and Pākehā researchers contributed to the resource, written by Treaty educator Jen Margaret.

Ngā Rerenga o Te Tiriti weaves the stories of six named organisations at different stages of their journeys through its pages, and structures them thematically into a sea voyaging metaphor that describes the journey not-for-profit organisations navigate to implement the Treaty. It has two sections: preparing for the voyage and navigating the voyage. The resource emphasises the uniqueness of every organisation and their Treaty journey and encourages organisations to build a shared understanding of what their commitment to the Treaty looks like, according to their own vision and values.

Ngā Rerenga o te Tiriti lists 32 key considerations which help organisations self-assess. These questions reflect current practice and could be more aspirational. The text asserts that there is no right way to implement the Treaty. While this is not incorrect, because every hapū is different and each organisation is called on

to respond appropriately, the emphasis in this text is on the diversity of organisations, not rohe (area).

Ngā Rerenga o te Tiriti claims that prescribing a 'right way' to approach Treaty work leads to inaction because people become fearful of doing the wrong thing. However, this approach allows scope for people to decide they are meeting their own expectations, negating the need for change. *Ngā rerenga o te Tiriti* says that while each organisation has its own reasons for working within Treaty guidelines some examples include responding to Māori, becoming more competent and effective, and becoming more distinctive to New Zealand. The notion of obligation is not discussed.

Overall *Ngā rerenga o te Tiriti* is readable and engaging with metaphors that facilitate understanding in the not-for-profit sector, although it would benefit from a braver political stance throughout.

Important Policies

CommunityNet Aotearoa, 2019.

It is important to include the brief entry, *Te Tiriti o Waitangi Treaty of Waitangi*, on CommunityNet Aotearoa because the site is a go-to hub for not-for-profit organisations, developed by the Department of Internal Affairs.

Although CommunityNet accepts contributions from the public, the only information which appears in a search on the Treaty is about policy and how to write policies. The most relevant page, *Important Policies*, covers four policies, *Te Tiriti o Waitangi Treaty of Waitangi* is last on the list. The 420-word section gives a list of 11 focus questions, and outlines the five principles of the treaty, as published in *Principles for Crown Action on the Treaty of Waitangi* (Dept. of Justice, 1989), with a table on what responsibilities these confer on organisations. Positively, the document advises not-for-profit organisations to consult with iwi in their area at the outset of drafting a Treaty policy. CommunityNet Aotearoa is the only publication that does not mention colonisation at all.

If organisations relied exclusively on information contained on CommunityNet to implement the Treaty they could become confused. It may not be coincidental that this publication is most closely linked to the Government out of the five core texts.

Conclusion

There are many sources of published information about how the not-for-profit sector interacts with the Treaty. Some information is activist and uses adult education modalities, through organisations such as Network Waitangi and the Treaty Resource Centre; other groups have published information funded and promoted directly through government departments such as the Department of Labour and Department of Internal Affairs.

By looking for positioning and reviewing each text, considering who wrote it, if Māori were involved, who commissioned the project, how and why it was written, what the central messages are, and where it lies in the political landscape; it seems that there is a mix of information; helpful, unhelpful and ambiguous. The texts often fail to confront the emotional challenges of privilege, racism and colonisation, without which the Treaty remains a historical one-page document that is difficult for us Pākehā to use as a lens for our daily decision and actions in the workplace.

The original question of why information about implementing the Treaty in the not-for-profit sector has not had its intended impact, and why their stories differ from my experiences and the experiences of other people in my peer group leads to the main section of this thesis: conducting new research autoethnographically, and storying with people anonymously.

SELF-ASSESSMENT

This chapter responds to the call for Pākehā to engage in critical self-reflection in pursuit of understanding our own racism, privilege and complicity with colonisation (Land, 2015). While we cannot escape pre-existing societal structures, this exercise enables us to become more explicit about our positioning (Ellsworth, 1989; Land, 2015). We will be less likely to continue racist practices as we become more cognizant of our political actions (Land, 2015).

A second function of this self-assessment example is to demonstrate how small interactions with people and ideas, focusing on the not-for-profit workplace, build values, perceptions and understandings over time.

Lastly, by exposing my own journey, punctuated by confusion, stumbling, awkwardness and premature enthusiasm, other people may be aided to identify similarities in their own stories.

My story describes how my religion, culture and middle-class suburban upbringing in the 90s initially made me disconnected with Māori, but ultimately led me to become concerned about the injustice of colonisation. As I begun working in the not-for-profit sector several opportunities to partake in Māori culture presented themselves but lacked meaning for me until I connected with my own history in an activist setting. This new knowledge caused challenges as I became increasingly uncomfortable with the lack of emphasis on the Treaty in my workplaces. My frustration inspired me to turn to research in the hope of navigating a way forward.

My childhood shoots an arrow down the centreline of middle New Zealand. I grew up down a nice cul-de-sac with both parents working in professional roles. As a family we enjoyed Dutch culture as my mother had immigrated to New Zealand, however, being in a predominantly white neighbourhood I had very little exposure to Māori or Māori culture growing up. Like most other Pākehā children of the 90s the schooling system provided the extent of my experience of the first culture of our land. We sung one or two waiata (Māori songs) in assembly at our high decile primary school, and did occasional Māori themed

arts and crafts, such as drawing a koru with crayon and dye. At high school we learned about English history in history class, but not New Zealand history.

Our geographical separation from Māori culture was compounded by my highly religious upbringing. As a Christian child I was fearful of Māori mythology because we were taught it was pagan. We were not supposed to sing waiata unless we knew the English translation in case it was a pagan song, and we were definitely not allowed to go on marae because customarily taking our shoes off would be taken as a sign of honouring the carved ancestors within. I remember being excused from a show about Maui (a Māori mythological figure) at intermediate because I was concerned about the impact of 'Māori religion' on my spiritual wellbeing.

Like most Pākehā families we watched the six o' clock news together every night. Our window into Māori life, the news, often told stories about underprivileged and underachieving Māori, Māori businessmen and politicians embroiled in misadventure, gangs, and violent stirrers. Based on this information it was easy to see ourselves as normal and Māori as poor, mischievous or frightening. We were taught by the media and society to look upon Māori with pity, but never to look upon ourselves as privileged.

Even though my mother emigrated from the Netherlands and my father's family originated from England I used to cross out 'European' on ethnicity forms. 'I'm not a European' I thought, 'I have never been there. I am a New Zealander, one people!' Since discovering Critical Race Theory, I still cross out New Zealand European and write Pākehā because I feel it better describes my culture, which is defined by our unique relationship as Treaty partners with Tangata Whenua. 'Discovering' being Pākehā has added new layer to my identity as I began to appreciate Pākehā culture, rather than trying to live out a vague notion of somehow not having a culture.

As I grew up I became involved with counterculture groups. Transforming my evangelical fervour for morality in to a near obsession with right and wrong. I was a vegan animal rights protestor, patching up my tattered clothes with 'meat

is murder' and 'burn the rich'. Being ethical meant using the right environmentally friendly, non-slave traded product, or no product at all. Animals and the environment are safe causes for angry young Pākehā kids like me to be involved in, as they did not require self-reflection or challenge to our white privilege.

I did attend anti-racism rallies, but these were directed towards people like the National Front. I had no concept of the white supremacy that allowed me to speak English, live on land stolen from Māori, and enjoy education and health systems based on British culture.

I saw myself as a victim of patriarchy. I understood the ideological and physical violence I experienced, but not how a person could be both a victim in one sense and complicit with other forms of oppression in another.

After landing my first real job, working with people who have disability, I became enamoured with the not-for-profit sector. From that day forward I only wanted to work for charities because it was an opportunity to do good and be good. It is common for people to say things like 'it must be so rewarding', 'you must have the patience of a saint', or 'it's so nice that you like to help people' when they find out I enjoy working with diversely able people.

One day we had a waiata session at a service where I was doing support work. I was tired and did not want to sing. I thought this session could be an opportunity for a break and put my head down. My team leader invited me into her office to discuss this. Through waiata I had been given the opportunity to start learning and engaging with Māori culture in paid work time, however I was embarrassed about not knowing the words, thought that waiata was mainly for Māori, and saw it as an optional activity like tennis or knitting. I was finding it hard to step outside of my Pākehā comfort zone. I told my team leader I was not interested in waiata. She said I had to pretend to be interested because I am a role model for the clients. Nobody explained the centrality of waiata in Māori culture to me, but it was made clear I had to participate.

It is constantly reinforced in the not-for-profit sector that money is tight. This created an 'us and them' dichotomy between the Government and the benevolent community organisation, us, doing it tough on the ground. Accepting low wages was part of a narrative that sometimes verged on martyrdom, we were there to support the community, not earn money. Often the pay on offer for managerial roles would be a dollar or two above what frontline workers were making, attracting people who demonstrate strong values alignment with the organisation but not necessarily possessing the skills and education needed to work effectively at that level. Appointing leaders who understand and prioritise implementing the Treaty often seems to be unattainable.

I was offered a regional coordination job at an organisation I was volunteering with. I did not feel I had any coordination experience, so I enrolled in a Graduate Diploma in Not-for-profit Management to become more effective in my role. The Treaty education in this course comprised of half a day watching a video followed by unfacilitated pairing up with other students to discuss our thoughts and feelings about the video. This brief foray into the founding document of our nation reinforced the notion that Treaty education is a mandatory but small component of not-for-profit management. Moreover, each person was entitled to their own opinion on the subject. In this course I wrote an assignment about the organisation I worked for, which included talking about what the organisation did to honour the Treaty. My description of meeting our obligations was about using the full organisational name which included English and Māori, and saying the organisational whakataukī. These token words did not change anything about our power structure or practice but was taken as a passing answer without critique. This experience underlined the approach I now see as common within the not-for-profit sector, any description of anything Māori is seen by many Pākehā as an acceptable way to honour the Treaty.

Through these studies I first encountered published information about the Treaty, like *Mana Mahi* and information from Internal Affairs, but had difficulty understanding how to get from knowing about the Treaty to acting on it.

I was interviewing for a promotion at another disability organisation. I knew from my first interview that I would be asked questions about the Treaty. I dug up the training manual we had been given because it contained a list of Māori values. I figured that they must be how you answer the Treaty question. I decided to learn some of them to be ready for my interview. I asked a friend to explain the concepts to me. It was the first time I had seen words like whakawhanaungatanga (establishing relationships), manaakitanga (hospitality) and kaitiakitanga (stewardship), and the first time I glimpsed the idea that Māori have values unique to their culture. I tried to remember the words in the interview but ended up describing them. It showed I had tried. This was the first time I had pre-empted the often asked 'Treaty question' in an interview. It is important to establish knowledge about the Treaty in an interview, but there was no follow up about how we worked with the Treaty after that. I was able to tick the box in my interview but escaped any responsibility to further my knowledge or practice.

In 2014 I was made to do a one-day Treaty workshop as part of a camp I attended. Looking at Pākehā and Taiwi Treaty Education on the agenda, I thought to myself, a whole day! I wonder how I can get out of this! The document is one page long, how many times did we have to read it? However, my friends were sitting on blankets under trees ready to listen to our facilitator. It looked like a nice place to be. I think being with friends who were agreeing with what was on offer that day helped me finally become open to listening to a new history.

On that day we learned about life in precolonial times, He Whakaputanga, and the events surrounding the signing of the Treaty. I was surprised to find out about the economic success of Māori in precolonial times, they even traded with Australia. We learned about what it was like when the first Pākehā missionaries, sealers and whalers came to Aotearoa. It was interesting that a Treaty with Pākehā was needed because Māori already knew how British had treated other indigenous peoples, and because of the lawlessness of Pākehā. We learned about how the Treaty was negotiated in te reo and why Te Tiriti o Waitangi is the

only legally valid Treaty. As the history of what happened when Pākehā decided to run New Zealand in our own way with our own rules and culture unfolded we laid out a timeline of punitive government policies which eroded Māori sovereignty and deprived Māori of most of their land. Looking at time-lapse pictures of Māori land disappearing into Pākehā ownership reminded me of the Israeli-Palestinian divide. It came as a huge shock to learn that my people have been perpetrating a systemic and ongoing injustice against Māori for the past 200 years, and that I have significant privilege because of this. I was honestly oblivious about those things before the workshop. It is incredible to think I was living in a system of colonising oppression and didn't even know. It was like a veil had been taken down from my eyes and now that I had seen this injustice I could never unsee it. At the end of the day we were asked to share how we would apply our new learning and I instinctively said I would make changes at my work in the not-for-profit sector. This workshop was facilitated by and for Pākehā. It made sense to me that we focus on our own culture and what we can do better. I became a 'born-again' Treaty enthusiast, believing that every Pākehā needed some proselytising.

Prancing forth with an overwhelming sense of empowerment after day one of my Treaty journey, I had no appreciation of the enormity of the subject that lay before me. I felt like my first workshop had made me an expert on the Treaty. Armed with new knowledge about the true history of race relations in this country my expectation was that all Pākehā would agree that colonisation is unjust, and knowing about the injustice of colonisation would automatically lead to Pākehā ceding cultural and political power. As my understanding of the Treaty matured I have come to know that learning about the Treaty is not the same as honouring the Treaty, in the same way as learning about bodybuilding is not the same as lifting weights.

I began to see things differently, particularly in the workplace. Over lunchtime a British immigrant started talking about how someone said he was personally responsible for the Land Wars. How ridiculous he said, to blame him, he was not alive in 1845. I said, "acknowledging the harm my people has caused to Māori is

part of how I identify as a Pākehā”. You could hear a pin drop and people were staring at me. I think people were concerned about me making a political statement at work, even though they didn’t seem concerned about my colleague making what I thought was an equally political statement. It seemed like racism was better tolerated than anti-racism. I noticed that in work situations people are expected to be professional, not emotional. This often maintains the status quo and shuts down dialogue about the Treaty and racism because they are emotional subjects. I was starting to perceive things in a different way, but this is not the same as being able to make changes.

When interviewed to become an educator one of the questions was “how would you apply the Treaty to your role?” I said, “that is such a huge question I don’t know what aspect you want me to talk about”. There was a Pākehā and a Māori interviewer. The Pākehā interviewer said, “give us a short answer”. Then the Māori interviewer said, “why don’t you tell us what the principles are”. I said, “I don’t do the principles, I do Te Tiriti”. Then I said “Te Tiriti is the founding document of New Zealand and that all of our work should build on and support Te Tiriti”. I find the principles to be a watering down of Te Tiriti, the current most popular version: partnership, participation and protection does not convey tino rangatiratanga in the way I understand it. I feel that Te Tiriti is our right as a nation and the principles are an unnecessary concession. My friend said to me afterwards, “it doesn’t matter what you think about the Treaty, it is about how you interacted with the Māori staff member in that moment”. I was interviewed by the same organisation the following week for a different role. Expecting to be asked the same questions I came prepared with ideas about how I would implement the Treaty specifically. This time I was interviewed by two Pākehā and they did not ask me about the Treaty.

Learning about the history of New Zealand as an adult I thought all other Pākehā would be like me, ignorant about colonisation, knowing a whitewashed bare minimum about the English version of the Treaty from school and nothing of Te Tiriti o Waitangi. I thought if we all knew the truth there would be outrage and everything would change. Experiencing the ‘bicultural organisation’ discussion

had given me a taste of the active inertia which stops that change. I began to see the conflict and resistance about the Treaty among Pākehā. It dawned on me that the amount of work required to advance our commitment to promises made in 1840 is more than a one-day Treaty workshop. Something else needed to happen to bridge the gap between the knowledge from the Treaty workshop and implementation in our work. Frustrated with my lack of ability to implement the learnings I had gained at the Treaty workshop I surmised that more knowledge would help me find a way to action the practice I could imagine. I decided that furthering my study was the next best step for me.

In 2015 I started a Graduate Certificate in Māori and Pacific Development at the University of Waikato. This was the first predominantly Māori environment I had ever been in, and I struggled to know how to achieve. I was frustrated by the style of teaching and learning which involved group discussions in lieu of a formal lecture. I felt entitled to ask questions because I was a paying student, even though I could tell by the way people looked at me that this was not the norm. I was concerned that I was not learning anything because the work was not academically challenging, however my learnings were constant and intense. I was learning how to be in an unfamiliar cultural space.

In the Faculty of Māori and Indigenous Studies I learned about Kaupapa Māori (Māori philosophy), which confronted me in ways I am not used to. Intellectually I could learn the material, but I struggled grasp the meaning of it and refashion this new approach into my own words. Understanding seemed to be on the other side of an opaque pane of glass, right there, but at the same time unreachable.

Kaupapa Māori is the theory and praxis of Māori values and approaches (Moorfield, 2017), intertwining theory, practice and reflection (Smith, 2012). Kaupapa Māori can be described as “the conscientisation, resistance, transformative praxis cycle [that emphasises] transformative outcomes.” (Smith, 2015, p. 19). It originates from Papatūānuku, and builds on the highly-developed navigation, scientific, and cosmological knowledge of early Māori, rather than emanating from imported theories (Pihama, 2010). This poses a challenge to the

primacy of western academia which is damaging to Māori because it frames knowledge in a way that excludes indigenous thinking (Pihama, 2010). Kaupapa Māori underpins resistance to colonisation (Mahuika, 2015) by challenging its dominant cultural and structural agendas (Smith, 2015), including western thinking and hegemony (Pihama, 2010). It is a framework for, and actualisation of Māori led development (Pihama, 2010). Kaupapa Māori inspired me to rethink the way I had always learned, and value different knowledges, balancing theory with practice and reflection (Pihama, 2001). While participating in Māori and Pacific Development studies it is important for me to maintain awareness of my limitations as a Pākehā. Pākehā cannot be Kaupapa Māori practitioners because it is rooted in a culturally specific experience that we cannot have. However, this new critical lens helped me realise that without practice and reflection I would not be able to make transformative changes. I wanted to do something that incorporated practice and developed my reflective skills.

It was around this time I started piecing together ideas about how colonisation happens today. When colonisation is framed as something early Pākehā did in a historical context it can be harder to identify how it currently works as an active political force in New Zealand. In the past I thought that Treaty breaches were only about land ownership, which, being outside of my control dislocated me from Treaty issues. I participated in some activist spaces and was influenced by thinkers like Emilie Rākete, Valerie Morse and Catherine Delahunty who use language like settler colonial state to describe New Zealand, and genocide to describe our history.

Colonisation has defined how we treat people who are excluded from the capitalist system and become known as unemployed. It has determined what actions we define as criminal, and which criminal acts we follow up with incarceration. It is colonisation that led us to name streets and towns after English war-mongers, erasing the original names which carried the history of the place with them, and demarcating land according to council boundaries and not iwi defined areas. Colonisation has legislated organisations to run according to British governance structures, and schools teach children within British models

that are more likely to fail Māori students, to name a few examples. This is not just the way things are or have to be, all of these discriminations are constructed and held in place by white supremacy. As my understanding of colonisation grows I can see more and more examples of injustice which I was previously blind to. This awareness informs a deeper critique of our work in the not-for-profit sector which affects and is affected by social issues resulting from ongoing colonising practices.

One of the key ways of learning about the Treaty has been conversations with friends who work in the not-for-profit sector. This confirmed to me that my experience is not unusual, but that there are tensions between the messaging we get through official channels and our experience. It also gave me a sense of camaraderie as I have often felt isolated in work spaces where people might not prioritise the same issues as I do, have compartmentalised the key focus of the organisation, or are unwilling to share their political opinions.

I was first introduced to the power of storytelling through the not-for-profit sector, which often uses stories to communicate our work in ways that are difficult to convey through quantitative language. I also saw activists using stories to capture emotions and influence people to the cause. One method I heard used in activist circles was public narrative, the stories of self, us and now, as developed Marshall Ganz (2011). I also went to conferences and preferred to hear from people who were telling their own stories of lived experience, rather than external researchers. When I came across the book *Decolonizing Methodologies* (Smith, 2012) through my study I resonated with the description of storytelling as a way to preserve the teller's voice. Having been reported on in the media, I know how it feels to have my words moulded to other purposes.

In one of my governance roles I have lived experience that relates to the work of the organisation. Although I consistently push for representation by people with lived experience at every level of the organisation I recognise the difficulties this can pose from an organisational standpoint. Because I am emotionally triggered by discussing the work of the organisation I can become very fatigued and sometimes decide to forgo meetings. It is challenging for me when others who

do not have this lived experience pose an alternative view to mine, even though I would welcome diverse approaches to any other work. This experience has made me think about how Māori might feel when working with Pākehā on social issues that disproportionately affect Māori, and the barriers that affect some people with lived experience.

One of the challenges I have faced in finding my feet with the Treaty is always remembering that for us as Pākehā there is no way to completely remove ourselves from perpetuating oppression. If we do nothing we give silent consent to colonisation, if we take any form of action it will be evaluated. The more we learn the more we understand how our actions can be tokenistic, appropriative, cause discomfort, offense, or be taking voice and work away from Māori.

As I was progressing through my Masters in Māori and Pacific Development I wanted to contribute using my new skill set in any way possible. I applied to become a bicultural advisor for a tertiary provider and got the job. They flew me to Wellington where I met the Head of Department I would report to. It was at this point she realised I was not Māori, no one had asked about my ethnicity and I thought a bicultural advisor could be Pākehā. She said to me, "If I knew you were Pākehā I would have stopped your application". She asked me to declare openly to other people that I am not Māori and have no lived experience of the Māori world. I did as she asked because those things are true. I felt like she made a point of demonstrating how non-Māori I am all day, asking me repeatedly to speak in te reo even though I had said I am not conversant in the language. I felt humiliated and bullied. My role ended the next day. As a Pākehā who wants to be an ally with Māori I accept that my best intentions might not be appreciated. This was a painful experience, but I need to be willing to undertake the journey as it is. There is no way to be safe from critique.

One of my friends and I decided to present a conference paper called *Middle Class Pākehā Women Talk About Decolonisation*. Our paper used analogies between our experiences of sexual and gender-based violence and colonisation to help explain what colonisation is to other Pākehā. As a Pākehā I do not experience violence on the scale of colonisation, but the way I empathise with

colonisation is in relation to my own experience of trauma because that is how it makes sense to me. We described how our collective stories are situated within broader systems of oppression. I thought about the similarities between sexual and gender-based violence, and the way I see Pākehā often treating Māori. Examples that we used included being confined to using the language of colonisation can imply consent and participation. In some of the discourses I hear about colonisation I notice that by using the language of oppression, experience and individual agency become conflated. We also asked people to think about what consent and participation mean within oppressive systems such as colonisation. Although colonisation was and is very physically violent, it is also non-physical forms of violence which are pervasive and effective at upholding colonisation today. I notice that Pākehā often compartmentalise colonisation into a distinct and finite event which is located in the past. Based on my experience of trauma I believe people experience the trauma of colonisation every day. Because of this I recognise and talk about colonisation in the present. The experience of speaking to an auditorium of both Māori and Pākehā about issues that others in the audience were far better placed to understand was daunting and perhaps unwise. This conference was the first time that I talked publicly about having political views that I would have once considered extreme. Although well intentioned it was also a risk because some Māori will find it offensive for any Pākehā to be comparing our experiences to colonisation, even as a frame of reference. There is a fine line between trying to be an ally and trying too hard. Where I am in that perilous place depends on perspective. There is no perfect way to be good or even okay. I chose to tell my story because I thought it would resonate without other Pākehā and help us explore the idea of colonisation. I was willing to accept the discomfort of wondering if I did it wrong.

While the Treaty and colonisation is important to me as a Treaty partner, and person affected by other forms of violence, part of my journey has also been about stepping back. I am treated with privilege when I access services that meet my cultural needs, I will not experience negative health, education, economic or social outcomes because of who I am, the media represents my culture as

normal and does not extrapolate the actions of individual Pākehā to represent all people of my race, and I am not subject to surveillance or critique based on my ethnicity. As Pākehā we always have to remember that this is not about us. I have experienced encouragement and criticism for being a Pākehā navigating the Treaty space. Right now, success for me is continuing the conversation with myself and other Pākehā, just keeping on going. Everything I try is only my best attempt at the time.

I believe that the not-for-profit sector is an incredibly important place to be focusing on the Treaty space because it is at an interface with the outcomes of colonisation: poverty, homelessness, inadequate health and education outcomes. I think I can contribute to Treaty practice in not-for-profit organisations because I am connected to the sector as a client, worker, volunteer, committee member and graduate in not-for-profit management studies. The not-for-profit sector wants to be good, wants to do the right thing, my experience is that there is no position called good and right, there is only an ongoing relationship. We must work to be better, we cannot be complacent and think it will just happen.

This chapter has outlined some of the experiences which have led me to a set of positions, including that Te Tiriti o Waitangi, the Māori text is the correct and legal text, Māori are guaranteed authority under the Treaty agreement, all Pākehā need to consider our unconscious racism, Pākehā allies need to support Māori aspirations, and that not-for-profit organisations exist within the structure of colonisation. The next step in this process is to learn more about the Treaty and not-for-profit sector from the stories of other people on the same journey.

SHARING EXPERIENCES

This research discusses the experiences of six Pākehā participants who live in Hamilton as they talk about implementing the Treaty in not-for-profit organisations where they work or volunteer.

A complete story is constructed from the first interview. This pilot story is used to communicate experiences of wrestling with Treaty issues, observe processes of understanding personal roles in not-for-profit contexts, and demonstrate drawing comparisons with my own practice.

The next five interviews are thematically analysed and placed alongside references to literature.

Pilot Story

A not-for-profit worker shares some of their experiences as a bicultural advisor.

I grew up in quite a Christian environment. My Dad was reluctant for me to go to a marae, although it was never stopped and I always did it but there was a definite, don't join in the karakia, and make sure you don't worship the idols in the wharenui vibe. Which definitely colours how you see it, you think it is kind of heathen and idolatrous and spiritually unsafe and things that probably have coloured me through to adulthood.

I took te reo at school and we did study New Zealand history too, particularly Te Tiriti and He Whakaputanga. We definitely did half a year of New Zealand history in year 13. I think the teacher was quite progressive politically, I think he was very far on the left and he probably brought more of a diverse perspective into it than some other teachers would. [It was an awareness of my identity as Pākehā, and a love of te reo language that led me onto] doing a degree in Māori.

[Following on with my passions for the Māori world] I have interviewed for a number of roles such as Māori Liaison Officer,

and admin jobs for iwi trusts. I have not even been sure if it was appropriate for me to be in some of those roles, and if just having the skill set required to do the job is enough; [would I really be] supporting a Māori organisation in that way, [or it is an] opportunity to be more of an ally?

[Eventually I landed a job as a Bicultural Advisor for a not-for-profit organisation]. The organisation was a fully Pākehā [staffed] organisation. There had been no Māori representation for quite a long time. Structurally about 80% of the people we worked with were Māori, so clearly there was a very Māori heavy audience. [The organisation] had in the past tried to embrace some kind of biculturalism, I think it thought that it was progressive.

I was employed to do a range of things and one of them was to help make the organisation more bicultural. One of my tasks was to make a bicultural Māori framework [for the organisation], and basically [do it] on my own, [as a Pākehā. To top it off] I couldn't always speak completely freely because of my subservience in the role, ultimately, I had to do what I was told. I did [my job] as much as I could, in consultation with people who are Māori in other organisations, and then there is this dilemma, do you just treat these people as resources to be used, say 'can you please just give us some information about how we can do things better', is that exploitative? But otherwise you have to make decisions which aren't appropriate for you to make.

[The] bicultural model I was trying to implement into the workplace never really manifested. There were two people who were above me, they genuinely didn't see how it was going to affect service delivery, and how it was going to affect the people who accessed the services we provided. The bicultural element

of the role was on paper about one third of the role, but in practice was largely unimportant.

On paper it [looked like] everybody wanted to be more bicultural, but in practice they didn't. There was an idea that bicultural meant equal, and that meant not going out of your way particularly any more for anybody. And then if you were going to get training, or you were going to learn to be bicultural that was going more out of your way for Māori. They weren't recognising that we already do everything in a Pākehā way. One staff member thought that maybe Māori deserved to be where they were because they don't work as hard as Europeans. And that we live in a European world and what we provide are European things, so if they came here as supplicants then they should be respecting us, and not vice versa.

I felt that [social issues were] understood to some degree, but also dismissed to some degree. We always talked about these sorts of things, government policy, urbanisation, how some of these issues came into place. [We talked about] the disparity between the outcomes for Māori and non-Māori. Another thing that was always talked about was cultural training, but that was never manifest.

Unfortunately, there was a lot of unrecognised racism in that that workplace, although it was not that explicit, it was more implicit. [Some staff members thought that because] a lot of the people who come here are Māori, and [because they thought] the people who come here often deserve to be where they are, there was an inference that being Māori leads you [into poverty]. It was said that they wanted to proactively work to meet the unique needs of Māori, but in practice they felt that everybody was on the receiving end of poverty, and that Māori

were not in any particular position to receive more [assistance], which I thought was very disappointing.

[I suggested that] If we could work in a more Māori centred way we could actually do more for the people that we were working with. I wanted to go to marae and say, 'how can we work with you better, what are your issues and needs, if we were offering a service what would you work for you'. [I wanted to] to dialogue or consult with Māori people and other people in community services who make efforts to work biculturally, not all of those people are Māori. Some of those kinds of approaches were really stifled. It was very much a top down model, rather than a community led model. [There was] always a reluctance [to allow me] to devote time and effort [to developing a bicultural framework for the organisation], it seemed like productivity was always better used in developing new programs. I wasn't always certain why that was.

[In the end I was made redundant from that job. Continuing on in my bicultural values] I have tried to immerse myself in the Māori world, although I feel that biculturalism isn't a thing that you can just understand, it is an ongoing journey. I think it is about upskilling and engaging in the Māori world as much as you can. Going to things, being on marae, and finding places to speak Māori. It is about educating ourselves as much as we can, while listening to the Māori voices.

I'm trying to support tangata whenua and trying to honour the Treaty as part of my identification as a Pākehā. It's about being an ally rather than being a saviour. I [think] I can make a difference as an ally and partner in the Treaty, but also [know] that the difference could be very small.

There are many similarities between this story and my own. Like me, this participant had formative experiences that posed barriers to Māori culture. However, they received a positive education regarding New Zealand history and te reo. This participant also drew on a conception of being Pākehā to explore their appreciation and commitment to Māori culture. The tensions this participant felt, being unsure if they were doing the right thing to be an ally, or rather, whether they were unduly drawing on Māori resources, is something I too have reflected on. It seems difficult if not impossible to walk a perfect line between doing enough and not doing too much. Much like experiences that inspired me to learn more about the Treaty, this participant found themselves working among only Pākehā. This participant had to dismantle identifiably racist beliefs and practices before doing any of the work of implementing a bicultural framework. They were able to identify other Pākehā working outside of the organisation with whom to collaborate. I have also found enthusiastically pro-Treaty Pākehā to be too few and far between to usually find within the same organisation and I have had to discuss with people in other places. This pilot story confirmed to me that my experiences are common, and that the same challenges are present for other Pākehā allies in different types of organisations, across different roles.

Five Pākehā Not-for-Profit Workers from Hamilton Share their Experiences

The pilot study also validated conversations I have been having with other not-for-profit workers over the past five years. These have been on topics such as how we are often frustrated with chasm between what we have learned about the Treaty and what is happening; and encountering resistance to what we perceive as advances to work in ways that are consistent with the Treaty. I decided to capture those conversations by recording and transcribing them in the context of research.

In this part of the study five Pākehā not-for-profit workers from Hamilton share their experiences of wrestling with Treaty issues in their workplaces. Their stories highlight practices which walk towards or away from the relationship outlined in Te Tiriti o Waitangi.

Topics that are discussed by at least two participants and written about in literature are reviewed in this study. These include organisational self-assessment, the formalisation of an organisation's own perception of their Treaty commitment; reflections on understandings of the Treaty, how the level and quality of Treaty education varies widely; and how cultural practices such as speaking te reo, doing karakia and singing waiata can be conflated with honouring the Treaty, a document about power sharing. Several participants feel silenced for being too critical of their organisation's work towards the Treaty; and note pressures within the sector to 'tick a box', glibly say they are meeting Treaty obligations without necessarily mirroring that with action. Māori representation in governance structures is discussed, along with the practice of intentionally employing Māori staff. Unfortunately, participants note that Māori workers are often treated differently to Pākehā. Participants discuss how their organisations are trying to be appropriate for, and sometimes attract Māori clients. An awareness of the twin pillars of privilege and racism are also brought up. These topics represent an overview of commonalities, although each participant has comments and issues unique to their story.

Self-Assessment

Self-assessment is a process of undertaking tests or tasks, such as reflecting or asking questions, to gain an understanding of the characteristics being assessed about oneself or one's organisation (Sedikides, 1993). This popular approach has been touted an important first step on the Treaty journey by many (Community Sector Taskforce, 2006; Land, 2015; Margaret, 2016; Twyford, et al., 2010). Self-assessment has also been critiqued for entrenching power relations (Pihama, 2001; Came, 2012) and being susceptible to cognitive biases (Ravindran & Gopakumar, 2007; Dunning, Heath & Suls, 2004; Broadwell, 1969), and conflict of interest (Milner, 2007; Lusthaus & International Development Research Centre, 1999; Pihama, 2001).

Self-assessment as a tool has become popular because it asserts that each organisation is on a unique journey (Margaret, 2016), affirms organisational autonomy and responsibility (Jennings, 2004), and promotes ongoing

organisational learning and development (Jennings, 2004). Organisational self-assessment guides have been published in *Ngā Rerenga o Te Tiriti* (Margaret, 2016), *Mana Mahi* (Twyford, et al., 2010), *The Community Resource Kit* (Burley & Ministry of Social Development, 2006) *A New Way of Working* (Community Sector Taskforce, 2006), and by the Treaty Resource Centre (Treaty Resource Centre, 2016). Although self-assessment is meant to be a spring board for starting to work towards Treaty relationships (J. Margaret, personal communication, Dec 12, 2018) the act of self-assessment itself can easily be mistaken for meeting Treaty obligations.

Self-assessment can entrench the opinions of the managers and leaders of organisations as it enables people to decide what questions they will ask as well as what answers they will give. This control includes the scope, depth and focus of the questions as well as the amount of resources the organisation will commit to the process (Lusthaus & International Development Research Centre, 1999).

Participant D noticed that,

If you are like yeah cool, we have written about the Treaty in our deed and we have learned a karakia or something, you might self-assess and say yip, cool, we're good. (participant D).

Organisational self-assessment is normally based on the opinions of a few key people who are more likely to be Pākehā in management roles. This is challenging because the dominant and normative perspective is that of Pākehā (Milner, 2007; Kupu Taea, 2014; Pihama, 2001) and “power plays a key role in knowledge selection” (Pihama, 2001, p. 50), meaning people who are in power can choose the information that suits them. Another reason that self-assessment can be problematic is that there is an ethical imperative for Pākehā to share power by giving up the language, assumptions and status of being experts. Many Pākehā Treaty educators have discussed the virtue of Pākehā ignorance regarding the Treaty as claiming expert status has been used as a tool of power and control towards Māori (Hotere-Barnes et al., 2016; Margaret, 2016). ‘Expert’, ‘educated’, ‘qualified’ and ‘professional’ are all nomenclature of positions within

colonising systems (Pihama, 2001), and serve to maintain assumptions about Pākehā having the answers to all problems (Hotere-Barnes et al., 2016). Self-assessment may not be beneficial if it leads to Pākehā reaffirming expert status over how an organisation meets their Treaty obligations.

A conflict of interest exists where organisations need to disrupt existing structures of privilege to honour the Treaty, such as by turning over power to Māori (Milner, 2007). This process is often painful so there are strong incentives for leaders to restrict the degree of assessment because the resulting requirement for change can be too difficult to achieve (Milner, 2007).

Participant B gave an example of this,

If Pākehā are in charge of an organisation, I don't know, I wonder if they are going to be avoiding it (participant B).

The framing of self-assessment questions can be defined by the values of the culture from which they are written. For example, the following questions from *Ngā Rerenga O Te Tiriti* (Margaret, 2016) could be interpreted in different ways.

Table 3: Question and Critique

Question	Critique
<p>“How does our organisational culture support Māori values and ways of working?” (Margaret, 2016, p. 26).</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Is ‘our’ organisational culture distinct or different from Māori culture? • Who defines what Māori values and ways of working are? • Support may imply a power relationship of largess or giving assistance to; in this relationship the supporter

	may hold capacity to give or withhold support.
“How are hapū/iwi/Māori currently represented in organisational decision-making?” (Margaret, 2016, p. 26).	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Representation is different to having power. • Representation can imply defined roles according to organisational structures.
“How do our decision-making structures and approaches support and value different worldviews?” (Margaret, 2016, p. 26).	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Valuing different world views may imply that worldviews can be weighted and valued in different ways, decided on by the organisation. • ‘Different world views’ can reaffirm a Pākehā world view as the norm.

Cognitive biases can affect the self-assessment process because self-assessment is informed by self-awareness. The Johari window, a theory from psychology, explains how self-awareness can be categorised into four quadrants: open area, known by self and others; blind area, known by others but not self; hidden area, known by self but not others; and unknown area, unknown by self and others (Ravindran & Gopakumar, 2007). Aspects of racism are likely to exist for most people in all quadrants because racism is woven so deeply into our systems of being, knowing and experiencing, that it is difficult for any person to recognise the extent of influence that racism has on ‘the way things are’ (Milner, 2007). Racisms in the unknown area could have the biggest effect on self-assessment because the status quo often unconsciously perpetuated by the unknown fears, aversions, subconscious feelings and conditioned attitudes that are features of the unknown area (Ravindran & Gopakumar, 2007).

A correlation between the language participants used to talk about their work, and their commitment to implementing Treaty-based practice can be construed from the transcripts. Participants whose organisations committed less resources to their Treaty journey tended to overstate their competence or reported overstatements by management. Psychological research describes some reasons why people who have less understanding on a subject overestimate their competence. Two frameworks that can be used to explain this phenomenon are the Dunning-Kruger effect, and the four stages of competence.

Psychologists Dunning and Kruger researched the 'ignorance of ignorance' and called this the Dunning-Kruger effect (Dunning, Heath & Suls, 2004). Self-assessment is "intrinsically difficult" (Dunning et al., 2004, para. 1) because people are generally unrealistically optimistic and overestimate their "expertise, skill, and character" and the "insightfulness of their judgments", factors that are important to accurate self-assessment (Dunning et al., 2004, para 4).

Another cognitive bias which can make it difficult for people to self-assess is described in the the four stages of competence model (Broadwell, 1969). According to Broadwell, all learners evolve through stages of unconscious incompetence, conscious incompetence, conscious competence, and unconscious competence (Broadwell, 1969). The outcome of this is that people in earlier learning stages are unaware of their lack of knowledge.

The following section aims to show how self-assessments could vary according to the experience and education of the assessor. The formal and informal Treaty and Māori cultural education of participants is compared with the language and statements participants make when they talk about their work. Participant markers are not used in this instance to protect anonymity.

One participant has not completed any formal Treaty training but has gained a level of awareness about the Treaty through conversations and attending events.

They believed their organisation was a leader in the Treaty space,

It is trying to show people how to do things as well as they can, and it is inclined to encourage government agencies and stuff to see what real opportunities there are.

However, they described what their organisation is doing to implement the in terms of cultural practices and inclusion. Inclusion was mentioned six times during the interview: inclusion of the voices of the Māori community, inclusive practices, inclusion, inclusion of culture, and inclusive of cultural practices. Steven interprets Treaty based practice as working in a way that includes cultural practices; this phenomenon is discussed further under the heading *Cultural Practices Versus Power Sharing*.

They had a strength in appreciating their own limitations as Pākehā.

Because I don't have the same cultural viewpoint as someone who is from the Māori community, I don't know what we're not doing.

Another participant has done a paper about the Treaty at university and completed a range of one-day and multi-day Treaty trainings, as well as learning from being on marae.

This participant identifies gaps in the organisation, can explain that critique to management, and understands that words like 'great' and 'excellent' are not the same as concrete examples of practice.

Anytime we question anything about our commitment to Te Tiriti we only get told we are excellent! We are doing great!

They consider complexities such as that there is no one Māori view, and can position their own models of thinking within the spectrum of Māori experience.

It is easier in a way if a Māori person agrees with our view and be like yeah see, that validates our view entirely. And when one doesn't it's like oh, you poor thing you have all this internalised racism. As opposed to also seeing their view as valid, valuing their experience and discussing it. And you know like the diversity of opinion. Complicated.

Another participant has participated in two Treaty workshops, ongoing Māori-led professional development and is learning te reo. They are aware of their lack of knowledge and aspirational to learn more so that they can implement it in their organisation.

We want to learn to do it better... I don't know how effective we are yet. It is a strategic goal, it is something we are working towards, we have got a heap of learning to do still.

Importantly they are honest and humble, they do not try to conceal the colonised reality of our work.

We are really early in our early days of that journey.

Another participant has done a four-day immersion course on a marae, read books and articles about the Treaty, and has completed a level four Certificate in Te Reo at Te Wananga o Aotearoa.

This participant contributes to their organisational self-assessment. Their process is to ask a smaller number of questions continuously, rather than a larger number of questions at one time.

To me the most valuable thing we are doing is just always asking ourselves pretty much the same questions over and over and staying flexible to the answers that we find to those questions. Those questions are just like 'how does this serve Māori, are we making assumptions about what Māori want?'

They are cognisant of the power sharing dynamic necessary for working towards Treaty partnership,

It is not us saying we know how to do it.

They talk about how it is more important to seek direction in dialogue with people than to take instruction from generic written information.

We are always looking outside of the organisation to be guided by the people we are there to serve. We would never say oh we read some stuff on the Treaty and now we know what is best for Māori.

They acknowledged organisational progress while being aware of potential.

My feeling is that we are doing okay but we could do more.

This small sample of participants shows that people with more knowledge about the Treaty are better able to critique their own thinking processes and identify organisational weaknesses than people with less Treaty education.

While self-assessment is an important pre-requisite to Treaty work in many circumstances, because it provides an opportunity for structured introspection, the process should be approached with protective factors such as engaging in continuous education, seeking advice from Māori, and reading indigenous authors.

Understanding the Treaty

Participants talk about how understandings of the Treaty vary. Some organisations are proactive in seeking out education, while others could improve in this area. Several barriers to learning about the Treaty are identified. Making sure education leads to action is discussed, along with some ideas about what Treaty education should include.

It was often felt that Pākehā have a knowledge deficit when it comes to the Treaty.

Participants said,

We get lots of organisations asking us what that even means because lot of organisations want to do it but don't know how to do it. Like what does it actually mean to work with the Treaty? (participant C).

I don't think I know much at all about the Treaty. I think most Pākehā would say they know little or nothing about it (participant E).

Treaty educator Jen Margaret agrees, “the general public’s knowledge about the Treaty is minimal” (2016, p. 10). This is because the typical Pākehā experience is one of scant and whitewashed education about the Treaty in school (Huygens, 2007), and years of misinformation about Māori in the media (Nairn, McCreanor & Barnes, 2017). These lenses mean it can take work for Pākehā to understand the Treaty without using strategies that help to shield us from connecting with our brutal history of colonisation.

This is compounded by many Pākehā not engaging in Treaty training.

To my knowledge none of them have done Treaty training. That would be a very challenging thing for the white [staff] (participant E).

Another participant said,

I think the education level of the staff is pretty lax (participant B).

Organisations took different strategies towards Treaty education. One organisation engaged their kaumātua to prescribe appropriate directions for learning.

We also asked our kaumātua ‘what should we know about?’ He said you need to know about what Kīngitanga is around here, and you need to understand Matariki and what that means for Māori, so we bring someone in to have those conversations with us as an organisation (participant C).

Another organisation sent their staff to an external provider who delivered learning in the marae environment.

We do training for staff so at the end of last year the staff all did [a four-day tikanga immersion] course based on the marae (participant D).

Ongoing education through internal communication was another strategy.

There is always an article in the magazine from the Māori trainer (participant E).

The Community Sector Taskforce (2006) recognises that not-for-profit organisations might struggle to release staff for Treaty education because resources, both human and financial are often stretched thin in the sector. This is especially pertinent if funding is tagged for specific purposes that exclude education.

It is important to understand that Treaty education is a precursor to Treaty work, and not work or decolonisation in and of itself (Council for International Development, 2007, Huygens, 2007). Education is the consciousness raising exercise that hopefully leads to action or struggle (Smith, 2012).

One participant demonstrated how education led to action in their organisation.

Treaty education created more internal pressure on the organisation to learn about Māori experience of climate change, give voice to Māori, or like consider and include Māori staff in the solutions (participant B).

Another participant had intergrated their understandings of honouring the Treaty and many in their organisation had made a personal commitment to the process.

I am sure that somewhere in our stuff it says that it is about honouring the Treaty, but I think it is maybe more personal than that for our staff members. It is more that we just believe it is the right thing to do (participant E).

A common concern is that organisations sometimes talk about the Treaty in the right way but do not have the right intentions or do not action their words.

Examples of this in literature include:

- “Make a commitment to actually working within a Treaty framework, don’t just pay lip service to it” (Tankersley, 2004, p. 8).
- “One of the most important aspects of working with te Tiriti is making sure that anything we do is genuine and not just for show” (Twyford et al., 2010, p. 25).

- “Many people are aware of organisations that have a Treaty policy ‘for show’” (Council for International Development, 2007, p. 50).
- “A Tiriti/Treaty framework requires more than just agreeing with the concept” (Community Sector Taskforce, 2006, p. 17).

The multiplicity of comments about this issue shows it is a common concern.

For example, some actions such as asking a Treaty related interview question have been used as evidence of compliance but do not represent actual change.

It’s like we can say we have met it if we were audited because we spoke about it in an interview, tick (participant B).

Another participant points out the same phenomenon within their organisation,

I think there is a level of lip service. A level of, this is something we have to do, with an eye roll. We will fund it, with an eye roll (participant E).

Effective Treaty education needs to be emotional to be transformative for Pākehā (Huygens, 2016). It needs to show how colonisation and therefore racism is woven through the social fabric we work in, it needs to be confronting, not dry and historical. Huygens describes the process of Treaty education, learning to critique our whitewashed worldview, as a “very internal, personal and difficult journey of struggle” (Huygens, 2016, p. 151). This request to become emotionally involved is mirrored by Awatere-Huata, who asks Pākehā to learn about the beauty of Māori and the pain of what has happened in New Zealand (Melbourne, 1995, p. 187). Many Treaty educators explain that understanding the Treaty necessitates understanding Treaty breaches (Margaret, 2016), “one has to embrace this history and come to an understanding of how it affects contemporary social political and organisational contexts” (Hotere-Barnes et al., 2016, p. 7).

A participant described their first Treaty education experience as helping them understand how racism affects the way things are today.

Making sense of the truth of our history, instead of this really confusing discombobulating sense of racism that you don't quite know how it doesn't make sense, but you know it doesn't make sense (participant B).

To briefly explain, colonisation is the continually oppressive regime whereby one people and culture, in New Zealand this is British people and culture, displaces the original people and culture of the land, in New Zealand this is Māori. This overarching ideology also promotes other inequalities, such as body, sexuality, gender and class disparities that infringe on the rights and freedoms of all people but cause particularly unequal and negative outcomes for Māori (Pihama, 2012).

Ongoing systemic Treaty breaches are evidenced by widespread racial inequalities leading to Māori experiencing “greater barriers than others to the achievement of good health, good education, decent work and an adequate standard of living” (Human Rights Commission, 2012, p. 2). This is called “structural discrimination, systemic discrimination or institutional racism” (Human Rights Commission, 2012, p. 2). Some have commented that situating the not-for-profit sector within the colonising system of capitalism will only serve to entrench inequality because “this economy is built on rampant inequality” (Kelsey, 1999).

As one participant noticed,

The inequity of outcomes drives the funding (participant E).

Because the New Zealand economy “emerged from the genocide and alienation of Māori from their land”, only anti-capitalist decolonisation can undo the inequality that it has created (No Pride in Prisons, 2016, p. 9).

While there are challenges accessing Treaty education of appropriate quality and engagement, some organisations had addressed these restraints by engaging kaumātua, outsourcing to marae-based settings, and delivering continuous education through communication channels. To be effective at remediating inequality Treaty education needs to include critical information about colonisation and fearless consideration about how this involves the not-for-profit sector.

Cultural Practices Versus Power Sharing

The Treaty is a fundamentally power sharing document (Council for International Development, 2007). It sets out the manner of governance that works in New Zealand (Network Waitangi, 2016), this is also called Māori sovereignty or tino rangatiratanga (Awatere, 1984). In contrast, several participants described cultural practices their organisation engaged in as being evidence of their commitment to the Treaty. Other participants were cognisant of separating cultural practices from their understandings of power.

Tino rangatiratanga, authority for Māori was promised in the second article of the Treaty. This self-determination is “the right to do your own thing, the right to determine your own destiny” (Awatere-Huata quoted in Melbourne, 1995, p. 181). A key outcome of power is that ordinary Māori people can make their own decisions (Melbourne, 1995). This means Māori control over Māori systems, “when we have our own kura, our own kura tuarua, our own whare waananga, our own television stations, when we have everything the way we want it that to me is power” (Awatere-Huata quoted in Melbourne, 1995, p. 184).

Not-for-profit organisations should support and build the capacity of tangata whenua. We must “actively support the continuation and restoration of indigenous control and authority... [and] prioritise work that advances indigenous aspirations” (Awatere, 1984, p. 10).

One participant explained that in their organisation,

Whenever we do any project we are always really mindful about how it affects Māori, what the Māori involvement is, or should be, not just for Māori projects but for all projects (participant D).

Moving from Pākehā domination to equality with Māori is part of a process called decolonisation. Decolonisation is the “bureaucratic, cultural, linguistic and psychological divesting of colonial power” (Smith, 2012, p. 101).

A key step towards decolonisation is recognising that Pākehā culture is not ‘normal’ culture. Pākehā culture is often assumed to be mainstream, or the way

things are in New Zealand, Māori culture on the other hand is often represented as other (Awatere, 1984). There is no Ministry of Pākehā Development, School of Pākehā Studies, or Pākehā TV because the Government, education system and media are already based on Pākehā norms and culture (Media and Te Tiriti Project, 2014). In this system Māori culture becomes an 'extra' (Awatere, 1984).

One participant described how equality could look in their organisation,

We can't escape that we are working in a Pākehā world. That is a really limiting factor... If you were to go the other way and say what would it look like if we were in a completely Māori world, and we were the same but reversed. Like we don't talk about people like myself as being Pākehā support, but we have Awhi Māori. Imagine a completely Māori world and we were a Māori organisation that has a Pākehā person employed and were all doing our best to understand that person and we feel like we were doing really well because we had a couple of Pākehā that we put on our board. Like that would be a really different looking organisation that what we have now. If you look at it from that way, we haven't gone half way towards being a Māori organisation (participant D).

Pākehā culture is built on democracy, the idea of majority rule (Awatere, 1984). This concept is often used in not-for-profit organisations to make decisions. However, because Pākehā are the dominant culture in New Zealand democratic style decision making may not support Treaty-based outcomes. Compounding this Pākehā conventions of expert status and professionalism based on Pākehā education (Pihama, 2001) often define who gets into decision making positions. Western academia is damaging to Māori, because it epistemologically frames knowledge in a way that excludes indigenous knowledges (Pihama, 2010). This is the "dominant global knowledge system" and is privileged over indigenous knowledge in New Zealand (Durie, 2005, p. 305). Māori work with a separate system of knowledge called mātauranga Māori that "recognises the interrelatedness of all things, draws on observations from the natural environment, and is imbued with a life force (mauri) and a spirituality (tapu)" (Durie, 2005 p. 303). Pākehā Treaty educators point out that the same critiques

of Pākehā style education can be applied to the not-for-profit sector, “so much of the thinking that has been done around challenging the privileged forms of knowing in the academic arena can also be extended to community spaces” (Hotere-Barnes et al., 2016, p. 5).

Participants discussed cultural practices in conjunction with the Treaty, including saying karakia, conducting pōwhiri, singing waiata, doing rāranga (weaving) and going to marae.

One participant described how their organisation,

Made a lot of efforts to support the people who use the service to access their culture in the community... [and] opportunities for people to engage with their culture within the organisation (participant A).

While including Māori cultural practices is beneficial to everyone, the Treaty is about sharing power, not culture: “a Treaty is a political arrangement, it is inherently about power. Power issues are often neglected in favour of responses that focus on Māori culture” (Council for International Development, 2007, p. 30). Implementing the Treaty is not about including Māori, or Māori culture, but revolutionising the underlying foundations the organisation is built on (Smith & Smith, 2019).

Another participant was aware of the role of cultural practices within their organisation.

Although there was a lot of stuff happening where people would have karakia and waiata and things like that, in my experience it was Pākehā trying to do the right thing and not necessarily being connected with Māori (participant E).

Performing cultural practices have also been critiqued “as another device to placate demands to share real power” (Kelsey, 1995, p. 141). As cultural activities lack the ability to challenge dominant power structures (Awatere, 1984). Many Māori cultural practices such as “haka, carving [and] meeting houses” (Awatere, 1984, p. 84) are non-threatening to white people. Sometimes Māori culture is

used as a “collection of adornments to be added, when deemed convenient, to a ...system otherwise wholly dictated by the coloniser” (No Pride in Prisons, 2016, p. 9). Therefore, not-for-profit organisations need to be very careful that Māori culture is not used to serve our own Pākehā purposes.

Te reo Māori holds a special place in the imaginations of Pākehā aspiring to honour the Treaty. All participants talked about te reo in their interviews. Some Māori believe it is important for Pākehā to learn te reo and some Māori do not.

Participants discussed ways that te reo was used within their organisations. This included employing people who speak te reo, making the organisation a te reo friendly environment, and supporting all staff to learn te reo by commissioning night classes to be run at the organisation.

Participants said,

- A number of staff are either fluent in te reo or are learning te reo (participant A).
- It all starts with language (participant D).
- I personally make a concerted effort to greet people in the minimal Māori language that I have (participant E).
- Start every staff meeting in te reo (participant B).
- There is a big emphasis on te reo (participant C).
- We decided to offer all the staff te reo if they would like to learn it (participant C).
- We do invest quite a lot in translations [into te reo] (participant D).

The focus on te reo is celebrated by many. The Waitangi Tribunal asserts that “Māori language is at the heart of [Māori] culture” (1986, p. 1). In a study of 126 active learners of te reo, 94% of whom are Māori, participants talked about wanting New Zealand to be truly bilingual and having respect for Pākehā that are passionate about learning the language (Peters, 2014). Other participants of that study said Māori have had to learn English, so Pākehā should have to learn te reo; Pākehā who learn te reo get along better with Māori; and that it is lazy for Pākehā to not learn te reo (Peters, 2014). Two participants of that study talked

about how in days gone by Pākehā who lived in Māori dominant areas such as Kawhia spoke te reo as a matter of course (Peters, 2014).

Even though many extoll the benefits of learning te reo, it is not analogous to honouring the Treaty and does not necessarily share power with Māori. One scholar said te reo is a “cultural taonga belonging to those of Māori ethnicity” (Laurie, 2011, para 10). Some Māori have concerns about losing control of their language, whether Pākehā can be trusted with the language, cultural appropriation, maintaining te reo as a form of resistance to colonisation, and the dilution of indigenous identity and distinctiveness when Pākehā also speak the language, and whether colonial guilt has become as a motivator for Pākehā to learn te reo (Lourie, 2011).

Participants of this research all said it was important for Pākehā to learn te reo, and for the use of te reo to be widespread in their organisations. However, there are a spectrum of Māori views about Pākehā learning te reo. It is important that honouring the Treaty means the group with power, in this case Pākehā, are giving some of that power back to Māori. Cultural practices have other benefits, but do not meet an organisation’s obligation to the Treaty.

Silencing the Critics

Participants sometimes felt shut down, silenced or excluded in their workplaces when they talked about the Treaty. Some also knew that this was happening to other people as well. The legal structure of not-for-profit organisations also creates perceived barriers to Treaty work because some people view Treaty work as political advocacy.

Two participants experienced uneasiness raising issues about the Treaty in their workplace because of a power dynamic where they felt unable to voice critique to management.

You are not seen to be supporting the efforts that they do do because you also know it is not enough. As soon as I raise anything with my boss she just thinks I’m being ridiculous because they are doing their best and

why can't I appreciate or understand that, or like value that (participant B).

I'm not so determined to challenge my boss's perspectives because I do like my job, I do want to keep doing my job, so I find that a bit challenging (participant E).

Māori colleagues shared similar concerns with two participants in this study.

Māori staff that talk to me about it are pretty not comfortable to say hey, you are not doing what you say you do. That would be like really unsafe for them. The Pākehā mostly just want to say, 'we do great', and the Māori that say 'we don't' can't really say that, they don't want to say that (participant B).

But [the Māori interviewers] said they didn't have the autonomy to just say, yeah sure let's sit down and have a discussion about rewriting these questions for the future or establishing a new method for the future (participant A).

Treaty work is seen by some not-for-profit organisations as political advocacy. This is challenging because the Treaty is political, and outcomes of colonisation, which not-for-profit organisations seeks to remedy are political.

A participant reflected,

I guess [the Treaty] like politicises something and people don't like to be politicised (participant B).

Treaty work requires some impetus to change personal, public, institutional, organisational or government actions, as the concept of working towards implementation comments that the Treaty is not being honoured currently. These actions could be framed as political advocacy. There are legal reasons why not-for-profit organisations do not engage in political advocacy unless it advances public benefit as established by charitable purpose or is ancillary to charitable purposes and consumes less than 20% of organisational resources (Charities Services, n.d.).

Treaty education provides public benefit because it is educational (Poirier, 2013), however, charitable organisations cannot be set up to “promote their point of view on an issue over other points of view” (Charities services, n.d.). Efforts “directed towards racial harmony in New Zealand” are also charitable (Poirier, 2013, p. 358), as long as organisations do not use, or encourage the use of illegal methods, such as illegal protests (Charities services, n.d.).

Participants and some of their co-workers experienced restrictions on speaking up about the Treaty within their organisations. This ties in with the depoliticisation of the sector, some of which comes from legal boundaries of the work registered charities, however Treaty implementation falls within this legislation in most cases.

Kaumātua

All participants worked for organisations that had kaumātua. Relationships that were nurtured were highly beneficial, while others leaned towards being ceremonial in nature.

Kaumātua are Māori elders who advise on matters of tikanga and oversee the spiritual and cultural health of an organisation (Kuruvila, 2017). The position was an area of concern for many, who feared the role was about ticking a cultural obligation box.

Participants commented,

When I first came here... [our kuia (female elder)] would come in once a month to sit in on our board meetings, so for me it was box ticking exercise (participant C).

In my experience, you have got a kaumātua, so you have got that covered... It’s not just about being able to dial a kaumātua (participant D).

Another participant described a time when the tokenistic role of kaumātua within their organisation was raised by a kuia herself.

Our kuia, she asked my friend, a young Māori woman, 'do you think I'm just the token Māori?' (participant B).

One participant took action to address their discomfort with the authenticity of the kaumātua role within their organisation by personally taking time to build the relationship.

I decided I needed to really engage that relationship and... develop a relationship because it feels wrong just to have someone walk into a room and then leave again afterwards, I didn't feel like we were honouring the purpose of that person being there... We chose to deliberately get to know each other, sit down and spend some time just talking about who we are and where we have come from, what we are doing here (participant C).

The outcome was positive for the participant and the organisation.

It feels more like there is a sense of cultural safety with him around now because we have a relationship (participant C).

Another participant sought guidance directly from their Māori leaders,

Me being able to say, hey, I am a bit confused about what is going on here, and actually be able to ... be guided [by kaumātua] (participant E).

A key protective factor to potential misuse of the kaumātua role is to create intentional relationships.

Māori Workers

All participants had Māori staff and governance members. It is important to have Māori at every level of organisations because the work must be designed and implemented by who have lived experience. This is key to implementing the Treaty (Hotere-Barnes et al., 2016).

It is important that representatives are accountable to their identified group, rather than being beholden to the organisation, this can be problematic when

employed staff are doubling as representatives for Māori (Herzog & Margaret, 2000).

One participant valued the knowledge Māori representation provides to their board and has considered ways to ensure their contribution will be valued.

We certainly find it important to make sure there is tangata whenua representation on the board, and that that representation is from people who have a really good understanding of the history, it is not just a brown face at the table (participant C).

Another participant acknowledged the role that the rūnanga provided in developing leadership skills for candidates.

Both the president and the vice president are both Māori, but they only got that way because they have a rūnanga that grew them, that gave them the education about the organisation and governance that they could stand for election, and the confidence to stand for election (participant E).

Representation, while a necessary first step, will always be second best where it denotes a minority voice; “it could be argued that, a truly bicultural workplace and institution that has firmly embedded Māori practices and people throughout all levels of the organisation, does not necessarily need an individual advocate” (Makoare & Birkbeck, 2000, p. 125). Achieving this goal means ensuring a strong Māori presence throughout the organisation instead of relying on single person representation in governance structures. However, there are less Māori people applying for some roles because of discrimination in the education system and work force (Human Rights Commission, 2013). It is important for organisations to use proactive employment practices to ameliorate this.

In not-for-profits we need to understand that “work is power” (Way, 2000, p.21) and in order to share the power, we need to share the work. It is also important that Māori are employed throughout organisations because services that relate to modalities Māori are affected by “cannot be understood or analysed by

outsiders or people who have not experienced, and who have not been born into this way of life” (Smith, 2012, p. 170).

One participant said,

We have intentionally employed Māori because they carry the right value and knowledge and they are the right people often to carry out that work (participant C).

Equitable employment practices are crucial to achieving this. Participant A was able to identify Eurocentric interview processes that could be harder for Māori.

It still seemed like they were using the European model of conducting the interview which is very clinical, critical and skills focused. Whereas I feel a lot of the Māori methodologies... are generally a lot more holistic and more conversational and more kind of team effort and focus... if [the organisation] adopted those things they would probably find it more inclusive and fairer for Māori communities (participant A).

All participants found that Māori were treated differently to Pākehā in their workplaces, showing that this is a pervasive issue within not-for-profit organisations. Two participants noted additional pressures put on Māori staff who were expected to meet cultural expectations of the organisation, on top of their regular work.

We have an expectation we put on [The Māori staff member] to lead us in events and in situations because of his knowledge and his mana...it does feel really unfair that we put that on him (participant C).

I think it was hard when we only had one Māori employee it was quite tough for her because she felt like she had to carry the weight of that a lot (participant D).

Another participant talked at length about the difficulties faced by a Māori employee, who they felt was being held to a different standard than Pākehā workers.

The one Māori man that they have in the organisation is given like all the dog jobs... [Management view him]... as like a problem and not performing and try and disrupt all of the things that he does... No white staff have ever been treated that way (participant B).

They also noted Pākehā and Māori staff members have different levels of authority while performing the same role in their organisation.

Our boss has this idea of having this co-leadership model. It's like her, Pākehā, and this other person who is Māori. If you look at anything around his whole role it is like pastoral care, and not anything around strategic decision making, not anything managerial, nothing that actually has power (participant B).

Participants saw the benefits of Māori serving their organisations in governance and as staff members, including additional historical and cultural knowledge, connections, values and mana. There were also challenges, including putting additional responsibilities on Māori, giving Māori different levels of responsibility and treating Māori staff differently to others.

Cultural Appropriateness

Some participants adopted strategies to try and make their services culturally appropriate for Māori, while other participants faced barriers from their organisations when trying to be culturally appropriate.

One participant used information gathered by Māori about people affected by their work and used that to lead the organisation.

My [Māori] colleague did a big research project based around a lot of kōrero with all sorts of people across the region... that has become a really guiding document for us (participant D).

They went on to attract Māori clients by demonstrating the Māori focus within their organisation through branding.

We communicate that we are here for Māori in ways that are quite subtle as well, like through our design and things like that (participant D).

Some examples of their approach include interchangeable logos, having all titles on their website available in Māori, and using a map with iwi boundaries.

One participant tried to transform their service to,

do decolonisation work in a way that is appropriate for Māori kids
(participant B)

by running camps on marae and talking about concepts like Freire's *The Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (2015). This reflects how some services need to build "new or changed services" for Māori (Hotere-Barnes et al., 2016, p. 4), or create "separate systems and services" for Māori (Twyford et al., 2010, p.26).

Unfortunately, the funder was a barrier for this participant,

The reaction from [the funder] was that we were not in any way to discuss anything like [Te Tiriti] with [the clients] because we would radicalise aggressive Māori, and then the [clients] would be more of a problem than they are now (participant B).

Another participant was told it was not necessary for them to consider cultural appropriateness in their workplace because they were not working with Māori clients at the time.

Because there were no clearly identifying Māori people that I was working with at the time there was no requirement, there was nothing I needed to do to implement the Treaty at my work (participant E).

If an organisation decides not to implement culturally appropriate practices until Māori are present, they are not likely to attract Māori clients. Māori are unlikely to come to the organisation in the hope that the organisation will become equitable after they join (Makoare & Birkbeck, 2000).

Organisations that took action to make their services culturally appropriate had more Māori clients. However, some faced challenges in offering or transforming their services appropriately.

Privilege

Privilege is when one group of people, in this case Pākehā, experience the benefits of inequality, above average outcomes, because of the group we are born into rather than the work we have done. Being cognisant of our privilege can expediate our ability to cut short the cycle of racial inequality in New Zealand.

Privilege occurs for Pākehā in New Zealand because colonisation has transferred the bulk of wealth, in the form of land, from Māori to Pākehā, and promoted British benchmarks of race, gender and class to the detriment of Māori (Pihama, 2001).

It is important that not-for-profit workers think critically about our privilege as part of “acknowledging that Aotearoa is a colonial society structured on racism and injustice” (Margaret, 2016, p. 24). This is central to connecting with the Treaty. However, we also need to remember that we will never understand what it means to be indigenous. One participant explains that,

I have a very good understanding of ... male privilege because I am a female and this world is a patriarchal disaster for women. It's easier for me to see oppression when it relates to me. It's not so easy to know how you respond to oppression for other people (participant E).

If we do not understand our privilege, then we are likely to perpetuate the cycle of inequality that best meets our own needs. One participant reflects,

[The organisation] itself was really this like privileged white elite with technological solutions that weren't really able to connect with Māori (participant B).

The same participant found a practical way to manage some of their privilege,

I feel like I need to shut up and give space and power and make sure I'm not being heard too much (participant B).

To assist people who are facing inequality in the “health, education and justice systems, and other public services” (Human Rights Commission, 2013), and are

therefore outsourced to the not-for-profit sector, we as Pākehā must also understand how we benefit from these systems. This brings into focus how we can honour the Treaty through power sharing: “the culture on the strong end of the power differential giving away some of that power” (Tankersley, 2004, p.10).

Ultimately the work this thesis discusses cannot be executed by organisational actions alone. Personal changes also need to be developed continuously, for example through considering how white privilege and racism operates for us individually.

Racism in the Not-for-Profit Sector

Racism is discrimination towards people of a different race. Racism that is built into colonised states affects outcomes for not-for-profit organisations because success is defined by the dominant culture. Participants also reflect on and challenge racism within their organisations.

Racism is based on a belief that one’s own race and racialised “beliefs, experiences, and epistemologies” (Milner, 2007, para 6) are normal, and the other race is “inherently inferior” (Mahuika, 2015, p. 37). These ideologies lead not-for-profit organisations to habitually support Māori to achieve success as it is aspired to by Pākehā (Walker, 2004). This is backed up by government set targets and standards which are often assimilationist in that they are measured by Pākehā modalities and ways of life (Walker, 2004). Aiming for Pākehā conceptualisations of health, education and wellness generally “move [Māori] to the Pākehā side of the equation and represent the ultimate success of the colonisation project” (Mikaere, 2011, p. 75). This is because “the system has continually set out to address the problem of disparity between Māori and non-Māori performance, rather than explain the marginalisation of Māori knowledge, history and custom within the system” (Penetito, 2010, p. 58). This has ongoing negative consequences for Māori.

One participant noticed a range of racist practices at their workplace including giving Māori decorative positions with no decision-making power; being unfairly demanding on Māori staff; laying off Māori for underperforming and replacing

those staff with Pākehā; maintaining predominantly Pākehā management structures; and creating Pākehā centric services. They said,

For an organisation that really tries to be not racist, the day to day of management is super racist. But they don't even see it (participant B).

Services could also become directed at Māori because of racism, one participant said,

I think that is like all the racism in the system which is like, this poor brown child, better get an intervention (participant B).

Another participant took steps to ensure their work was meaningful to all clients, this protects against racial targeting.

We work by invitation in that we don't approach [a client] and impose, 'we are here to fix you because we can see something is wrong', we wait until we are invited to come in and have that conversation (participant C).

Working on anti-racist themes should result in action, this means "connection to concrete initiatives in actual situations" (Ellsworth, 1989, p. 303). One participant challenged racism by promoting Māori art,

We want that stuff to be enjoyed and visible by Māori and non-Māori. There is just a wealth of great stuff there that we really want to help come out more. Off the marae, off some of those spaces, and more into the public space (participant D).

It is important for Pākehā not-for-profit workers to challenge the Pākehā centric work of the not-for-profit sector. This will help us move towards an anti-racist stance so that our good intentions do not perpetuate the unequal and assimilationist projects of colonisation.

Conclusion

Themes discussed by participants included how people tried to find out how well they were adhering to the Treaty; such as through surveys, research projects,

consulting with Māori staff, and organisational introspection or self-assessment. Participants experienced a wide range of knowledge about the Treaty among themselves and their organisations. While some actively sought out Treaty education, others limited their engagement with the Treaty to learning only. It was noted that the Treaty education needed to be informed by Māori experiences and include privilege and racism as important themes to be effective at motivating change. There was a spectrum of opinion on how much incorporating cultural practices into organisational life counted towards honouring the Treaty. Some organisations tended to suppress criticism of their Treaty efforts, this could lead to Pākehā who spoke up about Treaty feeling isolated. Some made genuine efforts to build sustainable relationships with Māori, while others thought just enough was being done to tick a box. Sometimes Māori were asked to contribute their cultural knowledge, above and beyond their paid roles, and sometimes Māori were intentionally employed and valued for their specific expertise. All participants said Māori workers were treated differently than others. Some organisations made efforts to adapt their services for Māori clients, while others limited their attempts at cultural appropriateness to times when Māori were present.

Overall participants and their organisations were generally doing the best they could to honour the Treaty, with the knowledge and resources they have.

RECOMMENDATIONS

This section reflects on commonalities found within participant transcripts, and lists recommendations based on findings from this research. These recommendations are based on the experiences of six people and are not a comprehensive inventory of all possible strategies. The proposed actions are grouped into categories as found in the *Sharing Experiences* section: self-assessment, understanding the Treaty, cultural practices versus power sharing, silencing the critics, kaumātua, Māori workers, cultural appropriateness, privilege, and racism in the not-for-profit sector.

In this context self-assessment is asking ourselves how we are doing at honouring the Treaty. This activity can be tempered by reflecting authentically, and prioritising accurate descriptions of actual work done, instead of indulging in positive messaging and branding. Doing this will help us understand and explicitly name our position, which for Pākehā is usually at the start of our Treaty journey. Practicing intentional ignorance will enable us to step back from trying to be the leaders in all spaces. One approach could be to continuously ask the same questions, while being open to new answers. Finally, we need to implement processes that ensure we are accountable to the people who are affected by our work.

Pākehā will become more effective in our work in the not-for-profit sector if we gain a working understanding of the Treaty. This education must support Māori aspirations and lead to organisational challenges and changes. We need to appreciate the scope of investment required for Pākehā to work appropriately in the not-for-profit sector and budget for a commensurate investment of both time and money into this endeavour. One option is to continuously embed various mediums of Treaty education into organisational life, such as night classes, articles within organisational communication and conversations with kaumātua. Treaty education needs to be relevant and usable, one way to ensure this is to ask Māori leadership what areas we need to focus on. Learning about the colonising history of the not-for-profit sector is a helpful inclusion. In order to

get the most benefit from Treaty education we need to be open to the emotional challenges of learning about colonisation, racism and privilege, integrate this knowledge personally, and expect that Treaty education will lead to organisational change.

It is best practice to embed Māori cultural practises into daily organisational life, particularly by learning and correctly pronouncing te reo. However, the motivations behind cultural practices need to be considered. A starting place could be acknowledging that we as Pākehā enjoy Māori culture, feel it is the right thing to do, or even that we hope to attract Māori clients. The impact of cultural practises on Māori should be evaluated honestly, for example the outcomes of waiata may be that people feel connected and valued, not that they have received political parity by singing. Naming non-Māori roles, services and resources as Pākehā roles, services and resources is a useful tool for assessing power distribution.

While sympathising with not-for-profit workers, who are commonly yoked with excessive demands and underfunding, critics can still be a valuable resource in organisations. A multiplicity of truths can be recognised, whereby an organisation can be both doing our best, and not doing as much as we could be to honour the Treaty. Organisations will benefit from sanctioning a safe way for Māori and Pākehā to critique our Treaty implementation processes. This will necessitate accommodating, and perhaps even celebrating political discomfort.

For kaumātua to be most successful in their roles, guiding and caring for our organisations, we need to genuinely engage in relationships with them. This means spending time building relationships, additional to their presence at formal events and meetings.

One way to encourage Māori staff and governance members is to value Māori knowledge, and treat Māori and Pākehā fairly. Recruiting people who have the right skills and attributes for their role sometimes means that workers have to be Māori. It is important to ensure Māori staff have legitimate work and responsibilities as per their job titles, as well as development opportunities.

Māori intellectual property such as kaupapa Māori and Mātauranga Māori (wisdom) needs to be rewarded in the same way as imported systems, such as professional qualifications. Organisations should size roles accurately, specifying what cultural expertise is required, instead of relying on unspoken expectations that Māori will make those contributions over and above their normal work. Naming all aspects of work a person is asked to do could lead to creating new roles or adjusting other workloads accordingly.

Making services culturally appropriate for Māori involves several facets. Te reo and tikanga Māori need to be included and supported within organisations. We need to work in ways that are appropriate for Māori consistently, not only when Māori are present. We need to communicate this in intentionally Māori ways and through Māori mediums such as te reo, Māori design and recognition of Māori places. Ultimately, we need to make sure that Māori have sovereignty over resources, designing services and defining outcomes.

The concepts of privilege and racism need to be at the forefront of our minds as we work to decolonise our organisations. It is important to acknowledge how systems in New Zealand privilege us as Pākehā, and that we need to listen to people with personal experience of specific oppressions in order to respond appropriately. Addressing racism within our work involves questioning the reasoning that leads to service provision. We need to consider whether services are wanted, needed and invited by clients, or designed to make others, including Māori, think and act more like ourselves.

Implementing the Treaty in not-for-profit organisations requires a set of actions underpinned by a set of values. The values drawn on by participants include authenticity, accountability, accuracy, encouragement, fairness, humility and openness. The actions described by participants include asking, listening and responding; reflecting, recognising, acknowledging, naming and understanding; investing and building; embedding, including and accommodating; valuing, rewarding, supporting and celebrating; sharing and decolonising; and communicating.

TOWARDS AN IMPLIMENTATION FRAMEWORK

Implementing the Treaty in not-for-profit organisations will require individual and structural reworking and relationship building. A theory of change is required to move from inconsistent and splatter gun attempts to honour the Treaty, to effective and cohesive transformation (Smith & Smith, 2019). Not-for-profit organisations can draw on indigenous and non-indigenous change management strategies to do this decolonising work.

For Pākehā to implement the Treaty in our organisations we need to be deliberate about being allies. This necessitates emotional engagement (Huygens, 2007; Ganz, 2011), and continuous personal skill development, so that we can build community and be role models for change (Smith & Smith, 2019).

The antidote to box ticking is an emotional connection to the change process. Emotional states that research identifies as helpful in promoting change include empathy, openness, sharing, acceptance, camaraderie and yearning for justice (Huygens, 2007), urgency, outrage, hope, solidarity, and a concept called 'you can make a difference' (Ganz, 2011).

Building a new social movement that challenges and changes the status quo of an organisation takes organised collective action (Ganz, 2011). For Treaty work this requires a critical mass of people with shared understandings about the Treaty. A 'lone individual' cannot make change in an organisation (Huygens, 2007). One way to build cohesion around an issue is through storytelling (Ganz, 2011). According to political organiser Marshall Ganz, storytelling marries the three strands of effective leadership: the head, cognitive strategy; the heart, motivation; and the hands, action and learning. Communicating through stories using the plot template of challenge, choice and outcome facilitates "the practice of translating values into action" (Ganz, 2001, p. 274). This is because stories are emotional and emotions are how we experience our values, they are the vector through which we process moral choices (Ganz, 2011). Effective leadership that mobilises action is about choosing to convey the specific emotions that facilitate action (Ganz, 2011). Unity is a protective factor that helps safeguard the work of

organisations, so that it is relevant to communities, and not tied to any one person (Smith & Smith, 2019).

Organisational capability needs to be invested in in tandem with Māori capability, so that organisations develop the capacity to work effectively alongside Māori to support Māori aspirations (Smith & Smith, 2019). Adopting an unapologetically pro-Māori stance is integral to organisations becoming equipped with the resources required to be directed by Māori (Smith & Smith, 2019). In order to be led by Māori organisations need to be engaged with Māori. These relationships could take many forms but *Treaty Journeys* suggests “for tangata tiriti organisations, the primary relationship is with hapū in the area/s where they are located. For national organisations... the usual practice is to focus on the hapū in the areas where the organisation has offices” (Council for International Development, 2007, p. 22). Investing in these collaborations involves internal and external decolonising change.

An indigenous theory of change that organisations could build into our processes is educationalist Graham Smith’s five-step process for doing indigenous work: positionality, criticality, structuralist and culturalist theories of change, praxicality and transformability (Smith, 2014).

Positionality is about what we are doing within the framework of who we are (Smith, 2014). As Pākehā we need to own up to our context as beneficiaries of colonisation. To do this we need critical understandings of power, inequality and race. Structuralist and culturalist considerations are the structural and cultural frameworks that we work within, and could include “economic, ideological, and power structures” (Smith, 2014, p. 26). Organisational structures show up in the distribution of leadership and decision making, flow of communication, and processes of collaboration and accountability (Morgan, 2015). Organisational cultures are the values and behaviour which shape the organisation (Jabri, 2017). This is often hidden or unspoken (Schein, 1992) but need to be considered because organisations are the fruit of their structure and culture. Criticality is about perceiving and understanding colonisation as it is now. Colonisation has morphed into new forms like “globalisation, free market, neo-liberalisation,

profitability, [and] capitalism” (Pihama, 1999, p.45). Praxicality is the cycle of action, practice and reflection. Through the process of praxicality theory is practice informed, and practice is theory informed. This cycle is about constant learning and improvement through doing and reflecting with people who are affected by the work (Smith, 2014). Transformability is about planning and strategising for change, implementing that change, and owning the notion of being a changemaker. Transformability is the state of embracing the previous four aspects of change.

Being a Pākehā ally means we need to learn about, and become emotionally attached to, historical truths and contemporary issues faced by Māori. We also need to role model a positive disposition towards building the capabilities and community needed to implement the Treaty. One mechanism that can facilitate mobilising others to prioritise implementation the Treaty is storytelling. It is imperative to garner support for this work as it cannot be done alone. It is necessary to form relationships with hapū and embed a pro Māori stance into the fabric of the organisation. One framework that can assist with this decolonising process is the Indigenous Theory of Change authored by Graham Smith.

LIMITATIONS OF THIS RESEARCH

The limitations of this research are largely based on it being intended to partially fulfil the requirements of a Master's degree. This has restrained the specificity of the methodology, and the resources which could be inputted to the study. This chapter summarises the purpose of limiting this research to a small number of analogous participants, and outlines options for further study.

Choosing six known participants has facilitated rich conversations with people who are actively willing to discuss nuances of their experience with the Treaty in not-for-profit contexts. Restricting participants to a niche of people who are like me in demographic and disposition has served power sharing research strategies such as co-constructing research and learning together. All participants were making efforts to put the Treaty at the centre of their work, and, as we share similar aims, we were able to co-construct meanings from our common journeys. However, this approach also confines this research to a very small part of the not-for-profit worker's experience.

While a more generalised study could encompass more participants, or a wider scope of participants, the opportunity cost of that type of research includes increased superficiality of responses, and ethical risks. In a larger study researcher(s) may not have the pre-established trust that this study has capitalised on in order to explore tensions and contradictions more deeply. An increased number of participants may not be conducive to methodologies that enable meaningful analysis of data, as it may be intensive to interview many participants at length and complete transcripts of those conversations. Furthermore, it would be difficult to match a larger number of researchers and participants closely so that they are mutually teaching and learning together. It may not be suitable for Pākehā researchers who are newer to Treaty study seeking to interview Pākehā in the same position, because that setting could be conducive to reinforcing unintended racism or other unhelpful practices.

Instead of continuing this research with a larger sample size, further study could focus on going deeper into not-for-profit contexts. This could include evaluating

written materials such as reports, policies and procedures from participants' organisations; interviewing clients and colleagues of participants; and observing work settings, such as by attending meetings or surveying physical spaces. This additional information could lead to new insights about implementing the Treaty in the not-for-profit sector.

Although this study was not directed at achieving a representative cross section of Pākehā attempting to implement the Treaty in not-for-profit organisations, the participants chosen, and methodologies selected have contributed valuable insights to this field.

CONCLUSION

Overall this research concludes that the not-for-profit sector, while aspiring to moral goodness, is embedded in colonialism and capitalism and therefore at a disjunct with the Treaty.

While the pervasive view is that we in the not-for-profit sector are doing the right thing most of the time, including in our efforts to honour the Treaty, many argue that we are still complicit in building the edifice of colonisation because of inescapable societal structures.

This thesis has attempted to understand more about the Treaty and the not-for-profit sector as they relate to each other. The history of, and current circumstances affecting the not-for-profit sector (such as financial, reporting, time, personnel and other restraints) have formed a disabling context, diverting energy away from deepening relationships with tangata whenua. A brief and sanitised Treaty education programme often overlays the status quo as a band-aid, enabling organisations to tick boxes without requiring decolonising structural changes.

The texts provided to not-for-profit organisations, which seek to lead our sector to Treaty relationships are mainly focused on the first steps of this journey. The steps taken by many not-for-profit organisations are Treaty education and self-assessment, but these are often depoliticised and may not demand ongoing responsibility for change.

After considering my own experiences in relation to the stories I have read in publications, I then recorded and transcribed critical conversations with six anonymous Pākehā not-for-profit workers and analysed our issues. There were many commonalities between our experiences.

All participants wanted to enact best practice but many experienced unease in the application of this work. They found that colleagues within their organisations had a spectrum of understandings about the Treaty. These differences led to piecemeal attempts at power sharing, which may not

ultimately advance Māori interests. There were also concerns about the effectiveness of self-assessment by Pākehā about our own Treaty work because of inevitable and inbuilt biases. This trend might be ameliorated by acknowledging our own privilege as Pākehā and engaging in continuous dialogue about racism.

The experiences of participants within their organisations were often about being minimised or excluded for speaking up about the Treaty at work. Participants also had concerns that Treaty policies are sometimes written for show, or Treaty friendly actions undertaken to tick a box. Some of these actions included token Māori representations in governance, and Māori employees who were treated differently to other staff. Participants noticed that some organisations seemed confused between cultural expression (such as pōwhiri and karakia) and power sharing as required by the Treaty. However, sometimes these cultural practices were woven through the organisation in a way that was beneficial and welcoming to Māori.

Finally, recommendations and change management strategies that not-for-profit organisations can draw on to implement a Treaty strategy were described.

This thesis calls upon Pākehā to educate ourselves and others with emotional Treaty education that discusses the hard topics of colonisation, racism and privilege. As we tell our own story, and talk with others about their stories, we challenge the box ticking and ceremonial nature of culture within not-for-profit organisations. This must lead to supporting Māori leadership at all levels of organisations to facilitate real power sharing that meets the needs and aspirations of local hapū. Embodying our obligations to the Treaty also requires personal responsibility for our own beliefs, as we, as Pākehā, identify practices, policies and power structures that could be harnessed or developed to transform our organisations.

The discussed recommendations will necessitate a massive investment of time and energy as colonisation itself needs to be dismantled, both personally and structurally. This thesis describes how the not-for-profit sector is a potential

vehicle for this work. Ultimately working with the Treaty is not meant to be a painful obligation, but an amazing opportunity. Through this work Pākehā can reconnect with our true position within New Zealand society by engaging meaningfully with tangata whenua. As one participant said,

It's quite humbling isn't it, but cool.

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APPENDIX A

Ethics Approval Letter

Faculty of Maori & Indigenous Studies
Te Pua Wānanga ki te Ao
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Te Manu Taiko: Human Research Ethics Committee
Faculty of Māori & Indigenous Studies
Te Pua Wānanga ki te Ao

07/06/18

Ethics Approval

Tēnā koe e te manu hakahaka e whai atu ana i te whānuitanga me te rētōtanga o ngā kaupapa rangahau o te wā.

This letter is to confirm that Nicolina Newcombe has received ethical approval for the study 'Pākehā implementing Treaty based practice in not-for-profit organisations'. The ethics application was reviewed by members of Te Manu Taiko and was signed off by the chair of the committee on 07/06/18. Good luck as you embark on your research.

Kimihia, rangahaua!

Associate Professor Maui Hudson
Convener, Te Manu Taiko
Te Pua Wānanga ki te Ao
Faculty of Māori & Indigenous Studies

APPENDIX B

Research Information Sheet

Research Information Sheet

Te Kāhui Manu Tāiko

Private Bag 3105

Human Research Ethics Committee

Hamilton 3240



Working towards honouring Te Tiriti o Waitangi in Not for Profit Organisations

Research Information Sheet - Interview

Tēnā koe,

My name is Nicolina Newcombe. I am conducting research on Pākehā implementing Te Tiriti o Waitangi in their work for not for profit organisations. The aim of this research project is to:

- Inform readers about why it is imperative that not for profit organisations implement treaty based practice in their work.
- Critique the work of not for profit organisations in relation to our obligation to honour Te Tiriti o Waitangi.
- Identify what is working well.
- Develop and create further processes and methods that Pākehā can use to implement Te Tiriti o Waitangi in their work at not for profit organisations.

As part of our research we are conducting a short preliminary questionnaire about your current values and knowledge about the Treaty, followed by shared storying and discussion. I would like to interview you for this project to discuss your thoughts about our personal experiences with the Treaty of Waitangi in our work in not-for-profit organisations in New Zealand. Interviews will take about one to two hours and would be set at a time and place convenient for you. All information you provide in an interview is confidential and your name will not be used, unless indicated by yourself. If possible we would like to record the interview on audio tape in order to develop clear and full transcripts of the interview. You have the right to among other things to:

- refuse to answer any particular question.
- ask any further questions about the study that occurs to you during your participation.
- withdraw your material and participation at any time.
- receive to change and comment on the summary transcript of your interview.
- be given access to a summary of the findings from the study, when it is concluded.

I expect the major outcome from this research to be a full and complete 90 point thesis. A summary of the research findings will be sent out to you.

Thank you very much for your time and help in making this study possible. If you have any queries or wish to know more please phone me or write to me at:

Nicolina Newcombe
Te Pua Wānanga ki te Ao - Faculty of Māori and Indigenous Studies
Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato - The University of Waikato
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For any queries regarding ethical concerns please contact my supervisor:

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Office phone: 07 838 4997

Te Pua Wānanga ki te Ao – Faculty of Māori and Indigenous Studies

APPENDIX C

Possible Questions for Reflection

What are some of the values and assumptions that we have about ourselves and the treaty?

Have you had any similar experiences?

What are the similarities or differences to your own experiences?

What do you think about the story?

What is the issue?

What is your role in this issue?

How is this issue important?

How would management/board/tangata whenua/public see this?

What are the obstacles in the path? How will you move beyond them?

What support or resources do you need?

What's one thing you can do right now?

What do you see as the biggest challenge?

What do you see as the best outcome?

What, if anything, may we have left out?

Is there anything that is the same as when we started?

Is there anything that is different now?

How could the process be improved?

APPENDIX D

Description of the Interview Process and Suggested Discussion Questions for Participants

In this section of the interview we will share personal stories about our experience engaging with the Treaty while working within a not-for-profit organisation.

You can prepare a story or comments ahead of time, however you do not need to do so.

You can choose if you would like to share your story first or second.

After each story we will have the opportunity to ask each other questions, discuss and reflect.

You can ask me any questions you like.

Here are some suggested discussion questions for us to choose from:

<p>Feelings</p> <p>Have you ever felt proud about the way the treaty is implemented in your organisation?</p> <p>Have you ever felt frustrated about the way the treaty is implemented in your organisation?</p>
<p>History</p> <p>What do you know about how colonisation has shaped the community need your organisation addresses?</p> <p>What do you know about the history of your organisation?</p> <p>What do you know about the land your organisation is built on?</p>
<p>Action</p>

<p>What actions have you personally taken to work towards implementing the treaty in your organisation?</p> <p>How have you personally developed your skills to implement the treaty in your organisation?</p>
<p>Policy</p> <p>How are policies developed in your organisation?</p> <p>Does your organisation have a Treaty of Waitangi policy?</p>
<p>Funding</p> <p>What sources of funding does your organisation draw on?</p> <p>How does the funding your organisation draws on promote or inhibit your organisation to/from implementing the treaty?</p> <p>What do you know about where the funding your organisation draws on originates from?</p>
<p>Service delivery</p> <p>How does the service your organisation delivers work or not work for Māori?</p> <p>What does your organisation do to ensure that services are visible and accessible for Māori?</p> <p>What does your organisation do to ensure that services improve outcomes for Māori?</p> <p>Is there any stigma attached to clients who use the service your organisation delivers?</p> <p>Does your organisation do anything which exploits its clients?</p>
<p>Cultural practices</p>

What cultural practices are commonplace at your organisation?

What does your organisation do to value culture?

What does your organisation do to acknowledge privilege?

Resources

What resources does your organisation commit towards implementing the treaty?

What resources do think would help your organisation work towards implementing the treaty?

Activism

Do you think the work of your organisation is activism?

Do you think treaty work is activism?

Do you think you are an activist?

General

How does the treaty influence the work of your organisation?

Have you ever been part of another organisation that did things differently?

What are the bridges or barriers that make implementing the treaty in your organisation easy or hard?

What is your organisation doing well?

What do you see as the biggest challenge?

What do you see as the best outcome?

APPENDIX E

Evaluation

This evaluation pertains to your personal views about the treaty and race relations in New Zealand. This evaluation is not designed to have right or wrong answers. Your answers will not be shared with the monitor.

Please mark the statement you believe to be most true.

- The Treaty has three principles
- There are two treaties, and a compromise must be made between them
- Te Tiriti o Waitangi is the only legal treaty.

Which of these statements do you believe is most true?

- No Pākehā are racist
- Some Pākehā are racist
- Most Pākehā are racist
- All Pākehā are racist

Please mark all statements you believe to be true.

- A historical injustice, in which British settlers were unjustly violent towards Māori, has occurred.
- New Zealand was colonised by the British in the past.
- Colonisation is currently an active political force in New Zealand.
- I have a personal responsibility to resist being complicit with colonisation.
- I have a personal responsibility to undertake decolonising actions.

I DO/NOT experience privilege in New Zealand because of my Pākehā ethnicity

Please define the following words

Colonisation

Neoliberalism

Capitalism

Not-for-profit organisation

The English Treaty

Decolonisation

Kaupapa Māori

He Whakaputanga

Te Tiriti o Waitangi

Tikanga

How much time in the role you will be talking about today is allocated to each of the following tasks by percentage (this can add up to more than 100%).

Transformative action ___%

Being face to face with clients ___%

Being face to face with stakeholders ___%

Being in internal meetings ___%

Hospitality ___%

Administration ___%

Learning and development ___%

Research ___%

Other ___%

Outside of school, please list any formal treaty training you have done.

Outside of school, please describe any informal treaty training you have done.

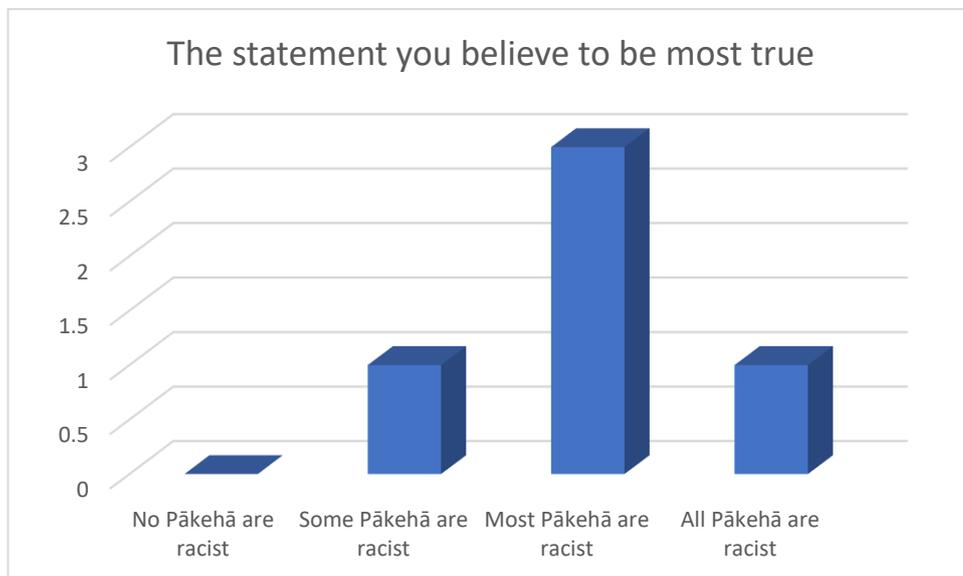
Outside of school, please list any formal training in te reo, raranga, kapa haka, or any other Māori cultural practice that you have done.

Outside of school, please describe any informal training in te reo, raranga, kapa haka, or any other Māori cultural practice that you have done.

Thank you for your time.

APPENDIX F

Summary of Evaluations



All participants agreed with all of these statements

- A historical injustice, in which British settlers were unjustly violent towards Māori, has occurred.
- New Zealand was colonised by the British in the past.
- Colonisation is currently an active political force in New Zealand.

- I have a personal responsibility to resist being complicit with colonisation.
- I have a personal responsibility to undertake decolonising actions.

All participants agreed that they experience privilege in New Zealand because of their Pākehā ethnicity

Formal treaty training participants have done (outside of school).

- One paper at university and a range of workshops with Ingrid Huygens
- None
- Four treaty workshops
- Two treaty workshops

Informal treaty training participants have done (outside of school)

- Conversations, being on marae, working in youth justice
- None
- Conversations with Kaumātua, and attending events where it is discussed informally
- We engage in conversations regularly at work
- Te Taihu course at Wintec, reading books and articles, conversations

Formal training in te reo, raranga, kapa haka, or any other Māori cultural practice that participants have done (outside of school)

- 3x formal language programs (never finished them)
- N/a
- Currently level one te reo
- None
- Te Wananga o Aotearoa levels 1-4 te reo, adult education night classes

Informal training in te reo, raranga, kapa haka, or any other Māori cultural practice participants have done (outside of school)

- Staff meetings at work; te wiki o te reo Māori; self-directed learning; putting stickers with maroi words on stuff at home

- Waiata practices at my organisation, guidance around protocols for cultural practices at certain events from kaumātua within organisation
- Being part of Māori ropu for work, korero with friends and colleagues, being audience member for toi Māori events.
- Engage matariki and kingitanga education for staff
- Raranga harakeke -2.5 years on marae and in a training establishment

APPENDIX G

Facebook Post



A screenshot of a Facebook post by Nicolina Newcombe, dated April 18. The post features a black background with a stylized orange and yellow crown icon at the top. The text asks if anyone Pākehā who works for a not-for-profit organisation in or near Hamilton is interested in participating in research about implementing the treaty in their work. The post has 1 like and 6 comments. Interaction buttons for Like, Comment, and Share are visible at the bottom.

Nicolina Newcombe
April 18 · 🌐

Is anyone Pākehā who works for a not-for-profit organisation in or near Hamilton interested in participating in my research about implementing the treaty in their work?

1 · 6 Comments

Like · Comment · Share