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WHAI RAWA, WHAI MANA, WHAI ORANGA

Māori marine economy:
Its definition, principles,
and structure

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About the Sustainable Seas National Science Challenge

Our vision is for Aotearoa New Zealand to have healthy marine ecosystems that provide value for all New Zealanders. We have 60+ research projects that bring together around 250 scientists, social scientists, economists, and experts in mātauranga Māori and policy from across Aotearoa New Zealand. We are one of 11 National Science Challenges, funded by the Ministry of Business, Innovation and Employment.

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1. Māori Marine Economy - Overview

The Māori marine economy is a view of the oceans and its economic activity, value, and impact that comes from a place of kinship and reciprocity. In a te ao Māori world view, the oceans are an ancestral being – Tangaroa, god of the seas, its currents and its inhabitants – to whom people have kinship rights and obligations and on whom we depend for our survival. The health and well-being of Tangaroa is inextricably linked to the health and well-being of the people. This view is consistent with the aspirational view held by Ko Ngā Moana Whakauka Sustainable Seas National Science Challenge about what a blue economy is. Ko Ngā Moana Whakauka defines a blue economy as one that will generate economic value and contribute positively to ecological, cultural and social wellbeing. This view supports Ngā Moana Whakauka in its mission to “enhance utilisation of our marine resources within environmental and biological constraints... through ecosystem-based management” (Lewis et al, 2020, p5).

As a research team, we deliberated on the definition of the Māori marine economy over two days. We concluded that whai rawa, whai mana, whai oranga – the title of the research – captured its essence. What the research set out to do was to elaborate on the Māori marine economy’s historical and contemporary basis.

In the research, we found that:

- The Māori marine economy traditionally centred around whānau and hapū occupation, use, and management of fishing grounds under the leadership of rangatira, according to tikanga Māori practices of management, sharing and reciprocal exchange.
- The mātauranga or knowledge associated with management, protection, and use of the marine environment and its resources that had been refined through generations of experience as tāngata whenua was diminished through the process of colonisation.
- Māori ownership and control of the marine economy, its fishing grounds, and other resources, was transferred to non-Māori ownership and control. This change was achieved through legislation and governmental institutions, depriving Māori of the opportunity to sustain themselves economically, socially, and culturally through the marine economy.
- The introduction of the quota management system was resisted because it did not recognise Māori rights and interests under the Treaty of Waitangi. The Waitangi Tribunal finding that Māori retained unextinguished ownership of the marine economy forced the government to negotiate with Māori. The subsequent Treaty of Waitangi settlement of Māori fisheries has sought to restore Māori customary fishing rights and facilitate Māori back into the business of fishing, but under the new regime.
- Māori ownership of quota is concentrated within iwi and pan-iwi ownership of Moana New Zealand and a 50% stake in Sealord. Māori marine-based enterprises are, nonetheless, investing in recreating

and applying kaitiaki-centred business models at whānau, hapū, and iwi scales to provide for the wellbeing and wealth of their communities. An institutional map shows the Māori marine economy has much potential, but it is constrained by regulatory institutions that sit outside direct Māori control and influence.

Consistent with the purpose of Ko Ngā Moana Whakauka, a current research project¹ is building on these findings, to examine indigenising the blue economy in Aotearoa at the enterprise level and the political and economic institutions within which the Māori marine economy is governed and managed.

1. Indigenising the blue economy sustainableseaschallenge.co.nz/our-research/indigenising-the-blue-economy



2. Māori marine economy

2.1 Purpose

This paper defines the Māori marine economy, outlines its structure, and highlights challenges for Māori marine-based enterprises engaged in the business of fishing. It draws together findings from a literature review of traditional and contemporary knowledge, values, principles and practices; case studies of Māori marine-based enterprises; and an institutional analysis of the Māori marine economy (Reid et al, 2019; Rout, Lythberg, et al, 2019; Rout, Reid, et al, 2019).

2.2 Definition

Whai rawa, whai mana, whai oranga means Māori marine economy in a te ao Māori world view.

Whai rawa, as the first of these elements, refers to the pursuit, use, and care of resources signifying the customary and commercial nature of sea-based economic development intended to satisfy human and nonhuman needs over time (Ellis, 2021; Hikuroa et al, 2018).

Whai mana is the pursuit of spiritual power, authority, and dignity vested in ngā tāngata (the people) and te taiao (the environment), empowering a Māori approach to governance and management (Dell et al, 2018; Joseph & Benton, 2021). Whai mana acknowledges the marine economy as an economy of mana (Hēnare, 2014), where enterprising activity is intended to be mana-enhancing, mauri-

inducing, and kaitiaki-centred (Mika, Dell, et al, 2022; Reid, 2021).

Whai oranga refers to the pursuit and state of the well-being of Tangaroa and ngā tāngata as means and ends derived from sea-based activity (Durie, 1998; Robertson, 2021). Collectively then, whai rawa, whai mana, whai oranga is an holistic Indigenous view of the blue economy (Bargh, 2014). In this view, Māori seek to regulate oceanic economic activity, recognising the intrinsic value of the seas as an ancestral being affording humanity sustenance, vitality, rights of usage, and responsibilities for the care of its bounty. Managing the needs of the people, the planet, and the economy as an integrated whole and not three separate concerns is central to an Indigenous 'blue economy'.

2.3 Scope

This paper on the Māori marine economy relates mainly to fisheries, but it is an economy that can include a variety of commercial activity ranging from services (eg, tourism and transport) to extractive industries (eg, marine farming and mining). Māori marine-based enterprises range in scale from whānau to pan-iwi enterprises. A focus on fisheries allows the largest marine-based Māori commercial activity to be examined, which is also aided by access to data.

3. World views and their function

3.1 Two peoples and their world views

Understanding what makes the Māori marine economy unique comes from an understanding of the Māori world view. A world view is how a person sees the world, which defines their reality and governs how they behave in relation to their view of the world around them, its past, present, and future (Neville, 2009). There are many world views. Two commonly encountered in Aotearoa are the world views of Māori (New Zealanders of Māori descent) and Pākehā (New Zealanders of European descent) (Cole, 2017).

3.2 Te ao Māori world view

Te ao Māori, or the Māori world view, is a relational world view (Royal, 2003). This means that everything is understood in terms of its connection to everything else. Nothing and no one are left out. Meaning is found when seeing how things belong – seeing the whole not just the parts. A te ao Māori world view relies on kinship, the layered narrative of generations known as whakapapa in which all living and non-living things are seen as a whānau (extended family) (Te Rito, 2007). Finding balance in all things lies at the centre of the Māori world view (Bartlett, 2002; Hēnare, 1988). In te ao Māori terms, Reid et al (2021) call this search for balance tauutuutu, while Mika et al (2022) call it manahau, but essentially both notions concern the importance and nature of reciprocal relations between ecological,

physiological, sociological, and spiritual systems (Rout et al, 2021). All that surrounds people, flora, fauna, and natural features, were historically regarded as kin. Māori values such as mauri (life force), tapu (sanctity), mana (authority) and hau (vitality) articulate a set of kinship principles, which describe the infinite connection of all things (Hēnare, 2001). Tauutuutu and manahau offer new perspectives on how relationships between human and nonhuman entities on land and at sea can achieve the kind of balance that coheres in a te ao Māori world view.

3.3 Te ao Pākehā world view

In contrast, a te ao Pākehā world view has its roots in ancient Greece, the Christian religion, and the Enlightenment period, and their adaptation to Aotearoa via Great Britain (McClelland, 1961; Novitz & Willmott, 1989). A te ao Pākehā world view is sometimes known as a Cartesian or Western world view, though many variations of this view are acknowledged (Subramanian & Pisupati, 2010). At the centre of a te ao Pākehā world view is the individual, their rights, obligations, and the power to own, control, and make use of human and nonhuman resources to satisfy their needs (Behrman, 1988; Smith, 1991). Meaning is found in the parts of something, how they exist and function together in a view known as reductionism (Pirsig, 2006). An example of this is that the relationship between people and nature can be reduced to transactions measured in terms of the value that can be extracted from nature and accumulated as stores of wealth for the

benefit of the individual. This view, which places the individual at the centre of all things, is socially reproduced to protect the

individual's right to maintain a way of life that has till now assumed people have power over nature.



Te Matau-a-Maui Waka Hourua hoe. Desna Whaanga-Schollum, 2014

4. Values and principles of the Māori marine economy

4.1 Mātauranga Māori – Māori knowledge

Before the Pākehā world view became dominant in Aotearoa New Zealand, Māori social groups existed as fluid smaller units, comprising whānau (extended family) and hapū (subtribe) (Mika et al, 2019). Political and social life revolved around hapū (Waa & Love, 1997; Winiata, 1988). Knowledge, as both process and content for reinforcing the beliefs, values, and practices that sustained life is called mātauranga (Hikuroa, 2017). Mātauranga Māori is a modern term used to express a body of knowledge that has ancient roots and modern usage (Martin & Hazel, 2020). Mātauranga reflects an intimate understanding of the natural world based on close interaction with it, which has contemporary application to land and water (Mercier & Jackson, 2019; Morgan & Manuel, 2020). This oral knowledge of land marks exhibits a unique insight into ecological systems in Aotearoa, their usage and their well-being (Hill, 2021). As an objective knowledge system, accuracy and precision were essential to survival. By including spiritual and emotional knowledge, the social and subjective views were also part of traditional knowledge (Marsden, 1992). Balance was brought by including all knowledge, objective and subjective.

4.2 Tikanga Māori – Māori culture

Rules for right and appropriate action were well established in Māori society, but they evolved and operated as an internalised and dynamic set of beliefs, values and practices (Mead, 2003). Kaupapa is the knowledge, principle, cultural value, or reason for the rule (Royal, 2003). Tikanga is the method for bringing that value into existence (Winiata et al, 2008). Tikanga was socialised within whānau and hapū becoming an intrinsic code of ethical conduct for self-regulating human behaviour in favour of the well-being of the group. Breaches of tikanga were remedied and balanced, sometimes severely. Takahitutu-ea, after the leaders discussed a problem, a solution was implemented that brought closure and healing (Rout, Reid, et al, 2019).

4.3 Kaitiakitanga – guardianship

Kaitiakitanga means the ‘exercise of guardianship’ over people and land (Kawharu, 2000). It refers to a responsibility for protecting, guarding, mentoring, sheltering. It is not a passive role, but an active one played by every member of a group (Marsden, 2003). Kaitiakitanga was an obligation to think, act, and respond to the fluid nature of life: adapting and anticipating change as a natural part of life cycles. This obligation was especially evident in relation to Tangaroa, the god of the oceans and all

his uri (descendants) who dwell within his salty depths (Royal, 2006). A te ao Māori world view acknowledges that the life force of the ocean is affected by the actions of people because all aspects of human and nonhuman entities are connected. The practice of respect for and care of nature acknowledges the spiritual dimension and interdependencies of all things (Mika, Dell, Elers, et al, 2022).

4.4 Whanaungatanga – relationships

Whanaungatanga was about forming and keeping connections in the community, as well as about caring for the welfare of the members of the collective (Bishop, 1996). Manaakitanga was the underlying cultural practice of extending kindness and welcoming visitors; being able to care for guests was a sign of status and a credit to hapū (Papakura, 1991).

4.5 Tapu and noa – sacred and profane

Tapu, a concept of the sacred, was based in showing respect for life (Hēnare, 2001), as well as the mauri, the life force and life-supporting capacity of nature (Pohatu, 2011). As a spiritual restriction, chiefs imposing tapu restrictions were seen as having the power of the gods (Hēnare, 2021). The tapu of objects, places, or people was removed through processes of whakanoa, permitting customary use to be restored (Taylor et al, 2018).

This connection to both spiritual and practical rights of usage is an example of rules and processes set out for the harmonious good of all, encouraging responsible use of resources and sharing (Mika et al, 2020). The prohibiting of activity known as rāhui could be seen as a multi-purpose tikanga – conserving the fertility of food producing areas consistent with kaitiakitanga and tapu and also reaffirming tribal sovereignty over the resource as a mark of property ownership (Jackson et al, 2017; Taylor et al, 2018).

4.6 Whenua and wai – land and water

Traditional Māori society had a system of property rights, with land allocated by chiefs to whānau rooted in whakapapa (lineage) and based on needs (Mika, Dell, Elers, et al, 2022; Te Rito, 2007). The arrangements were nuanced and based on function rather than the lines on maps. While one group may have the right to trap birds in a specific tree, another may have the rights to the berries. Rights were often flexible, seasonal, or based on temporary usage; borders were defensive and set to protect resources (Rout, Reid, et al, 2019).

4.7 Mana moana – authority from the sea

Tangaroa, the god of the sea, was part of the creation story Māori shared; he was the son of earth mother, Papatūānuku, and sky father, Ranginui (Reed & Calman, 2021). This

narrative of the sea meant fish were regarded as taonga, something highly prized (Craig et al, 2012). Marine rights to resources were as structured and specific as land rights (Joseph et al, 2019). Specific species and areas for fishing were assigned to the resident group and intra-group dynamics played a role (Robertson, 2021). Whānau would control streams and fishing and shell beds surrounding their settlement. Hapū groups may have negotiated access for all to rivers and fishing grounds. This activity varied as widely as the types of nets used, types of fish gathered, and number of people needed to bring the fish to shore. Some fishing activity needed two people, some needed more. The user-rights system based on lineage and tikanga was complex, well negotiated, and crucial to ensure survival of the group (Reid & Rout, 2020). Importantly, mātauranga (knowledge) of the fishing of each local stream or shoreline from rock to rock, was critical (Robertson, 2021). Knowing where and when to fish was an expression of your rights to fish - if you have the knowledge, you have the rights within the community.

With a te ao Māori world view, the relationship between land and sea rights is evident. User rights were based on the historical view of 'mana whenua, mana moana' - authority over land amounts to authority over sea (Hill, 2021; Ngata, 2019). Contested views exist about mana moana and mana whenua have come sharply into focus during treaty settlements, but also in Māori Land Court decisions. Historically, in highly populated areas, wider hapū likely shared rights to inland whānau and gave

access seasonally and by negotiation, and less populated areas may have had default authority.

4.8 Mana and utu - authority and reciprocity

The traditional Māori economy operated both bartering and gifting, with and without conditions (Firth, 1929; Schaniel, 1985). Regular trade was governed by gifting, largely with the understanding that the return gift should be no less than the original in value (Mauss, 2002). In this way, tribes traded heavily upon mana as reputational value or socially-perceived value, or both. Food and land were the main methods of exchanging wealth. The political power of holding a feast for neighbours was based on the principle and practice of utu, an obligation to return the gift later or the chief would give land (Hēnare, 1988). The operation of mana and utu as economic principles reinforced tribal territories and showcased chiefs as allies. Rangatira or chiefs were political actors, allocating resources to whānau within their hapū and including social obligation in the gifting structure. This distributive function was a signal of the wealth a chief controlled and the ability to defend access and rights to the sustainable use of the resource. When neighbours accept gifts, it reaffirms the mana whenua and mana moana rights of the giver and implies an obligation on the receiver to reciprocate at some future time (Reid et al, 2021).

5. Tiriti of Waitangi - Treaty of Waitangi

5.1 Treaty promises broken

With the signing of te Tiriti o Waitangi by Māori chiefs and the British Crown in 1840, came the birth a new nation – New Zealand (Orange, 1987). Under the treaty, New Zealand was to be founded upon the co-existence of two forms of power and authority: kāwanatanga (Crown authority) to govern Pākehā and rangatiratanga (Māori authority) to govern Māori (Coxhead et al, 2014). Māori were promised undisturbed possession of their lands, forests, estates, and other taonga (Kawharu, 1989).

Then colonisation happened. It came with the formation of a parliamentary government in 1854 that excluded Māori and was followed by the New Zealand wars between 1863 and 1873 that resulted in significant loss of life and large tracts of Māori land being taken by the Crown (Mika, Dell, Elers, et al, 2022). The economic means for Māori prosperity – property rights over land and water – was removed (Petrie, 2002). Māori social and cultural institutions were replaced by Pākehā institutions deemed superior and necessary for Māori to be assimilated and integrated into the new social order (Tomlins-Jahnke, 2011).

5.2 Quota management system

Unlike other Māori property rights in land that were ‘bought’, the property rights to the sea were simply taken by the Crown without discussion (Mika, 2020). Fisheries, under the treaty, were a public right, ending

in a free-for-all and overfishing (Bodwitch, 2017). Conflict over the failure of the 20th century to respect Māori ownership of sea space and oceanic resources, came to a boiling point in 1986, with the world's first fully privatised fishery management system (Loche & Leslie, 2007; Mace et al, 2013). New Zealand's government introduced the quota management system (QMS) to manage fishing more sustainably. The QMS involves assigning a percentage of the government-set sustainable level of allowable catch as a commodity that can be bought and sold or leased. The hope was the less productive operators would leave fishing and consolidate the industry.

5.3 Treaty of Waitangi fisheries settlement

The QMS excluded small Māori fishers from commercial fishing, which the Waitangi Tribunal Waitangi Tribunal (1988) said was “in fundamental conflict” (p13) with the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi because it removed property rights from Māori, which the Crown had not acquired from Māori in any sort of bargain. The Treaty of Waitangi fisheries settlement in 1991, known as the Sealord deal, settled Māori claims to commercial fishing and established a separate system for regulating customary fishing (Moon, 1998). The Māori Fisheries Act 2004 contained the much-fought-over formula for allocating fisheries settlement assets to 57 iwi (Mika, 2013). A condition of the fisheries settlement was that Māori would accept and operate within the QMS

(Mika, 2020). Ultimately, the privatisation of Māori fishing rights has meant that iwi largely manage their quota as an asset in a highly competitive commercial environment

(McCormack, 2020). Māori fishers do not often outbid large processors, and, as a result, are largely cut out of fishing rights as a result (Bodwitch, 2017).



image: Takitimu Whareniui, Wairoa. Desna Whaanga-Schollum, 2014

6. Māori marine economy today

6.1 Institutional environment

The Māori marine economy today is a contested and complicated political and economic space (Reid et al, 2019). Figure 1 (opposite) sets out a map of the institutional structure within which Māori commercial and customary fisheries rights are regulated and administered. This highlights the hierarchy of power and influence over the Māori marine economy by governmental, organisational, and operational levels and actors. Across the image, linkages between legislation and public institutions, property rights, and governance are highlighted. An implication of this institutional map is that regulation and control of the Māori marine economy sits primarily within the realms of kāwanatanga – Crown authority (Joseph et al, 2019). Provision for and the exercise of tino rangatiratanga, Māori authority and control, exists within Māori marine-based enterprises and whānau and hapū, but is constrained by prevailing institutions, which limit the say Māori have over design and implementation of these institutions (Rout, Reid, et al, 2019).

While Māori may aspire to mana moana within the constraints of treaty settlements and the institutional structures described in Figure 1, the fishing industry is confronted by serious challenges (Gerrard, 2021). Some of these challenges include climate change, socioeconomic inequality, uncertainty in geopolitical security, and Covid-19 impacts on energy and food prices (Houkamau et al, 2021; Mika, 2021; Stats NZ, 2022). In this context, Māori rights to traditional fishing and fisheries management are at

risk (Bargh, 2016). Although Iwi tend to be passive operators, leasing fishing quota to corporate fishers, they maintain a collective foothold in the industry via shared ownership of Moana New Zealand and Sealord (Rout, Lythberg, et al, 2019). To further complicate matters, iwi hold diverse views on how best to meet their environmental and commercial responsibilities as tāngata whenua, treaty partners, and industry participants (Barr et al, 2018; Barrett, 2019; Manganda et al, 2022; McLellan, 2020).

6.2 Customary rights

Māori customary fishing rights have been defined as non-commercial since the Treaty of Waitangi (Fisheries Claims) Settlement Act 1992 split Māori fishing rights between 'commercial' and 'customary' (Bourassa & Strong, 2000). The tribunal expressed a contrary view, finding that Māori customary fishing rights were always commercial (Waitangi Tribunal, 1988). Customary fishing rights were seen as a reflection of the 'barter and gift' arrangements, with colonisation discrediting the thriving customary economy by transferring Māori fishing rights to non-Māori (Mika, 2020). The Marine and Coastal Area (Takutai Moana) Act 2011, which recognises Māori and non-Māori interests in marine and coastal areas, delineates two further categories of customary rights (Devine 2018): first are 'protected customary rights,' which need less rigorous historical support to be confirmed; second are 'customary marine title,' which requires whānau, hapū, and iwi to establish that they have held and occupied the area

CENTRAL GOVERNMENT REGULATORY STRUCTURE

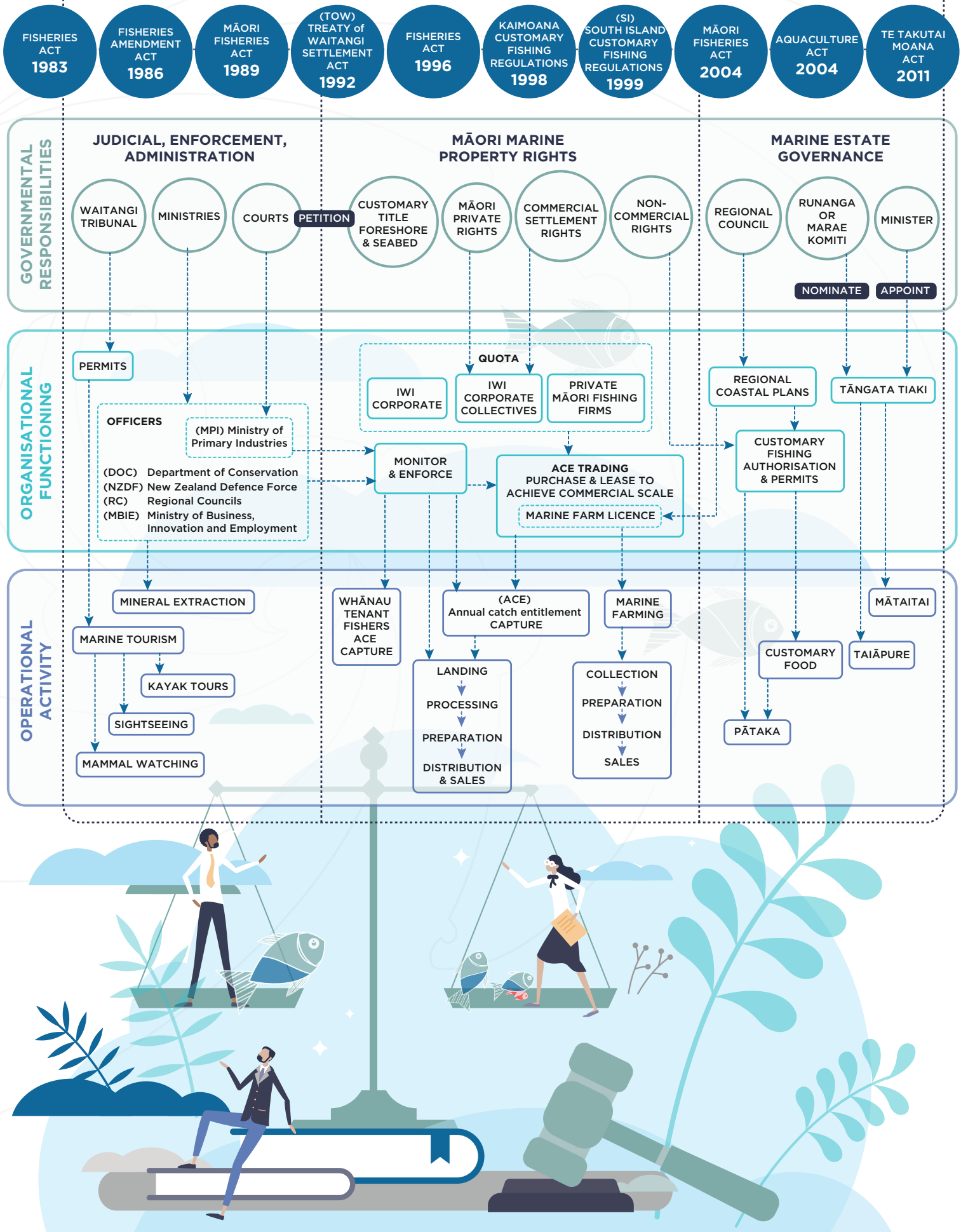


Figure 1: Adapted from Reid and Rout (2019), cited in Reid, Rout and Mika (2019)

exclusively since 1840 without interruption. No applications have been granted thus far for customary marine title.

6.3 Commercial rights

Under the Treaty of Waitangi (Fisheries Claims) Settlement Act 1992, Māori have re-engaged in the business of fishing using pre- and post-settlement fishing assets, comprising quota, cash, and shares in Moana New Zealand (Reid & Rout, 2020). Iwi have added to their settlement assets, purchasing quota and acquiring interests in other fishing enterprises (Reid et al, 2019). Te Ohu Kaimoana, the Māori Fisheries Trust, has also had a responsibility to support Māori into the business and activity of fishing (Bargh, 2016). While Māori commercial fishing rights have, arguably, given Māori a seat at the table in the fishing industry, the economic benefits flowing from the QMS are unequal (Bodwitch, 2017). The quota system itself has had the effect of locking iwi into a 'passive owner of quota' model where leasing has been the most viable option. Māori commercial fishing rights, interests and capabilities, are also fragmented, making direct investment in the ownership and operation of commercial fishing enterprises difficult but not impossible (Reid & Rout, 2020).

6.4 Indigenous rights

Under the United Nations Declaration of Indigenous Rights (UNDRIP), Indigenous rights to be self-determining, to develop socially and economically on and in relation to their ancestral lands, waters and coastal seas are recognised (Mika, 2018). Indigenous peoples are, however, grappling with similar issues to the Māori marine economy, including threats to their identity, existence, and retention of ancestral estates (Erueti, 2017; Lightfoot, 2016). Canadian First Nation and North American Indian peoples, for example, face similar hurdles to Māori in accessing and using their customary fishing rights and interests (Tiakiwai et al, 2017; Troster, 2009). The commonality among Indigenous peoples is the spiritual and physical association with the natural world and the accumulated knowledge about how to care for people, land, and water and sustainably use these resources (Durie, 2002; Harris & Wasilewski, 2004). In Australia, while the Mabo and Croker Island cases assert the existence of native title, establishing native title in sea country requires further work (Larson et al, 2019; Robinson et al, 2021; Wright et al, 2021).

7. Māori marine economy tomorrow

7.1 Ecosystem-based management

Ecosystem-based management (EBM) is a theoretical approach that Ko Ngā Moana Whakauka Sustainable Seas National Science Challenge has adopted to achieve its objective of enhancing the utilisation of marine resources within biological constraints (Le Heron et al, 2020). It's an approach that moves toward what an Indigenous holistic ecosystem approach to governance and management of the seas could have been had it been allowed to evolve under the principles of a Māori marine economy (Reid & Rout, 2020).

EBM has been slow to find its way into policy and action (Maxwell et al, 2020). Policy makers and experts lack clarity and consistency about its components and its operation, with some offering a framework for management and others focussed on measuring practices and outcomes. The lack of consensus and clear outcomes makes progressing EBM difficult. Māori have been constrained from determining environmental policy and decisions that have affected them since 1840 (Hill, 2021; Rout et al, 2021). Rebuilding the Māori marine economy, requires Māori autonomy to bridge past and present knowledge systems, institutional constraints and opportunities, and remedy imbalances in socioeconomic status, power and authority, and resource ownership and control (Joseph et al, 2019; Reid & Rout, 2020).

7.2 Future Māori marine economy

Reimagining a Māori marine economy where kaitiakitanga can be exercised by whānau and hapū, customary and commercial rights to fishing are fully developed, and co-governance and co-management with Māori of the marine environment exists consistent with the Treaty of Waitangi represent elements of what a te ao Māori view of EBM might look like. In commercial terms, this might encompass establishing a Māori-oriented value chain, with branding and marketing, and pasture-to-plate provenance authentication (Rout, Reid, et al, 2019). Māori partnerships, participation, and outcomes are necessary for these kinds of developments (Mika et al, 2021).

There are some success stories to build on, as the Ahia smoked fish brand from Ngāti Porou demonstrates. By building on the logo, the whakapapa, and the story of their connection to Māui, they are able to bring together powerful 21st century tools. Aotearoa New Zealand is well positioned to move EBM from theory to practice and create authentic power sharing with te ao Māori as a forethought rather than an afterthought.

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Aotearoa New Zealand
is well positioned to move
EBM from theory to practice
and create authentic power
sharing with te ao Māori
as a forethought, not an
afterthought.

image: Whata-a-Mango, Te Māhia-mai-Tawhiti. Desna Whaanga-Schollum, 2012



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