

**Te Mana Tuku Iho, Te Mana Motuhake:
Whakapapa-Grounded Māori Leadership, Te Hāhi Mihinare,
and Institutional Recognition Across Sectors in
Aotearoa New Zealand**

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Abstract

This thesis examines how Māori leaders exercise mana-based authority inside institutions whose ordinary assumptions about authority are not Māori. It asks whether institutional recognition of whakapapa-grounded authority amounts to its reception: the reorganisation of institutional practice so that such authority can govern on its own terms rather than being accommodated within existing structures.

The study is anchored in Te Hāhi Mihinare, the Māori Anglican Church, with asymmetric comparisons across iwi governance, Māori enterprise, education, and health. Twenty-one Māori leaders participated through kōrero conducted within a Kaupapa Māori methodology. Analysis followed an abductive approach, moving between participant accounts and four interrelated dimensions of mana: mana atua (authority grounded in atua and the sacred), mana tūpuna (ancestral authority), mana whenua (authority grounded in land and place), and mana tangata (authority grounded in people and relational standing). The analysis also developed an axis from mana tuku iho (inherited authority) to mana motuhake (self-determining authority).

The findings identify three mechanisms of institutional constraint, although the strength of evidence for each varied across sectors. Instrumental deployment occurs when institutions use tikanga language without tikanga accountability. Structural exclusion occurs when mana-based authority cannot reach decisions it should properly govern. Selection/formation disconnection occurs when institutional appointments are separated from the whakapapa-grounded relationships, responsibilities, and formation that authority presupposes. Together, these mechanisms explain how institutions may recognise mana-based authority while preventing its effective exercise.

The thesis makes four contributions. Theoretically, it distinguishes recognition from reception as a means of evaluating institutional claims about Māori authority. Methodologically, it demonstrates how abductive analysis can operate within a Kaupapa Māori framework. Critically, it identifies the compensatory labour borne by mana-bearers when institutions recognise their authority without receiving it, including translation, relationship repair, and the work of sustaining responsibilities that institutions do not adequately support. Practically, it proposes three diagnostic tests: whether tikanga language carries tikanga accountability; whether institutional arrangements enable mana-based authority to influence binding decisions; and whether appointment and formation recognise the authority required for leadership.

The thesis argues that mana-based authority is not simply another institutional logic to be accommodated. It is constituted through whakapapa and carried through relationships with atua, tūpuna, whenua, and tangata. Its effective exercise depends not merely on institutional recognition, but on whether institutions reorganise themselves to receive it.

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Attestation of Authorship

I hereby declare that this submission is my own work and that, to the best of my knowledge and belief, it contains no material previously published or written by another person (except where explicitly defined in the acknowledgements), nor used artificial intelligence tools or generative artificial intelligence tools (unless it is clearly stated, and referenced, along with the purpose of use), nor material which to a substantial extent has been submitted for the award of any other degree or diploma of a university or other institution of higher learning.

Signed:

Date: 25 May 2026

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<i>Prompts or queries entered into the AI tool (only the instructive portion of the prompt is required). Include all relevant variations.</i>	
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Ethics approval was granted by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee on 29 February 2024, reference number 24/5.

He Mihi

E Ihowā, e te Atua ora,
ko te wehi ki a koe
te tīmatanga o te mātauranga.
Nāu te ara i whakatakoto,
nāu hoki tēnei mahi i ārahi
kia tae mai ki tōna otinga.

Ka tukua atu ēnei kupu
ki te Kāhui Ao, ki te Kāhui Pō,
ki ngā mātua tūpuna o tua te ārai.
Ka hoki te mahara
ki ngā kāwai tuku iho,
ki te whakapapa, ki te reo, ki ngā tikanga,
ki ngā mātauranga i kawea mai ki tēnei rā.

Nā runga i te whakapapa
ka noho whanaunga ngā mea katoa.
Ka mau tonu te here
i te ao tūroa ki te ao wairua,
i te hunga ora
ki te hunga kua mene atu ki te pō.

E ngā kāwai whakapapa o Muriwhenua
i te taha ki tōku whaea,
e Ngāpuhi-nui-tonu
i te taha ki tōku pāpā,
tēnā koutou, tēnā koutou.
Tēnei ahau e mihi nei
i raro i te mana tuku iho,
i ngā here i poua mai
e ngā mātua tūpuna.

E tōku pāpā, e Rima,
kua ngaro koe i te tirohanga kanohi,
engari e kore koe e ngaro i te mahara.
E rangona tonu ana tō reo
i roto i tēnei mahi.
Nāu ahau i ako kia hoki ki te whakapapa,
kia ū ki ngā kōrero tuku iho,
kia kaua e motu te here
ki ngā mātua tūpuna.

Nāu hoki ēnei kupu i tuku mai:

“E ngā mātua, e ngā tūpuna o tua te ārai,
manaakitia mai rā mātou katoa.”

Tēnei te mihi aroha ki a koe.
Moe mai rā i te moenga-roa,
i te moenga i whārikitia mai ai e Hine-ruaki-moe
mō te tangata, kia au ai te moe.
Takoto mai rā i roto i te rangimārie.

Okioki mai rā i roto i te tōmairangi
o ngā atawhainga a te Atua.
E tōku whaea, e Hariata Kokori,
tēnā koe mō tō aroha,
mō tō kaha,
mō tō ū ki ngā here o Muriwhenua,
mō te oranga i whāngai mai ai koe ki a mātou.

E taku hoa wahine, e Wendy,
e te rangatira nō Ngāi Wērā,
tēnā koe mō tō aroha,
mō tō manawanui,
mō tō noho mai i taku taha,
mō tō kawē tahi i ngā taumahatanga o tēnei mahi.
Kāore tēnei mahi i oti i a au anake.

Ki te hunga i kōrero mai,
i whakapuaki mai i ō koutou whakaaro,
i tuku mai i ō koutou mātauranga,
tēnei te mihi.
Nā koutou te wānanga i whakatūwhera.
Nā ō koutou kupu
i whai kiko ai tēnei rangahau.

Ki ōku rangatira,
ki a Te Ahorangi Peter McGhee nō Te Aupōuri,
ki a Te Ahonuku Ella Henry nō Ngāti Kahu ki Whangaroa,
nō Ngāti Kurī, nō Te Rārawa,
tēnā kōrua mō tō kōrua ārahi,
mō tō kōrua akiaki,
mō tō kōrua whakapono ka oti tēnei mahi.

Nō reira,
ka hoki anō te whakamoemiti ki a Ihowā,
ki te Atua nāna te tīmatanga,
nāna hoki te whakaotinga.
Kia tau mai tōna manaaki
ki runga i a tātou katoa.

Tēnā koutou, tēnā koutou,
tēnā tātou katoa.

Chapter 1: Introduction

Ka tūhi, ka rarapa, ka uira
Te rangi e tū iho nei, e.
Toia te waka,
Te utanga o runga ko te aroha;
Paiheretia mai te rangimārie—āue, hei!

Lightning flares and flashes across the heavens above.
Draw up the canoe, its cargo is love;
bind it fast with peace—āue, hei!

—Poi chant, *He Karakia Mihinare o Aotearoa / A New Zealand Prayer Book*

1.1 Overview

The poi chant opens a longer whakapapa narrative in *He Karakia Mihinare o Aotearoa / A New Zealand Prayer Book* (Anglican Church in Aotearoa, New Zealand and Polynesia, 1989). It names Māori leaders who carried the Christian gospel among their own whānau, hapū, and iwi during the earliest decades of Anglicanism in Aotearoa. It places Māori at the centre of nineteenth-century evangelisation in their own communities and displaces older accounts in which Māori appear chiefly as recipients of European agency (Breward, 2001; Davidson, 1997; Kaa, 2020; Yates, 2013). These leaders already carried religious authority through whakapapa before the church later organised itself through constitutional forms (Mahuika, 1992).

The Anglican Church, more commonly known in te reo Māori as Te Hāhi Mihinare, did not begin as a transplanted English denomination. It took shape through missionary encounter before the signing of Te Tiriti o Waitangi in 1840 and then through the expansion of settler-colonial institutions, with Māori agency present throughout (Bi-Cultural Commission, 1986). Te Hāhi Mihinare has always claimed continuity on more than one ground. Anglicanism locates continuity in apostolic faith, ordered ministry, received doctrine, and shared forms of church government (Avis, 2013).¹ Te Hāhi Mihinare also remembers continuity through te reo Māori, Māori leadership, whānau, hapū and iwi relationships, and Māori transmission of the gospel (Kaa, 2020).

The problem lies inside that double claim. The church locates its intergenerational continuity in whakapapa, through its Māori members, and in apostolicity, through Anglican order. But its ordinary structures give those authorities unequal institutional force (Bi-Cultural Commission, 1986).

In this thesis, mana refers to authority constituted through whakapapa and carried through relations with atua, tūpuna, whenua, and tangata (Barlow, 1991; Mead, 2016). Communities inherit, delegate, test, and judge mana through relationships and through the obligations placed on those who carry it (Barlow, 1991; M. Durie, 1998; Mead, 2016). A person who carries mana does not hold it as an organisational role, position,

¹ Apostolic faith refers to continuity with the teaching of the apostles as received in scripture and confessed in the creeds. Ordered ministry refers to the offices through which that faith is taught, guarded, and enacted in the church's worship, especially in baptism and Eucharist. Received doctrine is the body of teaching handed down and authorised within the church. Shared forms of church government are the constitutional, canonical, episcopal, and synodical arrangements through which common life is ordered.

or office. They carry it in trust, under conditions of recognition and accountability that exist beyond appointment, employment, or institutional permission. Mana-based authority therefore cannot be reduced to a leadership style such as transactional, transformational, collective, or distributed leadership. Mahuika (1992) describes Māori clergy who returned to their own people after formation for ordained ministry and commanded respect because of their standing, education, and inherited place within Māori communities. Ordination did not itself create their authority among Māori. Rather, whakapapa, communal recognition, and inherited obligation enabled the mana of ordained office to be received within those Māori communities (E.T. Durie, 1991; Mahuika, 1992).²

The poi chant prevents Māori Christian presence from being read only as colonial residue or failed decolonisation. It marks a place from which Māori have carried, contested, and judged Christian authority. This thesis does not treat the church as inherently liberating. It treats the church as an institution in which people organise and contest moral claims, collective belonging, legitimacy, and authority. Māori Christian agency matters here because it exposes how institutions invoke Indigenous authority while constraining the people who carry it.

This problem now arises under changed public conditions. Lineham (2019), Ward (2016), and Troughton (2021) show that Christianity in Aotearoa New Zealand no longer holds a secure or taken-for-granted public position. Declining participation and Christian identification sit alongside pluralisation, migration, deinstitutionalisation, and weaker institutional attachments to Christian spirituality. Taylor (2007) describes this shift as a social condition in which faith stands as one possibility among others rather than as the primary background of social life. Rahmani et al. (2024) show that, for some Māori in Aotearoa, non-religion explicitly carries a critique of Christianity as a colonial instrument. If Māori disaffiliation can carry an anti-colonial claim, then Māori who remain Christian inhabit a position already contested within Māori communities. The relationship between religious authority and mana-based authority is therefore not only an internal church matter. It is also a Māori question inside the denomination. Te Hāhi Mihinare now operates where Christian belief no longer appears socially axiomatic, church authority no longer rests on public security, and Māori relationships to Christianity no longer follow one pattern.

That is why decline cannot be read only as secularisation, ageing membership, or demographic change. *Te Pae Tawhiti* records sustained decline across the church, ageing membership, and mounting strain in ministry, clergy deployment, buildings, and parish life (Taylor & Goold, 2024). Those pressures matter, but they do not fully explain decline. The church's ministry also depends on authority grounded in mana and whakapapa, and its operative structures must be able to carry that authority.

² E.T. Durie (1991) notes that post-contact settings generated new descriptions of rangatira status, including *mihinari rangatira* [sic], whose mana was understood to be enhanced through association with missionaries, alongside *moni rangatira* and government-associated rangatira. In these contexts, missionaries and officials could elevate particular leaders for dealings with Pākehā, shifting rangatira status in colonial eyes from a conditional relationship with whānau-hapū-iwi towards a more independent standing. Read alongside Mahuika's (1992) account of Māori clergy, the point is that ecclesial office did not exhaust the grounds of authority. Clergy could also stand within pre-existing relations of whakapapa, mana, and communal obligation that enabled their leadership to be recognised within Māori communities.

1.2 Thesis Statement and Scope

From a Kaupapa Māori standpoint, this problem matters because institutions help set the material conditions in which Māori live. G.H. Smith (2017) describes Kaupapa Māori as transforming praxis directed towards material outcomes, conscientisation, and the shift from things done to Māori to things done by Māori for Māori. He ties that shift directly to tino rangatiratanga and to improved social, cultural, and economic conditions. L.T. Smith (2021) argues that research must do more than expose colonial knowledge. It must open possibilities for acting differently, restoring justice, and changing the conditions within which Indigenous communities live. Institutions set many of those conditions. They determine who decides, who is heard, what counts as legitimate knowledge, how belonging is organised, and whose authority binds in practice. Mana-based authority matters institutionally because institutions either reproduce Māori harm or change the conditions that make that harm possible.

This thesis examines what happens when Māori forms of authority, specifically mana constituted through whakapapa, have to operate inside institutions built on different assumptions about power, legitimacy, and decision-making. Across the five settings, the study identifies a recurring pattern. Māori authority does not disappear, but institutions constrain, redirect, or only partially recognise it when they keep legal, managerial, and procedural forms in control of decision-making, property, accountability, appointment, and resources. In the church, that mismatch matters because leaders may acknowledge Māori authority in principle while the actual structures of decision-making, property, and control prevent that authority from governing. That gap places pressure on trust, participation, leadership continuity, and the church's capacity to sustain ministry. Church decline therefore cannot be examined through secularisation and demographic change alone; the institution's organisation of authority also warrants scrutiny. Addressing decline therefore requires attention to whether the church's structures can carry the authority on which its ministry depends.

Te Hāhi Mihinare provides the primary site for examining that contradiction. The same encounter also recurs when Māori leaders in iwi governance, enterprise, education, and health carry authority grounded outside the institutions in which they work. Reading those sectors alongside religion allows the thesis to distinguish Anglican particularity from a wider institutional pattern. The thesis therefore addresses the encounter between mana-based authority and institutional form. It does not offer church reform proposals, a comprehensive sociology of religion in Aotearoa New Zealand, or a policy evaluation of the comparison sectors. It does not adjudicate between Christian theological traditions or assess the truth claims of Anglican doctrine. It reads what Māori leaders say about carrying mana-based authority inside institutions organised on other terms. It asks what Te Hāhi Mihinare discloses about the conditions under which that authority can govern.

1.3 Research Questions

Three research questions organise the inquiry.

1. How do Māori leaders within Te Hāhi Mihinare describe the exercise of mana-based authority within a church that claims continuity through both mana and apostolicity?
2. How do Māori leaders in governance, enterprise, education, and health describe the exercise of mana-based authority within institutional forms organised on other terms?
3. What do those cross-sector accounts show about the conditions under which mana-based authority can be exercised within Te Hāhi Mihinare?

The inquiry begins with Te Hāhi Mihinare, tests the constraints described there against accounts from iwi governance, enterprise, education, and health, and returns to the church. This comparison separates difficulties arising from Anglican polity from constraints that recur when mana-based authority enters institutions organised on other terms.

1.4 Significance of the Study

The study makes three contributions. First, it treats the encounter between mana-based authority and institutional form as the central object of inquiry. Māori leadership and Indigenous organisational scholarship have already shown that mana, rangatiratanga, and collective purpose cannot be reduced to office, style, or culturally inflected ethics (Henry & Wolfgramm, 2018; Spiller et al., 2011). That literature has established mana-based authority on its own terms and challenged universalist theories of leadership that treat Indigenous authority as a cultural variant. It has given less attention to the point where authority already constituted through whakapapa meets institutions that organise power through office, contract, budget, and procedure. This thesis examines that passage directly. It contributes to Indigenous management, Māori organisational studies, and scholarship concerned with how Indigenous authority enters institutional life on terms it did not set.

Second, the thesis contributes directly to scholarship on Te Hāhi Mihinare. Te Pouhere, the Constitution of the Anglican Church in Aotearoa, New Zealand and Polynesia, reorganised the church in 1992 into a “three Tikanga” structure that formally recognised Māori authority while preserving a single denomination (Anglican Church in Aotearoa, New Zealand and Polynesia, 2020). Denominational literature has documented this constitutional development, the long struggle for Māori episcopacy, the significance of Te Pouhere, and the history of Māori Anglican agency (Davidson, 1997; Kaa, 2020). Readers have often approached Te Pouhere as a constitutional achievement and as the juridical expression of partnership within one church. That literature has not yet explained how the church’s ordinary structures handle mana-based authority through General Synod / te Hīnota Whānui, hui amorangi structures, canonical discipline, financial control, and the selection and formation of ordained ministers. The distinction between constitutional recognition and operative reception identifies that gap. It gives denominational scholarship a way to ask

whether Te Pouhere's formal recognition of Māori authority is carried by the structures through which the church actually decides, funds, disciplines, appoints, and governs.

Third, the study reaches beyond the religious sector. The comparison sectors show that institutions across governance, enterprise, education, and health draw on Māori authority for legitimacy, trust, and relational continuity while they organise binding power elsewhere. The pattern does not belong only to churches or to constitutions that explicitly name Māori authority. It recurs across sectors whose institutional assumptions differ from one another. Te Hāhi Mihinare matters as the focal case because the church claims Māori authority as integral to its identity. If recognition does not become reception there, observers cannot dismiss the gap as poor implementation, insensitive leadership, or inadequate representation alone. The problem lies in institutional form. The thesis gives institutional analysts, Kaupapa Māori scholars, and Māori leaders a way to judge that form when institutions invoke mana-based authority but prevent it from governing.

1.5 Chapter Overview

Chapter 2 examines the grounds of mana-based authority and the historical and institutional conditions it encounters. Chapter 3 explains the Kaupapa Māori methodology and abductive cross-sector analysis. Chapter 4 presents the 21 participant accounts through the four mana dimensions. Chapter 5 develops the mana *tuku iho* → mana *motuhake* framework, the three mechanisms of institutional constraint, and the distinction between recognition and reception. Chapter 6 considers the contribution, implications, and limits of the findings.

1.6 Positionality

My relationships through whakapapa, hapū, iwi, and Te Hāhi Mihinare shaped the conditions under which the research proceeded. Participants granted access through tikanga that recognised whakapapa, and their kōrero responded in part to their knowledge of who was listening. That standing created both resource and risk. It opened conversations that would have unfolded differently with a researcher outside those relationships, and it gave me working knowledge of the ecclesial structures the thesis examines. It also required discipline because familiarity can narrow interpretation, naturalise institutional arrangements, or allow my position within the church to stand in for participants' accounts.

Following Kawharu et al. (2024), the thesis treats genealogical inclusion as a source of methodological obligation. I used reflexive memoing during fieldwork and analysis, together with interpretive restraint in the findings chapter, to keep participant accounts from being absorbed into my own institutional knowledge. Section 3.6.2 gives a fuller account of positionality, including how I practised reflexivity during coding and interpretation.

1.7 Key Terms and Framing

Five terms organise the argument that follows.

Mana-based authority refers to authority grounded in whakapapa and carried through the interrelation of mana atua, mana tūpuna, mana whenua, and mana tangata (Barlow, 1991; Dell et al., 2018; Mead, 2016). The term identifies the authority Māori leaders carry before institutional appointment. In this study, Māori leadership is the practice through which that authority is carried into judgement, decision, and action while remaining answerable to the relationships and obligations from which it arises. Mana-based authority provides the ground and mandate; leadership is its exercise in practice. An institution may therefore appoint Māori leaders while preventing the authority they carry from reaching the decisions it should govern.

The term *institutional arrangements* refers to the governance structures, appointment systems, procedural logics, recognition frameworks, and resource controls through which institutions organise authority, accountability, and legitimate action. The term prevents the argument from reducing institutions to constitutions or formal policy statements alone.

Recognition and reception provide the central evaluative distinction of the thesis. Recognition refers to the acknowledgement of mana-based authority through language, constitutional principle, symbolic form, ceremonial inclusion, or representation. Reception refers to changes in operative form that allow mana-based authority to govern in practice. An institution may recognise Māori authority without receiving it, and most institutions in this study did.

The pairing of *mana tuku iho* and *mana motuhake* describes the movement developed in the thesis. Mana tuku iho refers to authority already constituted through whakapapa before institutional encounter. Mana motuhake refers to the condition in which that authority can order institutional life on its own terms rather than remain contingent on another institutional logic.

Operative form refers to the place where institutional life actually happens: where people exercise authority, make binding decisions, allocate resources, appoint leaders, enforce accountability, and order common life.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

Mana and whakapapa establish the grounds on which Māori authority is constituted before institutional appointment (Barlow, 1991; Marsden, 1992; Roberts, 2013). Colonisation and contemporary legal, organisational, economic, health, and ecclesial arrangements reveal what happens when institutions require that authority to pass through categories they control. The literature explains the constitution of mana-based authority and many of the pressures placed upon it. It does not yet adequately explain how authority grounded in whakapapa can govern inside institutions whose ordinary channels of decision-making, resource control, and accountability operate on different grounds.

2.1 Māori Grounds of Authority: Whakapapa, Mana and Rangatiratanga

This section sets out whakapapa, mana, and rangatiratanga as the grounds of Māori authority.

2.1.1 Whakapapa

Whakapapa orders the world. It binds atua, tūpuna, whenua, and tangata in layered relationships and carries cosmological, ecological, and moral knowledge within that same structure (Mahuika, 2019, pp. 1–4; Marsden, 1992; Roberts, 2013). Since early colonial encounter, Pākehā and Māori have recorded, defined, contested, and defended whakapapa. Mahuika (2019) traces the term to its literal sense of layering one thing upon another and shows that, from early contact onward, Pākehā ethnographers, missionaries, and later the Native Land Court collected, arranged, and published Māori genealogies inside frameworks that were not Māori (pp. 1–4). Pākehā researchers made themselves the experts. S. Percy Smith’s genealogical dating method, which generated the influential “Great Fleet” migration narrative, treated whakapapa as data for aligning Māori histories with European chronologies. That method helped displace whakapapa experts who had held priestly and political office in their own hapū.³ Written collections drew authority from European conventions and weakened the standing of those who had previously held authority through whakapapa and tikanga (Mahuika, 2019, pp. 4–7; Sharp, 1958, 1959; Simmons, 1976; Smith, 1898, 1910; Sorrenson, 1992).

Apirana Ngata’s *Rauru nui a Toi* lectures answer that displacement by insisting on Māori conventions for using whakapapa and by preserving the technical vocabulary through which genealogical analysis proceeds (Ngata, 2019). In the Ngāti Porou whakapapa practice that Ngata records, whakamoe names intermarried lines; taotahi, a descent line without listing a spouse; tararere, a single line without kin

³ Stephenson Percy Smith (S. Percy Smith) was a New Plymouth-born surveyor and amateur ethnographer, and a founding figure in the Polynesian Society whose late-nineteenth and early-twentieth-century publications, especially the *Hawaiki* volumes, worked to collate Māori and wider Polynesian traditions into a single migration history for Aotearoa (Mahuika, 2019, pp. 5–7; Sorrenson, 1992). Drawing on collected whakapapa, Native Land Court evidence, and correspondence with tribal experts, he advanced a comparative “genealogical method” that averaged generations in order to align Māori histories with European chronologies (Sharp, 1958, 1959; Simmons, 1976; Mahuika, 2019, pp. 5–7). His authority as a Pākehā “expert” rested less on deep fluency in particular tribal contexts than on his capacity to organise disparate tribal narratives into what he presented as a coherent national story, a synthesis that later critics showed depended on selective use and recombination of whakapapa (Mahuika, 2019, pp. 5–7; Simmons, 1976; Sorrenson, 1992).

intermarriage; *tāhū*, the main or stock lines of an *iwi*; *whakapiri*, the connecting ancestor identified for the person addressed; *kauwhau taki*, the act of recitation; and *rāraka kōrero*, the narration that distinguishes senior from junior branches (Mahuika, 2019, p. 6; Ngata, 2011, pp. 4–7). These terms do not merely describe *whakapapa*. They carry the *tikanga* through which communities judge, teach, and defend it (Mahuika, 2019, pp. 6–7; Ngata, 2011).

From the 1970s, questions of ownership emerged more prominently in the scholarship. Keri Kaa objected that Māori had been “academic ethnic fodder” for too long (as cited in King, 1999, p. 184). Moana Jackson demanded that Māori reclaim the right to define who they are, and James Graham argued that *whakapapa* upholds tribal *kawa* and *tikanga* and therefore facilitates institutional behaviour (Graham, 2009; Jackson, 1998; Mahuika, 2019, pp. 1, 6–9; O’Regan, 1987). These interventions return *whakapapa* to communities as knowledge and authority, rather than leaving it inside an ethnographic frame. The ethics attached to that return are specific. Custodians restrict access, treat *whakapapa* and associated material as *tapu*, and locate custodianship first with those who have genealogical relationships to the *taonga* in question (Mahuika, 2019, p. 9; Pūtaiora Writing Group, 2010). *Whakapapa* therefore enters this thesis already marked by struggle over who may record it, who may interpret it, and whose terms govern its authority.

Roberts (2013) explains why *whakapapa* cannot be treated as a bare genealogy. She describes *whakapapa* as a framework in which the origins and relationships of beings appear as a network of space–time coordinates, and in which the past, personified as ancestors, remains present and continues to shape events (pp. 104–106). *Whakapapa* orders reality, groups beings by perceived ancestral origins, and holds cosmological, ecological, and moral knowledge within the same structure (Roberts, 2013, pp. 102–111). It works as a “cosmoscape,” a layered representation of beings, forces, and relationships in a particular place, including *atua*, non-human kin, and humans who may always enter the scene (Roberts, 2013, pp. 102–103).

Two implications matter for authority. First, several *whakapapa* for the same being may coexist without contradiction because each holds within its own relational context. Communities test a *whakapapa* by the work it does inside the relationships and *tikanga* it serves (Roberts, 2013, pp. 96–100). Second, *whakapapa* holds together what Western disciplines often separate. Cosmology, ecology, ethics, and political ordering remain within the same structure, so extracting one layer for analytical convenience distorts the whole (Marsden, 1992; Roberts, 2013, pp. 110–112). Knowledge arises from relationships with *atua*, *whenua*, and *tangata* rather than from a stance outside them. Metaphor, personification, and narrative reveal and conceal layers of meaning that cannot be translated neatly into Western categories (Marsden, 1992; Roberts, 2013, pp. 110–111). Communities therefore do not confer authority on an isolated individual. Authority arises within a cosmos already ordered by genealogical relations and by the *tikanga* those relations require. Authority grounded in *whakapapa* cannot be properly assessed from outside the field of relationships in which people exercise it (Marsden, 1992; Roberts, 2013).

Kawharu, Tapsell, and Woods (2017) move this *whakapapa* grammar from cosmology into the organisation of kin communities under pressure. Their *takarangi* framework treats *hapū* and *iwi* as *whakapapa*-structured socio-economic systems whose resilience depends on historically and culturally framed lessons carried across generations (pp. 22–23). At the centre sits the *mana/manaaki* dynamic.

Descent-based authority, or mana, remains accountable to obligations of service, hospitality, and care for collective wellbeing, or manaaki. Communities judge leadership by whether those two remain in balance (Kawharu et al., 2017, pp. 22–24). Four whakapapa-grounded roles carry distinct work within that dynamic. Rangatira weave people together and hold strategic direction, kaumātua carry customary values and precedent, pōtiki press innovation and risk from younger lines, and tohunga hold specialist and ritual expertise (Kawharu et al., 2017, pp. 22–27). Kawharu et al. (2017) trace the framework through the Kīngitanga and mid-nineteenth-century responses to land loss. They read the Native Land Court as an institutional crisis in which individualised title threatened collective whakapapa-based ownership, and the Kīngitanga as a whakapapa-coordinated response that reasserted mana-based authority across hapū (pp. 27–29). Here, whakapapa is not static ancestry. It is infrastructure. Communities use it to interpret change, distribute leadership, judge whether action enhances or diminishes mana, and hold together under institutional pressure.

Kawharu et al. (2024) extend that logic into research practice. They describe whakapapa as a genealogical matrix in which all things appear as layers of consciousness from the beginning of time and in which relationship, not detached observation, forms the basic condition of knowing (p. 66). Whakapapa is performed and renewed through public and private recitation, ritual, narrative, dance, and song, binding the living to their tūpuna and to place (Kawharu et al., 2024, p. 66). In research design, whakapapa frames co-productive relationships through whanaungatanga, co-design through kotahitanga, ethics through tikanga matatika, and accountability through utu. Utu here is not punitive reciprocity. It is the obligation to return the care, knowledge, and standing the relationship has conferred (Kawharu et al., 2024, pp. 66–67). The mana/manaakitanga dynamic identified in the 2017 framework also structures research teams. Expertise, or mana, can be exercised only where communities can hold it accountable through service and care, or manaakitanga, to those whose knowledge is at stake (Kawharu et al., 2024, p. 67). Accountability is not an ethical overlay added to an already formed research design. It is part of what makes the research whakapapa-grounded.

Whakapapa works in this thesis in three related ways. It names the genealogical ordering of beings and forces across time and space (Marsden, 1992; Roberts, 2013). It names a way of knowing in which tikanga cannot be separated from the relationships through which people produce knowledge, and in which histories of capture, reclamation, and ethical restriction set the terms of legitimate research (Jackson, 1998; Mahuika, 2019; Roberts, 2013). It also structures roles, obligations, ethics, and accountability in organisation and research alike (Bishop, 1996; Graham, 2009; Kawharu et al., 2017, 2024). Institutions that engage Māori authority therefore do not simply encounter a cultural identity marker. They encounter a living system of ordering, knowing, and acting that carries its own criteria for judgement.

2.1.2 Mana as Delegated Authority

In a whakapapa-ordered world, people carry and recognise authority as mana. Mana is constituted through whakapapa and through the cosmological order from which whakapapa derives. A rangatira does not hold authority only because of organisational office. Whakapapa places that person within inherited relations with

atua, tūpuna, whenua, and community, and those relations set the conditions under which others recognise, expect, and judge the exercise of mana (Barlow, 1991; Marsden, 1992).

Marsden (1992) confirms that mana does not name generic influence or prestige. It names authority carried within a specific genealogical and spiritual order. He distinguishes mana from ihi, the psychic force intrinsic to personality, by defining mana as delegated spiritual authority. Drawing on the New Testament terms *exousia* and *dunamis*, Marsden describes mana as “lawful permission delegated by the gods to their human agents” and accompanied by spiritual power to act in accordance with divine will (pp. 118–119). The bearer of mana channels authority rather than originating it. Authority exercised outside its delegated bounds can be withdrawn or become destructive to both its bearer and others (Marsden, 1992, p. 119). Mana endures only through conduct that remains answerable to the relationships through which communities entrust it (E. T. Durie, 1994; Shirres, 1997). Katene (2013) adopts the same formulation when he describes mana as lawful permission delegated by the gods to human agents to act on their behalf and according to their revealed will (p. 14). E. T. Durie (1994) adds that the political autonomy of a hapū rests on a rangatira’s mana, held through both ascription and acquisition. Delegation, channelling, and accountability therefore name one structure viewed from different angles.

Dell et al. (2018) draw the literature on mana into four interlinked sources: mana atua, mana tūpuna, mana whenua, and mana tangata. Mana atua names metaphysical and divine authority that comes from atua and travels down descent lines as a gift of power. Mana tūpuna names ancestral authority inherited from tūpuna and recalled in the way particular whānau are known for distinctive capacities or traits. Mana whenua names the authority attached to land, papakāinga, and tūrangawaewae, where mana becomes most effective when people stand in their own place and discharge obligations of occupation, care, and protection. Mana tangata names authority attained through a person’s actions and qualities, earned through achievement and recognised by others in how that person provides for people and sustains relationships. In this thesis, these sources appear in ordinary settings: a minister who frames decision-making through karakia and accountability before atua; a whānau who invoke tūpuna as active judges of present conduct; a rūnanga that acts as kaitiaki of its papakāinga and waterways; or a kaumātua whose standing rests on long practice in hui and everyday care for people.

Dell et al. (2018) read across scholars such as Marsden, Shirres, Pere, Moorfield, and Royal to argue that these accounts converge on mana’s capacity to affect and transform the lives of others. They define mana as “a potent human state” with the power to affect and transform others’ lives (p. 55). In their account, mana has spiritual origins in tapu and comes to life through action. Generosity, wisdom, and care enhance it. Neglect of obligation diminishes it (Dell et al., 2018, pp. 53–55). They extend the same logic into economic organisation, defining the economy of mana as a system in which decisions about investment, production, consumption, and wealth distribution are shaped by mana-enhancing relationships between people and the environment (p. 55). Mana therefore works both as a normative structure and as an operating logic through which contemporary decision-making may be organised. These dimensions do not form discrete types. They operate as interwoven sources of Māori potentiality, each limiting and qualifying the others.

Hēnare's (2018) analysis of hau shows the same pattern. Spiritual force does not detach from its source simply because it moves through gifts, people, or places. Tāmāti Ranapiri, a Ngāti Raukawa scholar corresponding with Elsdon Best, described hau as the vital life force of a person, place, or gift that remains bound to its source even as it moves. Best, the Pākehā ethnographer who first published Ranapiri's letters in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, altered key possessive forms in transcription and translation. Those changes allowed readers to treat hau as a material "spirit of the gift" rather than as a moral and spiritual force bound to its source. Hēnare's rereading matters here because it clarifies the same point this section makes about mana. Spiritual force does not cease to belong to its source simply because its effects circulate elsewhere.

In Ranapiri's account, the taonga that returns carries tō hau, your life force, so the obligation to return it arises because that force remains with you even when the object passes through other hands. Marsden's (1992, 2003) insistence that the bearer of mana channels rather than originates authority sits within the same logic. Mana remains bound to the whakapapa relationships from which it derives, regardless of where the person who carries it moves. If mana remains bound to atua, tūpuna, whenua, and people, then institutions cannot convert it into a property of office, policy, or representation by appointing a person, adopting its language, or creating a role. The same structure appears in Hēnare's (2018) reading of pre-Treaty hui, where rangatira acted from the retention, enhancement, and consolidation of mana rather than from any willingness to cede mana i te whenua, authority grounded in land and whakapapa. The exchanges that did occur were understood as kaihau, reciprocal exchange rather than alienation (p. 453).

Three consequences follow for this thesis. First, mana does not originate in an office, title, or institution. The relational field through which communities confer it cannot be separated from it, even though particular roles may extend or amplify how people exercise and recognise mana (E. T. Durie, 1994, p. 40). Mana descends through whakapapa, but it is renewed or diminished through the quality of obligations discharged in the present (Dell et al., 2018; Marsden, 1992). Second, authority that circulates inside an institution without remaining accountable to that relational field does not count as mana in the inherited sense, whatever name the institution gives it (Dell et al., 2018; Hēnare, 2018; Marsden, 1992). Third, mana can survive institutional constraint precisely because its source lies outside any institution's power to create or withdraw it (E. T. Durie, 1994). Institutions may constrain, displace, or fail to recognise its exercise, but they cannot generate or extinguish it.

2.1.3 Rangatiratanga

In a whakapapa-ordered world, authority is carried and recognised collectively as rangatiratanga. Te Tiriti o Waitangi did not create that authority. It recognised "te tino rangatiratanga o o rātou whenua o rātou kāinga me o rātou taonga katoa" as a power already in existence: the capacity of a people to govern themselves, hold their lands and taonga, and transmit that power intact. The literature consistently locates rangatiratanga in whānau, hapū, and iwi before it attaches to any individual leader (E. T. Durie, 1994; New Zealand Law Commission, 2001).

E. T. Durie (1994) observes that a rangatira's authority depends on community support, so authority may be understood as vested in the community itself, with the rangatira acting as its representative. The word rangatira encodes that relationship. Henry and Wolfgramm (2018) trace it to *raranga*, to weave, and *tira*, a group or company, so the rangatira weaves diverse people together and is defined by that collective rather than by individual status (p. 208). Ruwhiu and Elkin (2016) record Manuhuia Bennett's whakataukī: "Te kai a te rangatira he kōrero, te tohu o te rangatira he manaaki, te mahi a te rangatira he whakatira i te iwi" (p. 311). Discussion, care, and the binding of people together mark rangatira practice.⁴

Communities do not grant recognition automatically. They judge authority in practice. Te Rangikāheke's nineteenth-century formulation, as presented by Katene (2013), begins not by listing an individual's descent but by asking, "He aha te rangatiratanga o tēnā tangata?"—or what the basis of that person's chieftainship is (pp. 15–16). Descent is necessary, but it does not suffice. Katene argues that Māori leadership requires both status proven by whakapapa and a sustained display of personal qualities recognised by the people over time. Sir Hugh Kāwharu, as cited by Katene (2013), adds proven ability as a further criterion (p. 22). Rangatiratanga therefore rests on both whakapapa and demonstrated capacity.

Sanction is withdrawable. E. T. Durie (1994) notes that a rangatira could not declare peace, wage war, or compel the hapū to move without the people's sanction (pp. 34–35). Several rangatira and kaumātua participated in decision-making, sometimes meeting as a rūnanga, with authority vested in collective representatives each answerable to their own people. Katene (2013) records how that accountability worked: when a rangatira could not carry out a chiefly task, the mandate was withdrawn so that the work of the people was not frustrated, and authority often passed to a more junior member of the same moenga rangatira (p. 21). E. T. Durie (1994) also shows that new types of mana rangatira emerged after contact: mihinari rangatira whose mana increased through association with missionaries, moni rangatira recognised by land purchase officers, and government rangatira whose standing grew through Crown recognition (pp. 40–41). In each case, engagement with Pākehā institutions amplified influence, but rangatiratanga remained answerable to the people whose whakapapa and whenua grounded it. Rangatiratanga therefore names a collective condition. Mana animates it, and whakapapa determines who stands within the field of obligation where both operate.

Authority also remains active across generations. Kelly and Nicholson (2022) show that ancestral leadership continues through place, kinship, and intergenerational accountability. In their work with Ngāti Hine, descendants speaking beside the poupou of Hine ā maru did not merely remember an ancestor. They renewed her authority in the present: "Hine ā maru was being interviewed through her descendants" (Kelly & Nicholson, 2022, p. 146). Tūpuna do not simply reside in memory. They remain active in how communities understand and assess authority. Wolfgramm et al. (2022) reach a parallel conclusion through pūmahara, a generative collective memory code through which leadership identities form around the enactment of intergenerational knowledge rather than individual biography (pp. 628–633). They describe rangatiratanga as "a combination of leading, learning, and following" grounded in a Māori collective

⁴ The sustenance of the rangatira is discussion, the sign of the rangatira is manaaki, the work of the rangatira is to bring people together.

memory paradigm (p. 633). That account dissolves the Western binary between leader and follower and locates authority in the movement of knowledge through time.

E. T. Durie (1994) makes the territorial dimension equally clear. Ancestral associations survive land sale and conquest because spiritual connection endures even where possession is lost (p. 103). At the same time, the abolition of hapū and iwi interests in land “effectively obliterated the economy of rangatiratanga,” and the resulting lack of tribal revenue affected every hapū and iwi (E. T. Durie, 1994, p. 98). Mana has adapted through contact history by absorbing new sources of influence without surrendering its delegated and relational character (E. T. Durie, 1994, p. 40). Rangatiratanga therefore encounters new institutional forms without ceasing to be whakapapa-grounded, even as colonisation strips out its economic base. Paora et al. (2011) argue that mana motuhake and tino rangatiratanga clearly relate, but mana motuhake carries a stronger emphasis on land-based authority and political autonomy.

Whakapapa, mana, and rangatiratanga form the ground from which this thesis approaches authority. Whakapapa orders authority within relations among atua, tūpuna, whenua, and tangata and sets the conditions under which others can recognise or contest it (Marsden, 1992; Roberts, 2013). Mana names authority delegated and inherited through those relations and judged by whether a person discharges the obligations that follow (Barlow, 1991; Dell et al., 2018). Rangatiratanga names the collective exercise of that authority as leaders weave people and places together on the terms whakapapa sets (E. T. Durie, 1994; Henry & Wolfgramm, 2018; Wolfgramm et al., 2022). The research questions therefore do not ask whether institutions see Māori leaders as possessing the right leadership attributes. They ask what happens when authority already constituted through whakapapa has to operate inside institutional forms that recognise authority through office, contract, procedure, qualifications, and jurisdiction.

2.2 Leadership, Management, Governance and the Problem of Translation

Leadership scholarship has shifted away from leader-centred accounts that dominated the field in its trait and behavioural phases towards approaches that treat leadership as relational, shared, distributed, and emergent (Dugan, 2024; Edwards & Bolden, 2023). That shift unsettled the idea that leadership resides in one heroic individual, but it did not produce a single coherent alternative. It produced a loose family of overlapping approaches, most of which still assume Western organisational accounts of where authority sits and how it is known. The question for this thesis is not whether Western leadership theory has become more relational. It is whether those relational moves reach authority constituted through whakapapa and carried as mana before institutional appointment.

The Māori leadership, management, and governance literature must therefore be read against the Western categories that dominate contemporary institutions (Dugan, 2024; Northouse, 2019). Those categories do not govern the analysis that follows. They matter because they supply many of the terms into which mana-based authority is translated when Māori leaders enter organisations structured through office, role, contract, performance, board mandate, and procedure.

2.2.1 Western Leadership, Management, and Governance

Within mainstream Western leadership theory, the most significant recent shift has been from individual trait and command models towards transactional, transformational, and more relational approaches (Bass, 1985; Burns, 1978; Dugan, 2024; Northouse, 2019). Transactional accounts explain leadership as exchange. Leaders set expectations, attach rewards or sanctions, and followers respond through compliance and performance (Northouse, 2019). Burns's account of transforming leadership and Bass's later account of transformational leadership move further by focusing on motivation, values, vision, and the reframing of collective goals (Bass, 1985; Burns, 1978). Bass and Avolio's full range model then folds those moves into a repertoire in which transactional and transformational behaviours combine in the service of higher performance (Bass & Avolio, 1994). Together, these approaches relocate leadership within organisational purpose and change rather than personality alone.

Work on authentic, servant, and ethical leadership places heavier ethical expectations on leaders, but still locates authority in leaders' character and behaviour towards followers (Avolio & Gardner, 2005; Brown & Treviño, 2006; van Dierendonck, 2011). Authentic leadership turns on self-awareness, relational transparency, an internalised moral perspective, and balanced processing directed towards psychological and organisational wellbeing (Avolio & Gardner, 2005). Servant leadership stresses service, humility, stewardship, and follower development (van Dierendonck, 2011). Ethical leadership focuses on leaders who model and promote normatively appropriate conduct through decision-making, communication, and organisational reward systems (Brown & Treviño, 2006). These theories strengthen expectations of care, integrity, and accountability. Where *tikanga* appears, however, it appears as a value or practice good leaders may embody, not as a source of mandate grounded in *atua*, *tūpuna*, *whenua*, and *tangata*.

Relational and shared approaches further unsettle the assumption that leadership belongs to one heroic figure, yet they remain shaped by institutional frames (Dugan, 2024). Gronn's (2000) account of distributed leadership treats leadership as something that happens through patterns of interdependence, concertive action, and organisational activity rather than as something one person possesses. Shared leadership traces influence across team members as tasks and expertise shift. Collective leadership goes further and treats leadership as an emergent property of groups or networks rather than an attribute of any one person. As Edwards and Bolden (2023) note, however, the term now gathers a wide range of incompatible concepts and functions more as an unstable umbrella than as a settled theory. Relational leadership, in Uhl-Bien's (2006) understanding, treats leadership as produced through social relations, communication, and mutual influence rather than as a fixed bundle of traits or behaviours. In this thesis, relationality reaches further than organisational and interpersonal ties. It includes obligations to *atua*, *tūpuna*, *whenua*, and communities that pre-exist any institutional role and continue to bind whether institutions recognise them or not.

Uhl-Bien's more recent work on complexity leadership and followership shows how far mainstream theory has travelled from leader-centric models. She argues that contemporary organisations face complexity that cannot be handled by formal authority alone and therefore require leadership to be understood as an

adaptive process emerging from interactions among leaders, followers, and context, rather than as a property of individual role-holders (Uhl-Bien, 2021). Complexity leadership theory builds on relational and distributed approaches by treating leadership as the enabling of generative emergence, the collective, experimental work through which systems respond adaptively to pressure, rather than as top-down control (Uhl-Bien, 2021). Even this, however, still assumes an organisational system as the primary frame and does not reach authority constituted through whakapapa and obligations to atua, tūpuna, whenua, and people that pre-exist and outlast any particular organisation.

Western management and governance literatures organise authority differently again. Management literature tends to locate legitimate action in planning, organising, coordination, performance management, and resource control. Managers are authorised through position to allocate work, enforce standards, and deliver outcomes (Northouse, 2019). Governance literature in corporate and public settings places authority in boards and formal governing bodies charged with strategy, oversight, and accountability to owners, funders, or publics (for example, Nicholson & Kiel, 2004). These literatures name the operative forms through which institutions decide who may act, what counts as competence, and where binding decisions are made. They also provide much of the vocabulary of leadership, management, and governance into which mana-based authority is translated when Māori leaders enter institutions whose assumptions about authority were set elsewhere.

The cultural reach of Western leadership theory remains unsettled. Atwater et al. (2021) show that between 1991 and 2015, leadership research in major journals shifted from 85.7% Anglo-sourced studies to 41.5%, while Asian samples rose from 0% to 27.4%. Fewer than half of non-Anglo studies acknowledged cultural implications in their abstracts or discussion sections (pp. 694–695, 700–701). Leadership constructs developed in the United States, including leader-member exchange and transformational leadership, generated systematically different mean scores and variances across cultural clusters. Researchers nevertheless continued to apply “Made in the USA” theories to markedly different contexts without revisiting their assumptions about how authority is constituted there (Atwater et al., 2021, pp. 688, 700).

2.2.2 Māori Leadership, Management, and Governance

The contemporary Māori leadership, management, and governance literature develops mana-based authority as an alternative to leader-centred and institution-centred accounts of authority (Henry & Wolfgramm, 2018; Ruwhiu & Elkin, 2016). It does not speak with one voice. It divides on whether mana can be rendered productively through Western leadership categories or whether it proceeds from premises those categories do not share. That division matters because it affects how this thesis names and judges authority in institutional life.

Comparative readings use Western leadership vocabularies to make Māori leadership legible. Katene (2013) engages leadership typologies directly, interpreting Māori leadership through four modes: transactional leadership that maintained pre-European order, charismatic leadership in nineteenth-century prophet movements, transformational leadership among early twentieth-century Māori intellectuals, and a more recent organic or servant mode blending transformational and relational elements (pp. 5–6). He reads

these modes as responses to different threats to rangatiratanga, and maps these to show how leadership form shifted as the conditions for self-determination changed. Ruwhiu and Elkin (2016) extend this comparative move by placing Māori leadership alongside servant leadership and identifying a shared concern with service, stewardship, and relational responsibility. Haar et al. (2019) add quantitative weight, showing through structural equation modelling that five values Māori leaders name as central—whakaiti, manaakitanga, whanaungatanga, kaitiakitanga, and tikanga Māori—predict ethical leadership perceptions and high-quality exchange relationships with followers (pp. 621, 631–632). Katene (2010) bridges traditional and contemporary Māori leadership and names a tension central to this thesis. In post-settlement and corporate settings, leaders with commercial and business expertise become highly valued while those whose standing rests on social and cultural capacities are downgraded. As organisational forms change, the terms on which institutions recognise and use mana-based authority are reordered rather than removed.

Other scholars resist that comparative move. Henry and Wolfgramm (2018) argue that Māori leadership is best understood as a way of being in relation rather than as a discrete role occupied by an autonomous individual. Whakapapa organises relationships across spiritual, ancestral, territorial, and social domains, and leadership emerges from that field rather than being imposed upon it (pp. 203–204, 207–208). Their empirical study of Māori leaders in the screen industry shows that culture and worldview shape leadership identity, and that relational leadership arises from the interaction between ways of being and ways of doing (Henry & Wolfgramm, 2018, p. 203). Ruwhiu and Elkin's (2016) fuller argument refuses the familiar move in which Indigenous leadership is translated into the dominant vocabulary of ethics, service, or relationality and then treated as a local instance of a universal category. Māori leadership, on this view, must be understood through te ao Māori and through values and relationships that are historically grounded and context-specific. Spiller et al. (2020) press the same line by arguing that Western collective leadership theory ignores contributions across generations. They advance an ecosystemic view in which Māori collective leadership works by activating a knowledge code, cultivating ties of affection, and working tensions that keep leadership true to that code (pp. 516, 519). Standard distinctions between individual and collective leadership become too narrow once authority is distributed across people, place, ancestors, and more-than-human worlds. Salmon et al. (2023) name the risk that anchors this resistance: Indigenous leadership is vulnerable to erosion through the internalisation of Western styles and forms, so comparison, however carefully handled, may translate a distinct authority tradition into borrowed categories and lose what makes it distinct.

Mika and O'Sullivan (2014) hold a parallel position in management. They argue that Māori management operates as a distinctive form in Aotearoa, shaped by indigeneity, postcolonial conditions, kaupapa Māori, and tino rangatiratanga, and they question whether Western management theory can adequately explain Māori experience. Māori management, on this account, offers a rival source of management principles grounded in whakapapa and collective obligation. It is not a decorative overlay on Western organisation. It is one of the places where mana and tikanga must be held against the pressures of performance, efficiency, and contract.

Nicholson et al. (2019) extend the same analysis into governance through ambicultural governance. They describe arrangements in which economic, social, cultural, environmental, and spiritual purposes are held together through kaitiakitanga and long-term collective wellbeing, and where an alternative ethical and value base, rather than profit alone, sets the terms of decision-making. Hēnare's (2014) economy of mana sits within this frame by insisting that decisions about investment, production, and distribution should enhance mana across spiritual, ecological, kinship, and economic domains. The need for deliberate models of this kind confirms that conventional institutional forms do not naturally carry mana-based authority on its own terms. If mana is to govern rather than decorate management and governance structures, those structures have to change.

Haar and Martin (2022) show the same problem in the science sector. They examine Vision Mātauranga, a government science policy that requires research and innovation institutions to engage with Māori knowledge, resources, and people. Their study shows that the policy often creates extra cultural labour for Māori scientists without changing the institutional conditions under which that labour is resourced. They name this burden “he aronga takirua-the cultural double shift” carried when Māori scientists are expected to perform unfunded cultural work alongside their formal roles. Whakawhanaungatanga, kawenga, and the resulting taumaha fall onto Māori staff because institutions claim the value of Māori engagement without carrying the obligations that engagement creates. This literature shows that Māori leadership, management, and governance are not culturally inflected variants of Western categories. They rest on mana delegated through atua, tūpuna, whenua, and people, and on whakapapa-ordered obligations that remain binding whether or not institutions recognise them. The divide between comparative and resistant positions is therefore not only methodological. It is a dispute about what happens to mana once it enters institutions whose authority is organised on different grounds.

2.2.3 Translation, Legibility, and Loss

The difference between comparative and resistant approaches matters because each gives a different account of what happens when mana-based authority enters institutional life. Comparative work makes Māori leadership visible to mainstream leadership, management, and governance scholarship by showing points of overlap with recognised categories such as servant, ethical, transformational, or relational leadership (Avolio & Gardner, 2005; Brown & Treviño, 2006; Dugan, 2024; van Dierendonck, 2011). Its strength lies in making Māori authority legible within existing academic and organisational conversations. Its risk is translation. Mana, whakapapa, tikanga, whenua, atua, and tūpuna can be recast as values, behaviours, competencies, or styles. Approaches that resist translation protect the ground of Māori authority by refusing to treat it as a cultural variant of Western leadership theory and by insisting that mana-based authority proceeds from premises Western theory does not share (Henry & Pene, 2001; Henry & Wolfgramm, 2018; L. T. Smith, 2021).

The losses at stake are not only semantic. Once mana is translated into leadership “style” or “values,” institutions can claim it symbolically while leaving operative control with offices, boards, and procedures organised on other terms. Translation then enables recognition without reception. Māori concepts

appear in mission statements, strategy documents, and leadership frameworks, but the underlying authority relations do not shift. Mana becomes a resource for institutional legitimacy rather than a ground that can reorder how decisions are made, who is accountable to whom, and on what terms authority binds. Institutional sociology describes this pattern as decoupling, where formal structure is adopted ceremonially to secure legitimacy while operative work proceeds on other terms (Bromley & Powell, 2012; Meyer & Rowan, 1977). Jackall (1988/2009) traces the same dynamic inside corporate hierarchies, where organisational expectations override personal moral conviction and managers learn to act on what the institution rewards rather than on what they hold to be right.

This thesis takes a clear position. It does not use Western leadership, management, or governance categories to define mana-based authority. Mana, constituted through whakapapa, atua, tūpuna, whenua, and people, provides the ground against which institutional forms are judged. Western categories enter the analysis only as institutional artefacts. They name the offices, roles, and procedures through which institutions recognise, narrow, or displace mana. They are held answerable to the mana-based frame, not the other way around.

2.2.4 Conclusion

Māori leadership scholarship differs over how far Western leadership categories can explain authority grounded in whakapapa. Comparative approaches make Māori practice visible to established leadership scholarship, while other accounts insist that those categories can strip authority from the relationships that constitute it (Henry & Wolfgramm, 2018; Ruwhiu & Elkin, 2016; Salmon et al., 2023). The next question concerns institutional power: how colonisation and contemporary organisations alter the conditions under which that authority can act.

2.3 Colonisation

Colonisation did not extinguish mana-based authority. It broke the conditions under which people could exercise, recognise, and transmit it. The issue was not only the loss of political control. Colonisation destroyed and remade the material, social, and institutional world in which rangatira could provide for people, sustain alliances, transmit language and knowledge, and hold authority in practice. As Porter (1999) notes, Britain's nineteenth-century empire combined overlapping empires of white settlement, India, and dependent conquests, governed through evolving constitutional arrangements that distinguished self-governing settler colonies from 'Crown Colony' rule over dependent peoples (Porter, 1999, pp. 3–4). Read in that frame, Aotearoa appears as one site in a wider imperial project that displaced existing Indigenous authority orders and then normalised the resulting arrangements through imperial law, administration, and economic reorganisation.

Those changes did not end in the nineteenth century. They continue through contemporary settler-colonial institutional forms, including neoliberal, managerial, legal, and market-based arrangements. The conditions of mana-based authority therefore have to be read historically and in the present together.

E.T. Durie (1991) argues that Te Tiriti o Waitangi was concluded between independent sovereignties, with the British Crown having already acknowledged the sovereign status of Māori tribes by 1836. On his reading, Te Tiriti secured governorship for the Crown while preserving Māori autonomy. The reo Māori text of Article 2 guaranteed tino rangatiratanga over lands, villages, and taonga in terms that exceeded the English text's narrower emphasis on property and extended to rights of development and self-government. E.T. Durie (1991) is explicit that Māori would not have accepted terms they understood to diminish their mana or status. The Crown's later assertion of authority over Māori land and governance therefore did not merely alter an administrative arrangement. It violated what Māori understood Te Tiriti to protect. The Waitangi Tribunal's Stage 1 *Te Paparahi o Te Raki* report confirms the point. The Tribunal found that Māori political order before 1840 was organised through hapū and rangatira within a normative world shaped by mana, tapu, utu, and whanaungatanga, rather than through a singular sovereign authority in the British sense, and that rangatira who signed Te Tiriti in February 1840 did not cede sovereignty (Waitangi Tribunal, 2014). What followed was not a gradual erosion of Māori autonomy. It was the displacement of an authority the Crown had not created and could not, on the agreed terms, override.

Land alienation made that displacement material (Porter, 1999). Thom and Grimes (2022), linking historical land retention and confiscation data for North Island iwi to contemporary cultural wellbeing and health measures, found that higher iwi land retention at the end of the nineteenth century was associated with stronger contemporary cultural wellbeing outcomes, including te reo proficiency and marae connection, while confiscation was associated with poorer health outcomes. Their findings support the argument that land alienation damaged not only economic resources but the intergenerational conditions through which whakapapa, whenua, cultural transmission, and wellbeing are sustained. Mana whenua describes authority grounded in enduring relationship with place and in the obligations that arise from occupation, care, and provision (Barlow, 1991; Mead, 2016). When whānau, hapū, and iwi lose the land through which they feed people, sustain relationships, and honour reciprocal obligations, they lose more than an economic asset. They lose a primary means through which mana is enacted and confirmed.

Ward's (1997) account of the Auckland district traces that loss in concrete terms. Māori held about 60% of the district's land in 1860, 25% by 1890, 19% by 1910, and 5% by 1939. Ward (1997, 1999) and Boast (2001) show that alienation in Auckland continued from the 1840s to the 1930s through old land claims, Crown purchases, confiscations, pre-emption waiver purchases, and later purchases under the Native Land Acts. The Native Land Court mattered because it converted collective title into individualised interests and opened further private and Crown purchasing, but it operated within a longer process already stripping hapū of the land base upon which rangatira had provided for their people, sustained alliances, and met obligations. Land loss in this period was therefore not only dispossession. It remade the material conditions on which mana-based authority depended.

The same pattern runs through the Māori economy. Henry and Poyser (2024) show that, by the 1830s, Māori were central participants in a substantial commercial economy. Māori produced pork and potatoes, owned ships, manufactured goods such as tree spars, treenails, and treated flax, and traded throughout the Pacific. Henry and Poyser stress that this expansion advanced through deliberate strategies

aligned with customary practice. Drawing on earlier work on *utu* and *mana*, they argue that early Māori investment generated financial value and *mana*, so economic action was tied to status, reciprocity, and collective standing. Colonisation therefore did more than reduce Māori wealth. Through land alienation, war, legislation, and the reorganisation of property relations, it damaged a field in which *mana*-based authority had been exercised and publicly confirmed. What was broken was not only Māori commercial capacity but the relational economic order in which material provision, reciprocity, and *mana* sustained one another.

Williams (2019) traces the same process into the twentieth century. Successive policies of amalgamation, assimilation, and later integration weakened *tikanga* Māori, *te reo* Māori, and *mātauranga* Māori in favour of British norms and a monocultural national identity. The Hunn Report, the 1960 review of the Department of Māori Affairs that framed integration as the “obvious trend,” gave that project renewed force. The state did not merely accommodate an urban drift already under way. It actively promoted Māori migration from *papakāinga* into urban centres, abandoned earlier commitments to employment on tribal land, pressed Māori to sell remaining rural land, and used “pepper-potting” in state housing so that Māori families were dispersed among Pākehā neighbours and denied immediate Māori communal facilities. Colonial rule therefore acted administratively as well as through war, confiscation, and land court processes. It altered the social conditions in which *tikanga* could be practised collectively and transmitted across generations.

These effects ran through *whānau* life, language loss, and intergenerational trauma. Drawing on Berger and Martin (2022) and Māori trauma scholarship, Barrie (2024) describes trauma from a Māori perspective as harm to *tapu* and *mauri* that damages personal and collective wellbeing and argues that colonisation produced intergenerational trauma through the loss of land, self-determination, *reo*, and social structures of support (Pihama et al., 2014; Pihama et al., 2017). Hamley (2023) highlights one consequence in the domain of language. Young Māori men in his study describe sadness, loss, resentment, and frustration in relation to *te reo* Māori because earlier generations were punished for speaking it or stopped transmitting it within the *whānau*. That interruption is experienced as loss and injustice in the present. Hamley also notes that, for some, sadness and loss become a basis for renewed learning, *whānau* support, and collective action, and he argues for narratives of intergenerational gift, joy, and possibility alongside trauma. The point here is plain. Colonisation damaged the conditions through which *mana*-based authority is passed on: *reo*, *whānau* relationships, and a secure sense of standing in one’s own *whakapapa*. Any account of contemporary Māori institutional encounter that ignores that damage misreads the terrain.

Colonial rule also persisted by forcing Indigenous authority into forms the state could recognise. McCormack’s (2012) analysis of Ngāti Porou, Ruawaipu, and the foreshore and seabed context shows that the state did not simply deny Māori claims. It recast the terms on which those claims could be pursued. Under colonial and later governmental conditions, *iwi* became the paramount political organisation. The Crown increasingly recognised Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Porou as the legitimate body through which settlements could be negotiated. Authority was then concentrated at *iwi-rūnanga* level rather than at *hapū* level. Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Porou became the conduit for fisheries and foreshore and seabed negotiations, while settlement took the form of quota, shares, cash, and corporate subsidiaries organised through neoliberal property relations. That process did not simply compensate Māori for colonial dispossession. It converted

customary marine tenure into institutionally managed and market-compatible forms of redress. Ruawaipu groups were left arguing that their claims had been absorbed into a structure that did not carry their own genealogical and territorial basis of authority.

Higher education provides another example of recognition without full reception. L.T. Smith (2021) locates Western academic knowledge within the wider history of imperial and colonial knowledge production, and argues that decolonising work must confront the Western academic canon in its philosophy, pedagogy, ethics, organisational practices, paradigms, methodologies, and discourses. Pihama et al. (2019) show how that problem continues in higher education in Aotearoa New Zealand. They describe mainstream universities as institutions shaped by Western knowledge and pedagogical approaches that are often hostile towards Māori and Indigenous ways of being. MAI Te Kupenga therefore appears in their account as an Indigenous intervention within the tertiary sector: a Māori-led structure that supports scholars to work through university systems that do not adequately recognise Māori knowledge, methodologies, or collective obligations. For this thesis, the point is that universities do not merely transmit knowledge. They organise what counts as knowledge, who is recognised as authoritative, and what forms of formation and qualification receive institutional legitimacy. This thesis uses translation to describe that wider process. Mana-based claims have to be reformatted through bodies, assets, formal qualifications, and decision channels the Crown or other Western institutions can recognise and administer before they count as actionable. McCormack (2012) shows that translation is not neutral. It rewards a particular kind of indigeneity: one aligned with neoliberal architecture, recognised through iwi-rūnanga structures, and made legible through property, settlement, and corporate governance rather than through hapū-based authority.

That problem did not end with colonisation. Bargh and Otter (2009) argue that the “messy actualities” of neoliberalism cannot be separated from the genealogy of colonisation through which those spaces were produced, and that Māori engagements with neoliberal openings must be read as part of longer struggles over place, whakapapa, and tino rangatiratanga rather than as activity in a neutral institutional present. Bargh (2011) later shows that Māori economic activity is too easily read either as entrepreneurial success or as capitulation to corporate modernity. Drawing on diverse economies scholarship associated especially with Gibson-Graham (2008), Bargh argues for an account of Māori economies that recognises communal, genealogical, and non-capitalist dimensions that entrepreneurial discourse obscures (see also Dell et al., 2018; Mika et al., 2022; Ransfield & Reichenberger, 2021). The point is not that Māori institutions sit outside markets. They do not. The point is that Māori economic life cannot be reduced to entrepreneurial modernisation or capitalist business alone.

Kidman (2020) shows the same pattern in the neoliberal university, where Indigenous scholars are celebrated as diversity partners while remaining at institutional margins. Recognition operates as containment rather than as a redistribution of authority. Read in that light, studies of workplace “diversity” make a similar point: organisations can convert Māori presence and Māori values into institutional capital without altering the distribution of authority or resources on which they rest. Kuntz et al. (2014) show that Māori employees are acutely aware of how far organisational espousal of Māori values is carried through into daily practice, and that their commitment and helping behaviours track those differences. Together,

these accounts show that the neoliberal university trades in Māori presence without altering the terms on which authority binds. McCormack's (2012) analysis makes the same warning available for iwi governance. Even iwi arrangements that look, from the outside, like expressions of tino rangatiratanga may still be operating within terms the Crown and the market have set. Contemporary iwi institutions do not sit outside translation. They form one of its present sites.⁵

The comparative literature has long argued that Indigenous institutions perform better when their governing forms are built on culturally grounded terms rather than organised through externally supplied constitutional templates that lack cultural match (Cornell & Kalt, 2000). The Aotearoa scholarship reviewed here extends that argument under Te Tiriti conditions. Māori authority must often act through institutional forms shaped by Crown recognition, settlement policy, and market discipline, but those forms do not determine the meaning of Māori action in advance. The real question is not whether Māori actors are captured by those forms or entirely free of them. It is how far they can rework those forms without leaving the grounds of authority to be set elsewhere. Te Hāhi Mihinare tests that question directly because constitutional recognition may coexist there with operative arrangements built on other terms.

Colonisation, then, did not remove mana-based authority from existence. It altered the conditions under which people could exercise, recognise, and reproduce that authority. It displaced the land and economic base through which rangatira met obligations, disrupted the transmission of language and ancestral knowledge, damaged the whānau conditions through which standing is carried across generations, and built institutional forms that recognise Māori claims only when translated into state-sanctioned arrangements. That reorganisation did not end with the colonial period. It continues through contemporary legal, managerial, and neoliberal forms, including iwi governance structures that can carry mana-based authority while also operating within terms set elsewhere.

2.4 Contemporary Institutional Forms and Competing Grounds of Authority

Colonisation reorganised authority in ways that continue to shape contemporary institutions. Across health, law, governance, the economy, and organisational life, institutions privilege legal, bureaucratic, and economic authority over mana-based authority. They do this not only by excluding Māori authority outright, but by acknowledging it while organising legitimacy, decision-making, accountability, and selection on other terms. Māori authority becomes institutionally legible only after Māori claims have been translated into forms the receiving institution can classify, compare, and administer. A Māori model of health may be praised while funding and governance remain centrally controlled. Tikanga may be recognised in court only

⁵ "Diverse economies" refers to approaches, associated especially with Gibson-Graham (2008) and taken up in Māori scholarship, that seek to describe the plurality of economic forms obscured by capitalist and developmental narratives. In this context, the point is not that Māori institutions sit outside markets, but that Māori economic activity cannot be reduced either to entrepreneurial modernisation or to capitalist business alone. The term is useful in the present context because it makes visible the plurality of value systems, exchanges, and institutional forms through which Māori economic life is organised, including those obscured by entrepreneurial and developmental readings (Dell et al., 2018; see also Bargh, 2011).

through evidential procedures the state defines. Māori values may be welcomed in enterprise discourse while return, growth, and accumulation remain the operative evaluative frame. The question is not whether Māori authority appears. It is who controls the terms of action once it does.

2.4.1 Health and the Misrecognition of Relational wellbeing

Inherited health institutions rest on a narrower account of care and wellbeing than Māori models of health require. Wilson et al. (2021), reviewing nine Māori models of health and wellbeing, identify four recurring themes: dimensions of health and wellbeing, whanaungatanga, whakawhanaungatanga, and the wider sociopolitical context of colonisation, urbanisation, racism, and marginalisation. These models locate health in active relationships with whānau, whakapapa, whenua, tūpuna, and wairua. Whakawhanaungatanga is not an optional cultural addition to otherwise adequate care. It is one condition under which care becomes adequate. Health services that exclude whānau, wairua, tikanga, and the colonial conditions shaping Māori lives fail to engage Māori health on the terms Māori models describe.

Reid and Robson (2007) identify the institutional mechanism. They argue that Māori health inequities must be understood through colonisation as an ongoing process of power and resource transfer, not as a completed historical event. Racism operates through differential access to the determinants of health, differential access to health care, and differences in the quality of care received. Individual deficit cannot explain Māori ill health. Health systems distribute resources, care, and authority inequitably, then treat those outcomes as normal. Inherited institutions do not only under-serve Māori. They subordinate Māori wellbeing to other norms of care and value.

Dyall et al. (2014) reinforce the point. In their cohort study of Māori aged 80 to 90, more frequent visits to marae correlated independently with higher physical health-related quality of life, while experiences of discrimination correlated with lower mental health-related quality of life. They also note that the SF-12, a 12-item generic health survey developed in the United States, rests on a Western concept of health, while mātauranga Māori associates wellbeing with different cultural and social factors. Read with Wilson et al. (2021) and Reid and Robson (2007), Dyall et al. (2014) show why institutional measures often fail Māori: they do not register the relationships and cultural conditions through which Māori sustain wellbeing. Marae participation is not incidental to health. It is one of the conditions associated with wellbeing.

Came (2014) shows how policy reproduces this misrecognition. Drawing on Māori counter-narratives, document review, and policy analysis, she identifies five sites of institutional racism in public health policy-making: majoritarian decision-making, misuse of evidence, deficiencies in cultural competencies, deficiencies in consultation, and Crown filters. These are systemic features of policy formation, not interpersonal failings. Decision structures sideline Māori priorities. Officials privilege biomedical and international evidence over Māori knowledge. Policy staff lack the cultural and political competence required to work under Te Tiriti obligations. Consultation processes marginalise Māori providers and perspectives. Crown filters dilute Māori content during drafting and sign-off.

Waitoki and McLachlan (2022) identify the same pattern in the state's COVID-19 response. The Government invoked the whakataukī “he waka eke noa” to call the nation into collective action, but excluded

Māori health professionals from pandemic working-party consultations even though they had established an expert advisory group to coordinate a national Māori response and provide public health advice. Māori crisis infrastructure already existed. Iwi authorities, marae, Māori health and social service providers, schools, and community networks had shown in earlier disasters, and again during COVID-19, that they could respond quickly, practically, and in culturally grounded ways. The state borrowed Māori language for public messaging while withholding Māori authority from the machinery that designed, resourced, and governed the pandemic response.

Contemporary hauora and mental health research shows what follows from this reordering of authority. Moewaka Barnes and McCreanor (2019) argue that colonisation imposed abusive, exploitative, and racist power relations that produced “debilitating despair” and transmitted devastating loss across generations. Land loss did not only remove an economic base. It separated Māori from whenua, destabilised place-based whānau, hapū, and iwi identities, broke long-established knowledge practices, and undermined the fabric of Māori society. Māori contributors to *He Ara Oranga* described their mental health as suffering “as a direct result of a long-standing alienation from their land and the impact of colonisation and generational deprivation” (p. 40), and argued that recovery requires reconnection to land, culture, whakapapa, and history, even though many services barely acknowledge these conditions (Government Inquiry into Mental Health and Addiction, 2018). Wikaire et al. (2022), through a Kaupapa Māori synthesis in *Nōku te Ao*, identify colonisation, intergenerational trauma, and institutional racism as determinants of Māori mental wellbeing. They challenge Western medical accounts of mental distress that detach mamae from whenua, whānau, whakapapa, history, and mana.

The Waitangi Tribunal’s *Hautūpua* report provides the clearest recent example. *Hautūpua* is the Tribunal’s priority report on the disestablishment of Te Aka Whai Ora, the Māori Health Authority established under the Pae Ora (Healthy Futures) Act 2022 as a mechanism for Māori participation and self-governance within the health system (Waitangi Tribunal, 2024). The Tribunal found that the Crown created Te Aka Whai Ora partly in response to longstanding Māori health inequities and as a practical expression of tino rangatiratanga in health governance. The Crown then disestablished it without consulting Māori, without following robust policy processes, and without putting an alternative Māori health plan in place. The point is not only political reversal. The Crown recognised Māori authority in health, gave it an organisational vehicle, and removed that vehicle by unilateral decision. Recognition remained contingent because operative authority still sat elsewhere.

2.4.2 Law, Governance, and the Translation of Authority

State law uses a related mechanism. It allows mana-based authority to enter only after parties have translated, evidenced, and managed it through legal categories. E. T. Durie (1991) argued that Te Tiriti o Waitangi was fundamentally about authority, yet the orthodox doctrine that the Treaty has no domestic legal force unless Parliament incorporates it means that Māori understandings of rangatiratanga do not operate in state law on their own terms. State law recognises rangatiratanga only through categories, procedures, and thresholds it controls.

The New Zealand Law Commission's *Māori Custom and Values in New Zealand Law* describes the disjuncture (New Zealand Law Commission, 2001). The paper describes mana as political and spiritual authority grounded in whakapapa and treats hui and rūnanga as important sites of collective Māori decision-making. Yet Māori custom law has commonly entered the courts as something akin to foreign law: not presumed as an existing normative order, but specially pleaded and proved through evidence. Mana-based authority appears in state law as something the court translates and assesses, not as an authority the institution must receive.

The Law Commission's *He Poutama* marks a shift (New Zealand Law Commission, 2023). It treats tikanga not merely as a source of values for state law but as a system of norms with its own integrity and as an independent source of rights and obligations. That shift matters, but it does not resolve the deeper problem. Authority grounded in spiritual, genealogical, and communal relations still has to enter state law through forms the state can classify, administer, and manage. The question is what happens when state law recognises mana-based authority only through its own categories.

Reid and Rout (2020) identify the same problem in marine governance. They argue that ecosystem-based management is often presented as participatory management, but it can shift authority over the marine estate by deciding who participates, whose interests count, what jurisdictions apply, and who regulates activity after decisions are made. That matters because the marine estate is not an empty governance space. It is already marked by hapū jurisdiction over marine territories, rangatira authority to enforce resource rights and rāhui, whānau and individual harvesting rights organised by species, place, and season, iwi quota rights, taiāpure and mātaimai, iwi environmental planning, and customary marine title claims (Reid & Rout, 2020, pp. 1–3). If the Crown builds ecosystem-based management around stakeholder participation rather than Māori-Crown governing authority, Māori authority is not received as authority. It is converted into input within a Crown-designed process (Reid & Rout, 2020, pp. 4–5). For Māori, the issue is not participation alone. It is whether ecosystem-based management builds from these Māori governing and property-right systems, or places them inside a Crown-designed process where Māori appear as stakeholders rather than governing partners (Reid & Rout, 2020, pp. 4–5). As in law, mana-based claims become institutionally actionable only after translation into forms the Crown can classify, administer, and manage. Henry and Poyser (2024) trace a parallel pattern in Māori investment activity. Iwi have frequently adopted Western investment principles and language, sometimes setting aside tikanga and mātauranga Māori to be regarded as “professional,” even though historical Māori enterprise operated through concepts such as utu and mana that joined financial and spiritual capital and oriented investment towards collective wellbeing rather than profit alone. Henry and Poyser (2024) propose Indigenous investment frameworks grounded in Indigenous history, culture, values, sustainability, and tribal wellbeing rather than conventional financial theory alone. Their account shows how Māori institutions can reassert iwi-grounded investment logics inside financial environments ordered by Western finance. It also shows how external evaluative grammars can redirect decisions away from mana-based authority unless Māori retain control over investment design.

2.4.3 Economy, Value, and the Inversion of Mana

The economy of mana established earlier in this chapter locates authority in distribution, reciprocity, collective good, and intergenerational obligation rather than accumulation and shareholder value (Dell et al., 2018; Hēnare, 2014). Institutions organised around markets misread that economy because they treat accumulation as value and distribution as loss.

Mika et al. (2022) strengthen this critique through “manahau”, their Māori theory of value. They bring the concepts of mana and hau together to explain how Māori entrepreneurs negotiate cultural and commercial imperatives towards multidimensional wellbeing, human potential, and relational balance. Their account refuses a market frame in which value counts only when it appears as utility, return, growth, or accumulated wealth. Mana and hau tie value to the obligations carried by people, taonga, whenua, and wider communities. Enterprise creates value when it enhances mana, sustains hau, and maintains reciprocal balance, not when it converts Māori resources into measurable return. This supports the argument advanced here. When institutions require Māori enterprise to justify itself through financial performance, asset growth, or transferable value, they do more than apply neutral metrics. They route Māori value through evaluative systems that cannot carry the authority, obligation, and spiritual force that make that value Māori.

Ruwhiu et al. (2021) show the same pattern at SME scale. Their study of Southern Māori enterprises finds that owners define success through a mix of financial viability and obligations to whānau, whenua, and kaupapa, treating tikanga and whanaungatanga as critical success factors rather than optional cultural additions (Ruwhiu et al., 2021, pp. 44–46, 52–56). They argue that Māori SMEs require a culturally constituted regional support system, because generic SME policy and metrics underestimate both the value and the distinct needs of Māori businesses (Ruwhiu et al., 2021, pp. 48–50, 56–57).

Margaret Kawharu (2018) locates one expression of this misreading in Treaty settlement architecture. An early Office of Treaty Settlements guide stated that one aim of settlement was to “restore and increase the mana and rangatiratanga of the claimant group” (p. 490). Later policy language moved away from that ambition. Settlement came to focus more narrowly on restoring the honour of the Crown and rebuilding the Crown–claimant relationship, while claimant groups were left to pursue mana motuhake within post-settlement structures they had not designed. The problem did not lie only in the size or form of redress. The Crown transferred redress into governance entities constituted through Crown criteria, private trusts, corporate companies, and legal and market disciplines external to the relational order the settlement was supposed to repair. Iwi received recognition, but the institutional channels through which they exercised resources, legitimacy, and strategic control remained structured elsewhere.

Parihaka, where Crown reconciliation proceeded through a distinct process rather than standard Treaty settlement procedure, shows that this outcome was not inevitable. Kawharu (2018) describes an approach organised around whakapapa, whenua, need, and ongoing relationship. Layered whakapapa and affiliation, rather than rigid membership registers, framed participation. Iterative hui and feedback shaped decision-making rather than individualised voting procedures. Redress was oriented towards reconciliation

and self-sufficiency rather than a narrow settlement formula. The contrast shows that the problem lies in institutional design, not in Māori incapacity to operate institutionally.

Standard market metrics misread mana-based authority. Institutions organised around return, growth, market share, or asset performance register distribution, reciprocity, and relational obligation as costs or constraints rather than as exercises of authority. Amoamo et al. (2018) argue that capitalist categories cannot capture the diversity of Māori economic forms because Māori economic institutions treat social, cultural, and environmental obligations as constitutive features of economic life. Mika and Scheyvens (2022) show this in their study of Indigenous tourism on the Whanganui River. Their analysis shows Māori enterprises choosing slower and lower growth in favour of environmental and community wellbeing, which means commercial expansion does not stand as the sole or highest measure of value. Rout et al. (2025) frame this as a structural issue: Māori economies of wellbeing must still operate within the contemporary capitalist economy and settler-state institutional framework, even where wellbeing economy strategies align with Māori economic kaupapa. Mainstream metrics do not merely overlook non-market values. They require Māori value to appear inside an institutional frame organised on other terms.

Nicholson et al. (2019) offer an ambicultural governance model that rejects the assumption that Indigenous and Western approaches must remain mutually exclusive. Drawing on a Māori business case, they show how governance can hold wealth creation and collective wellbeing together through kaitiakitanga, relational stewardship, and multidimensional performance rather than through financial return alone. This does not resolve the contradiction identified here, but it shows that governance design matters. Māori organisations can rework performance systems, decision criteria, and strategic objectives so that social, cultural, spiritual, environmental, and economic purposes are weighed together. Where governance structures are not designed to carry Māori purposes and accountabilities, Māori authority remains present but institutionally thinned.

Henry and Poyser (2024) show what this means on the ground. Māori asset holding institutions are the investment and commercial arms of iwi organisations that manage and grow assets, including settlement redress. They are shaped by tikanga, mātauranga Māori, intergenerational horizons, and historically grounded understandings of land, reciprocity, and collective wellbeing, rather than by conventional Western investment logics alone. Read with Nicholson et al. (2019), this work shows that Māori organisations can rework governance and performance systems in the same direction. These shifts matter only where Māori organisations retain real control over design. Otherwise, the dominant evaluative frame remains intact. The institution continues to read accumulation as success and distribution as a reduction of value. Mana-based authority is not denied outright. It is misread because the institution cannot recognise the value logic through which mana is sustained.

2.4.4 Organisation, Performance, and the Cost of Translation

At the organisational level, the burden falls most heavily on the people who carry mana-based authority into institutions organised otherwise. Haar et al. (2019) show that Māori leadership remains grounded in humility, altruism, long-term orientation, collectivism, and cultural authenticity, and that these values shape both

ethical leadership perceptions and employee outcomes. Kelly and Nicholson (2022) locate leadership in whakapapa, place, and intergenerational reciprocity, with accountabilities reaching beyond the immediate organisation into ancestral and collective relationships. Māori leaders therefore have to act within institutional roles while remaining answerable to an authority grounded in people, place, and genealogy.

That obligation runs into a definitional problem, not only a values problem. Institutions continue to define planning, organising, staffing, directing, and control through assumptions that sit differently from Māori understandings of authority, obligation, and collective purpose. Mika and O'Sullivan (2014) argue that Māori management is not Western management with cultural additions but a distinctive management discourse shaped by kaupapa Māori, post-colonial conditions, and Māori organisational purposes. Māori leaders therefore do not merely negotiate a gap between personal values and corporate culture. They work across two accounts of what management is for.

Institutional form then sorts which capacities count. Commercial and business expertise becomes more legible in corporate and governance settings than social and cultural leadership capacities. Katene (2010) traces how that hierarchy reorders the capabilities institutions value most. Tikanga-based authority does not disappear under managerial and procedural norms. The institution amplifies some capacities, downgrades others, and redirects mana-based authority rather than erasing it. Māori leaders absorb the cost of that redirection in conduct. Holmes (2007) shows how this works in Māori kaupapa workplaces, where humour allows leaders to “do both power and politeness,” construct authority, orient to whakaiti, and avoid the self-promotion associated with whakahihi. Self-deprecation and ironic commentary protect mana while still meeting organisational demands for visible leadership.

Māori leaders do not leave the collective ground of leadership behind when they enter institutional office. Spiller et al. (2020) locate Māori leadership in an ecosystem of relationships that extends across generations, living and non-living entities, and social ecologies (pp. 516–518, 522), while Wolfgramm et al. (2022) describe pūmahara as a generative collective memory code through which Māori leaders enact identity, continuity, affiliation, self-affirmation, and belonging (p. 628). Institutional office therefore requires more than value translation. It requires Māori leaders to carry an account of authority that begins before the role, depends on collective recognition, and remains answerable beyond the organisation that employs or appoints them. Drawing on Freire, Spiller et al. (2021) name the pressure generated by dominant cultural norms as an “isomorphic pull” that demands acquiescence and produces “façades of conformity” that silence cultural self-worth, self-confidence, and self-belief (p. 82).

The wider Indigenous management and organisation literature shows how organisations convert Indigenous authority into extra institutional labour. Salmon et al. (2023) summarise research in which Indigenous leadership is spiritual, holistic, collective, culturally embedded, connected to kinship and environment, and not reducible to formal position or role (pp. 454–458). That matters here because institutions often use Indigenous staff and leaders to make Indigenous authority available to the organisation without giving that authority power to reorganise institutional routines. Haar and Martin (2022) show this mechanism in Aotearoa. They interviewed Māori scientists, gathered hui and survey data, and examined job descriptions and contracts before identifying he aronga takirua, the cultural double-shift Māori scientists

perform alongside their formal roles (pp. 1001, 1007, 1015–1017). Whakawhanaungatanga, kawenga, and taumaha name the relationship work, responsibility, and workload Māori scientists carry when employers expect them to connect science institutions with Māori communities (Haar & Martin, 2022, pp. 1009–1011). Their contract analysis shows that employers often expect this work without allocating the time, status, or resourcing required to sustain it (Haar & Martin, 2022, pp. 1017–1020). The institution treats the obligation as Māori capacity rather than institutional labour, so Māori staff absorb the burden.

Althaus (2022) identifies a related problem inside public institutions. She proposes complementary bureaucracy as an approach that brings Weberian impersonalism and Indigenous relationality into public administration without requiring one to displace the other (p. 136). Drawing on earlier research into Indigenous public service leadership, she describes Indigenous public servants maintaining relationships with communities on behalf of government and relationships within government on behalf of communities (p. 144). These relationships offer opportunities to broaden the evidence, knowledge, and perspectives that inform government decisions. However, public servants must also navigate tensions between bureaucratic requirements and their accountability to Indigenous communities. Althaus notes that some leave the public service when they cannot reconcile those demands (pp. 144–145).

2.4.5 Analytical Limits and the Institutional Management of Recognition

Two strands of institutional theory help explain this pattern, but neither fully reaches the problem posed by Te Hāhi Mihinare. Institutional logics theory describes institutions in which more than one order of meaning and practice operates at once. It helps explain how Māori, legal, managerial, professional, and ecclesial norms overlap and compete inside the same organisation. Its limit is that it treats those orders as comparable logics within a shared frame. Family, religion, state, market, profession, and corporation appear as separable domains whose logics can be juxtaposed, combined, or held in tension (Thornton et al., 2012). Hatch and Cunliffe (2013) note that organisation theory always works through perspective and that no single framework exhausts organisational reality. That point matters because Māori leadership and management scholarship does not divide whakapapa, wairua, collective memory, place, and organisational life into discrete institutional spheres. Henry and Wolfgramm (2018), Kelly and Nicholson (2022), Spiller et al. (2020), and Wolfgramm et al. (2022) show that authority is constituted through genealogical, territorial, relational, and intergenerational obligations. Mika and O’Sullivan (2014) and Nicholson et al. (2019) make the same point from governance and management. Governance, strategy, stewardship, and collective wellbeing are not external applications of a prior logic. They belong to the authority tradition itself. Mana-based authority is not one logic among others. It is constituted through relations that traverse the boundaries the model presumes.

That limit appears within Te Hāhi Mihinare. The church claims both apostolic continuity and mana-based authority as grounds of legitimacy within its own life. These are not external pressures from neighbouring domains. They are competing grounds of legitimacy within the same body. Institutional logics theory can name plurality and contest, but it explains less well what happens when one institution depends

on two authorities constituted on different terms, and when one is more fully operationalised than the other. Asymmetry in authorisation, not complexity alone, defines the problem. The institution invokes both grounds of legitimacy while organising binding authority, property, and decision-making through one set of channels more fully than the other.

Indigenous institutional theory comes closer because Coates et al. (2023) developed it to analyse Indigenous experience within Western institutions. It combines Institutional theory with Indigenous standpoint theory. In Nakata's (2007) formulation, standpoint begins from Indigenous location within the cultural interface between Indigenous and Western knowledge systems and uses that location as a critical method for examining what institutions normalise, obscure, or misrecognise. That keeps the analysis grounded in Indigenous experience rather than treating institutions as neutral objects. Coates et al. (2023) organise their framework around resilience and community commitment, Indigenous leadership, and institutional rhetoric. Institutional rhetoric is useful here because it directs attention to the gap between what institutions say about Indigenous priorities and what their operative arrangements enable. Across the sectors reviewed, institutions affirm Māori authority while keeping control of the channels through which that authority would have to act. In health, the Crown recognised Māori authority but removed the organisational vehicle that could carry it. In law, courts require parties to plead, evidence, and translate mana before it can count. In organisations, managers welcome Māori leadership language while performance systems and managerial norms still define legitimate leadership. Nicholson et al. (2019) identify the same pressure in governance and management: institutions need deliberate redesign if they are to hold collective wellbeing, stewardship, and economic purpose together rather than allowing economic purpose to govern the rest.

Indigenous institutional theory still does not fully account for Te Hāhi Mihinare. Coates et al. (2023) developed the framework in Australian higher education, where the central problem is the disjuncture between Indigenous experience and institutional rhetoric, policy, or practice. Te Hāhi Mihinare poses a different problem. The church does not misrecognise Indigenous authority only from outside its own claims. It claims both mana-based and apostolic grounds of authority as constitutive of its identity, while its operative structures do not settle which authority governs practice when those grounds conflict. The problem is not only a gap between institutional claim and Indigenous experience. It is a contradiction within the institution's own grounds of legitimacy. Inherited structures of jurisdiction, property, governance, and formation cannot enact the church's stated commitments evenly.

Recent institutional scholarship on legitimacy, decoupling, and systems of qualification and selection helps specify how institutions manage that contradiction. Haack et al. (2021) distinguish propriety, validity, and consensus. Propriety concerns whether particular evaluators judge an arrangement appropriate. Validity concerns an institutionalised collective perception that an arrangement is appropriate. Consensus concerns the degree of agreement among evaluators. An arrangement may appear valid while concealing weak agreement beneath that appearance. For this thesis, the distinction clarifies how institutions publicly validate Māori authority as fitting their identity while leaving unresolved what that authority governs in practice. Visible legitimacy does not prove that an institution has received the authority it names.

Jastram and Foersterling (2024) identify a related problem through decoupling. Organisations face pressure to show that their means connect to valued ends, even when the actual relation between the two remains unstable. They adopt visible practices, structures, and commitments associated with desirable outcomes while leaving the achievement of those outcomes underdetermined. In this thesis, that means institutions may adopt the language, symbols, or constitutional forms associated with Māori authority while leaving accountability, decision rights, and authorising channels largely unchanged. Tikanga language and public acknowledgement circulate while decision-making, accountability, and control remain organised on inherited institutional terms.

Institutional selection repeats the same pattern. Appointment systems assess capability through evidence legible within bureaucratic procedure while failing to assess the whakapapa-grounded formation on which community recognition depends. Tholen (2023) shows that employers value higher education qualifications through overlapping rationales. They treat qualifications as proof of productive skill, as signals of desirable personal attributes, and as mechanisms of social closure. Institutions prefer formal qualifications because formal qualifications make uncertainty manageable, selection defensible, and candidates comparable. That preference explains why institutions privilege qualifications, prior roles, and procedural fluency even where the authority required for the role depends on relational, territorial, spiritual, and genealogical grounds.

Edwards and Aulakh (2024) identify the recruitment mechanism more directly by analysing recruitment as boundary-making. The language of “fit” operates as a professional logic that preserves dominant identities and treats difference as risk rather than opportunity. Although they study public relations, the mechanism is not confined to that field. Recruitment does not only identify capability. It reproduces the institutional type the organisation already knows how to recognise. Whakapapa-grounded authority may be deeply recognised within the communities a role is meant to serve, yet still appear risky, excessive, or insufficiently legible within a process organised around “fit.” Appointment can therefore be procedurally correct while remaining misaligned with the authority the role presupposes.

M. Durie’s (2005) critique of Māori development indicators identifies the evaluative version of the same problem. If governments measure Māori advancement primarily through disparity with non-Māori norms, conformity is built into the evaluative frame from the start. Atwater et al. (2021) show a related problem in leadership scholarship. Researchers increasingly use samples from outside the Anglo world while continuing to apply theories and constructs developed in the United States. They ignore cultural influence or treat it superficially, even where constructs generate different means, variances, and effects across cultural clusters. Authority formed in one world is measured through categories developed for another.

These literatures clarify how institutions recognise authority without reorganising themselves to receive it. Institutions produce public validity without deep consensus, adopt visible means without securing the ends those means are said to serve, incorporate Indigenous language without altering governing norms, and appoint through defensible procedures while reproducing their own authority type. These are connected ways of managing alternative authority within inherited institutional forms. They explain why constitutional or rhetorical acknowledgement can coexist with unchanged operative channels, and why institutional

selection favours legibility over whakapapa-grounded recognition. This matters for Te Hāhi Mihinare because the church does not merely encounter mana-based authority. It names that authority as part of its own identity while leaving unresolved whether its operative life can receive it.

2.5 Te Hāhi Mihinare: Apostolicity and Mana-Based Authority

Anglicanism emerged from the Reformation as a church ordered through episcopacy, common prayer, synodical government, and provincial autonomy rather than a single central authority (Atta-Baffoe, 2016; Avis, 2013; Cox, 2012). These authors describe a communion of self-governing provinces that regulate their affairs through bishops, synods, and constitutional instruments while remaining in communion with the See of Canterbury (Atta-Baffoe, 2016; Avis, 2013; Cox, 2012). Within that wider pattern, the Anglican Church in Aotearoa, New Zealand and Polynesia adopted its first constitution in 1857 and became an independent church, establishing a settler framework for governance that later revisions had to confront (Anglican Church in Aotearoa, New Zealand and Polynesia, 2020; Davidson, 1996).

Davidson (1996), Kaa (2020), and Te Pouhere itself do not support a reading of the present constitution as a settler inheritance with Māori and Pasefika provisions added at the margins (Anglican Church in Aotearoa, New Zealand and Polynesia, 2020). They show a constitutional text reworked when Māori claims, Te Pihopatanga's development, and the later recognition of three tikanga forced the church to confront the limits of the 1857 settlement (Anglican Church in Aotearoa, New Zealand and Polynesia, 2020; Davidson, 1996; Kaa, 2020). The preamble to Te Pouhere recalls that the church first developed as Te Hāhi Mihinare in te reo Māori and tikanga Māori and then along a second pathway among settlers in English and Pākehā custom (Anglican Church in Aotearoa, New Zealand and Polynesia, 2020, Preamble cl. 5). The 1990 and 1992 revisions then organised the province as a three-tikanga church—Tikanga Māori, Tikanga Pākehā, and Tikanga Pasefika—within which those histories are carried forward in one provincial structure (Anglican Church in Aotearoa, New Zealand and Polynesia, 2020; Davidson, 1996; Kaa, 2020). Davidson (1996) and Kaa (2020) note that Te Hāhi Mihinare is the older pathway through which Anglican Christianity took root in Aotearoa New Zealand, and they show how the 1857 constitutional settlement constrained that pathway for more than a century before General Synod revised the constitution to recognise partnership, tikanga, and covenantal life (Davidson, 1996; Kaa, 2020). The problem lies inside that constitutional self-description: the church now names mana-based authority as part of its Tikanga Māori identity, yet the rules that govern ministry, property, formation, and binding decisions still rest largely on other grounds.

Māori leadership and management scholarship sets out how mana-based authority is constituted and exercised. Haar et al. (2019), Henry and Wolfgramm (2018), Kelly and Nicholson (2022), Mika and O'Sullivan (2014), Nicholson et al. (2019), Ruwhiu and Elkin (2016), Spiller et al. (2020), and Wolfgramm et al. (2022) describe a living authority tradition grounded in whakapapa, whenua, tūpuna, atua, and tangata. Rangatiratanga appears in this work as the exercise of that authority in practice, while collective obligation, place, memory, and embodied practice sustain it across generations (Haar et al., 2019; Henry & Wolfgramm, 2018; Nicholson et al., 2019; Spiller et al., 2020). These studies develop accounts of leadership, ethics, stewardship, governance, and collective wellbeing that take mana and whakapapa as primary, not derivative,

grounds of authority (Kelly & Nicholson, 2022; Mika & O’Sullivan, 2014; Ruwhiu & Elkin, 2016; Wolfgramm et al., 2022). For church life, that body of work shifts the denominational question. It is no longer enough to ask whether Māori authority is present. The sharper question is whether the church’s governing structures receive that authority on terms that allow it to govern practice.

Anglican ecclesiology sets out the other authority tradition that Te Hāhi Mihinare carries. Avis (2013) argues that Anglican ecclesiology orders the church’s common life through episcopal, synodical, and constitutional forms, understands that life as communion rather than centralised sovereignty, and refuses to identify any one Anglican church without remainder with the whole Church. Atta-Baffoe (2016) places koinonia at the centre of Anglican unity across autonomous, self-governing, and interdependent provinces, drawing on the 1930 Lambeth Conference statement that the Anglican Communion is bound “not by a central legislative and executive authority, but by mutual loyalty sustained through the common counsel of the Bishops in conference” (p. 227). Cox (2012) and Howe and Pascoe (2010) set this within legal and historical accounts in which provinces exercise considerable internal autonomy while maintaining bonds of communion shaped by canon law, shared prayer, and mutually recognised orders of ministry (Cox, 2012; Howe & Pascoe, 2010). Within these accounts, apostolicity names the church’s claim to continuity with the faith, ministry, worship, and mission of the apostles. The World Council of Churches’ *Baptism, Eucharist and Ministry* describes that continuity through apostolic faith, proclamation, baptism and eucharist, communion, service, unity among local churches, and the transmission of ministerial responsibilities. In Anglican usage, that claim takes institutional form through episcopal order, authorised ministry, canon, synod, and received forms of doctrine and governance (Avis, 2013; Howe & Pascoe, 2010; World Council of Churches, 1982). Reading Davidson (1996) and Kaa (2020) alongside Anglican ecclesiology shows a resonance between koinonia and whanaungatanga: both concern relational belonging, mutual obligation, and ordered common life. That resonance matters, but it does not settle the institutional question. The question remains whether the structures that select leaders, allocate representation, control property, and make binding decisions treat mana-based authority as authority in its own right. The organisational problem is therefore not plurality alone but asymmetry in operative force: both grounds of legitimacy may be affirmed, but they do not move through the same institutional channels.

Denominational studies describe the historical development of Te Hāhi Mihinare, while its constitution, Te Pouhere, gives constitutional form to a church ordered through tikanga, episcopacy, synod, and common life. Read together, they show a church in which Māori authority and Anglican ecclesial authority are both named, but not necessarily given equivalent institutional force. The constitutional text records that the church developed first as Te Hāhi Mihinare in te reo Māori and tikanga Māori and second along a settler pathway in English and Pākehā custom (Anglican Church in Aotearoa, New Zealand and Polynesia, 2020, Preamble cl. 5). It also concedes that the 1857 General Conference agreed the founding constitution “without direct Māori participation or the inclusion of tikanga Māori”, acknowledging the exclusion built into the original governing settlement (Anglican Church in Aotearoa, New Zealand and Polynesia, 2020, Preamble cl. 8). Commentators read the 1990 and 1992 revisions as an attempt to entrench partnership and bicultural development by requiring the church to organise its affairs within each tikanga,

keep open avenues to common ground, and protect each person’s right to choose a cultural expression of the faith (Anglican Church in Aotearoa, New Zealand and Polynesia, 2020, Preamble cl. 12–13; Davidson, 1996). Te Pīhopatanga o Aotearoa, the dioceses in New Zealand, and the Diocese of Polynesia are now treated as three semi-autonomous cultural streams or Tikanga, and at the same time integral parts of one church, and General Synod / te Hīnota Whānui acts through distinct orders and Tikanga-based assent mechanisms (Anglican Church in Aotearoa, New Zealand and Polynesia, 2020, Parts A, C). At the same time, the constitution retains the 1857 Fundamental Provisions and treats the 1928 Empowering Act as substituting for clauses two, three, and four of the original compact rather than replacing the compact itself (Anglican Church in Aotearoa, New Zealand and Polynesia, 2020, Preamble cl. 16; Part A).⁶ Taylor and Goold’s (2024) Te Pae Tawhiti 2040 report shows how settler-church arrangements continue to shape theological education and formation after Te Pouhere. The report documents substantial variance in facilities, resources, and staffing across dioceses and hui amorangi, the near absence of paid curacies in Tikanga Māori, and a pattern of resource allocation shaped by what the report calls a “diocesan-centric ethos” (pp. 10–11). These are not merely administrative disparities. They show how inherited diocesan and resource structures continued to organise the conditions under which ministry could be formed, paid, and sustained. Recognition was constitutionalised, but the operative systems of formation and resourcing were not redistributed on equivalent terms. Operative power therefore remained uneven. The denominational histories make it difficult to tell this story as one in which Māori simply waited to receive Anglican order. Davidson (1996) shows Māori agency from the outset, documenting Māori evangelists and leaders who carried Christianity through Māori networks and reshaped it in ways that many communities received. Kaa (2020) emphasises Māori adaptability, the decisive role of kaiwhakaako, and the renegotiation of mātauranga in the formation of Te Hāhi Mihinare, arguing that Māori translated and reworked Anglican forms rather than merely adopting them. This historical work rules out a later inclusion narrative and instead identifies early Māori authority that later encountered institutional forms unwilling to receive it on its own terms (Davidson, 1996; Kaa, 2020). The history of the Māori bishopric has become a central case through which that institutional meeting is analysed. Davidson (1996) notes that, when those controlling appointments in the 1920s proposed a Pākehā bishop to lead Māori Anglicans, Māori refused with the demand “no Maori, no bishop” (p. 51). The subsequent creation of the office of the Bishop of Aotearoa in 1928 is usually treated as an important act of recognition, but the limits placed on the office show how Māori episcopal authority could be acknowledged without being given equivalent institutional force. General Synod made the office a suffragan to the Bishop of Waiapu, denied the Bishop of Aotearoa an automatic seat on General Synod, and

⁶ The Fundamental Provisions form the original 1857 church constitution and the 1928 Church of England Empowering Act (the Act) illustrates how constitutional change in the church operated by adaptation rather than replacement. The Act responded to doubts about the Church of the Province of New Zealand’s power to alter formularies and authorised biblical texts, empowered General Synod to make such alterations subject to procedural and doctrinal limits, preserved the identity of the church and its property titles, and substituted the Act’s powers for the powers previously assumed under clauses 2, 3, and 4 of the 1857 Constitution. It did not replace the Fundamental Provisions as a whole. The point for this thesis is that later constitutional development occurred within an inherited legal-ecclesial order whose underlying structures continued to carry operative force.

required the bishop to secure a diocesan bishop's consent before exercising episcopal ministry across diocesan boundaries (Bi-Cultural Commission, 1986; Davidson, 1996). Davidson (1996) summarises the effect: "The Maori bishops brought their mana to the office, but they were handicapped institutionally in giving the kind of leadership needed by Maori" (p. 51). The Bi-Cultural Commission (1986) records Māori descriptions of the bishopric as "Ko nga Pihopa Paputera", glossed as "he Pihopa manakore, kihai he patu, kihai he whakapuru; he tukutuku kihai he poupou": a bishop without authority, without weapon, without buttress, latticework without supporting posts, alongside English glosses such as "bob-tail bishop" and "men of war without guns" (p. 11). These accounts distinguish sharply between recognising office and granting jurisdiction and treat the bishopric as an early site where mana-based authority entered an office whose institutional powers remained tightly controlled through diocesan and settler constitutional structures.

Subsequent constitutional and structural changes are read through that same distinction between formal recognition and operative authority. The Bi-Cultural Commission (1986) and Davidson (1996) note that General Synod rejected proposals to enlarge Māori governance authority in 1964 and 1976 and that the 1978 extension of pastoral episcopal care left the Bishop of Aotearoa licensed by the Primate and dependent on commissions from diocesan bishops to act within their dioceses. The Commission records that Bishop W. J. Simkin of Auckland refused the Bishop of Aotearoa access to Māori communities within Auckland (Bi-Cultural Commission, 1986, p. 11). Diocesan jurisdiction gave one bishop the power to block another bishop's ministry. In this light, Te Pouhere appears as the most ambitious constitutional response to a pattern in which Māori authority is named and symbolically recognised while effective control remains elsewhere. Taylor and Goold's (2024) findings on theological education and formation strengthen that reading by showing that constitutional changes did not, by themselves, reorganise the material channels through which authority is formed and exercised.

Work on ministerial formation and liturgy adds further detail to that structural pattern. Breward (2001) notes that, after the Māori training college, Te Rau Kahikatea closed in 1925, Māori ordinands had to train at St John's College, Auckland within an English Anglican curriculum not designed to sustain Māori theological agency, and that few Māori ordinands graduated. Davidson (1996) and later denominational commentary highlight the re-establishment of Te Rau Kahikatea after Te Pouhere as a partial reversal, in which Te Pihopatanga regained control over a key site of ministry formation while General Synod retained formal control over the criteria for ministry. Taylor and Goold (2024) show that ministry formation in Tikanga Māori still operates with fewer paid placements, fewer ministry roles, and fewer educational staff than in Tikanga Pākehā, and they argue that these conditions restrict who can enter authorised ministry and the kind of formation they receive (pp. 10–11, 50–52). Kaa (2020) examines liturgical life as one of the clearest sites of Māori agency within Te Hāhi Mihinare, documenting substantial Māori involvement in the creation of He Karakia Mihinare o Aotearoa / A New Zealand Prayer Book, where Māori translators, composers, and liturgists reshaped a central text of common prayer. That case is often cited as evidence that Māori language, memory, and theological expression have entered the church's shared worship, while also illustrating a limit: liturgical change has not, on its own, reorganised structures of governance, jurisdiction, or institutional accountability.

Sociological and religious-history scholarship situates these developments within wider patterns of Christian decline and Māori responses to Christianity. Ward (2016) tracks the rise of the “no religion” category in New Zealand census data and the concurrent decline of mainline Protestant churches, including the Anglican Church, noting that Anglican affiliation fell from 835,434 in 1961 to 459,771 in 2013, weekly attendance declined from about 20 per cent of the population in 1960 to about 10 per cent, and the “no religion” category rose to 42 per cent by 2013 (pp. 190–191). Stats NZ (2024, 2025) reports that the 2023 data continue this trend, with a majority of residents and a higher proportion of those of Māori descent now reporting no religious affiliation. Lineham (2019) characterises post-Christendom in Aotearoa New Zealand as the loss of the recognised public voice, cultural authority, and institutional standing that older churches once held. Rahmani et al. (2024) show that, for some Māori, Christianity now carries a colonial judgement before any denominational argument begins, and they argue that Māori disengagement reflects not only declining affiliation but a rejection of Christianity as implicated in damage to Māori culture, spiritual practice, and self-belief.

Read alongside the denominational and constitutional work, these studies place Te Hāhi Mihinare in a setting where Anglican authority has contracted and where some Māori treat Christianity itself as compromised by colonisation. In that setting, the convergence of work on Anglican polity, mana-based authority, constitutional reform, ministerial formation, and liturgical change points to the same structural question. The issue is not whether the constitution now recognises mana-based authority, but whether governance, formation, resource allocation, and leadership processes have been reorganised so that mana-based authority can govern institutional life, and what failure to do so would mean for the church’s capacity to sustain ministry.

2.6 Conclusion

The literature establishes mana-based authority as constituted through whakapapa and sustained through obligations to atua, tūpuna, whenua, and tangata (Dell et al., 2018; Marsden, 1992; Roberts, 2013). Colonisation changed the material and institutional conditions under which that authority could act. Contemporary legal, managerial, commercial, clinical, and ecclesial structures continue to control which claims can reach decisions, resources, appointments, and accountability. Acknowledgement may therefore coexist with the withholding of operative power.

Te Hāhi Mihinare makes this problem especially clear. Māori leaders helped constitute the church from its beginnings, while later constitutional and canonical arrangements limited the jurisdiction and resources through which they could govern (Bi-Cultural Commission, 1986; Davidson, 1996; Kaa, 2020; Taylor & Goold, 2024). Te Pouhere changed the church’s formal recognition of Tikanga Māori, but the literature leaves open how far that recognition reaches finance, property, formation, and binding decisions. The participant accounts make it possible to examine how those arrangements operate in practice.

Chapter 3: Methodology

The study uses Kaupapa Māori methodology and an interpretive, qualitative, abductive design to examine how Māori leaders carry mana-based authority through institutions organised on different grounds. Te Hāhi Mihinare is the primary case, with iwi governance, enterprise, education, and health providing comparison. The chapter explains the methodological role of whakapapa, how participants were engaged through kōrero, how the analysis proceeded within and across sectors, and the ethical and interpretive limits of the research.

3.1 Philosophical Foundations of the Inquiry

This study begins from kaupapa Māori. Its ontological claim is that authority is constituted through whakapapa, whenua, tūpuna, atua, and relational obligation. Its epistemological claim is that knowledge is produced through relationship and remains accountable to the whakapapa through which it is held and transmitted. Its ethical claim is governed by Te Ara Tika, which locates responsible Māori research in whakapapa, tika, manaakitanga, and mana. These commitments determine what counts as authority in this thesis, how that authority can be known, and what obligations govern its interpretation.

3.2 Ontology: Te Ao Māori Cosmology and the Relational Constitution of Authority

In te ao Māori, tangata, whenua, tūpuna, atua, and institutions are not discrete entities that later enter relationship. Whakapapa orders the relations through which they exist. Marsden (2003) describes the Māori universe as a woven relational order in which all things stand in genealogical connection. Royal (1998, 2017) argues that mātauranga Māori is generated from within Te Ao Mārama, and that people produce knowledge from within that world rather than applying external categories to it. Ontology matters here because it defines mana-based authority as a real relational condition, not as a belief, role, or cultural interpretation added to leadership after the fact.

Mana-based authority does not arise from institutional office, individual charisma, or organisational role. Whakapapa constitutes it; spiritual and ancestral relations delegate it; conduct tests it; collective obligation sustains it. Dell et al. (2018) describe an economy of mana in which authority moves through reciprocity, obligation, and accountability rather than individual possession alone. A leader does not acquire that authority by entering office. They bring into the institution an authority the institution did not create and may not know how to receive.

For that reason, this study did not treat references to wairua, tūpuna, whenua, or spiritual delegation as symbolic language attached to leadership. Within te ao Māori, these relations constitute and authorise mana. Wilson et al. (2022) locate Indigenous ontology in collective, relational, and spiritual connectedness. Cram and Adcock (2022) warn that terms such as ontology and epistemology often explain Māori inquiry to others through categories that did not generate the inquiry itself. The analysis therefore had to resist translating participants' accounts back into secular organisational language.

Participant accounts of spiritual mandate, ancestral transmission, whenua, and communal obligation were treated as evidence of how mana-based authority operates. The analysis followed the relations through which participants described authority being formed, recognised, tested, and constrained. It did not treat institutions as neutral settings in which leadership behaviour appears. It examined how institutions recognise mana-based authority while controlling the channels through which that authority can make decisions, allocate resources, authorise people, and hold others accountable. That is the methodological basis for studying the gap between mana-based authority and institutional form.

3.3 Epistemology: Knowledge as Relational and Genealogically Carried

Knowledge in this study is not detached information gathered from outside the field. Within te ao Māori, knowledge arises through relationship, is shaped by the position of the knower, and remains accountable to the communities and whakapapa from which it comes. Tikanga tests knowledge in practice because it asks whether relationships have been handled rightly and whether the use of knowledge sustains the obligations that gave rise to it (Mead, 2016; Roberts, 2013). Ruwhiu and Cone (2010) argue that Kaupapa Māori research can be read through a pragmatist epistemology in which knowledge is relational, experiential, and judged in part by what it enables in practice.

L.T. Smith (2021) shows that research has long served imperial and colonial power by positioning Indigenous peoples as objects of study rather than as agents with knowledge of their own conditions. Indigenous research interrupts that relationship when Indigenous peoples set the priorities, purposes, and terms of inquiry. This thesis therefore does not treat distance as a guarantee of objectivity. I did not stand outside the phenomenon. I stood within the relational field the study investigates, and that location shaped what could be asked, what could be heard, and what obligations governed the use of participant kōrero.

Mātauranga Māori supplied the terms of interpretation. Royal (1998, 2017) describes it as knowledge accumulated across generations, transmitted through whakapapa, and generated from within a distinct world view. Mead (2016) shows that tikanga holds practical, ethical, and epistemological knowledge about how relationships are ordered and how authority is rightly exercised. Roberts (2013) treats whakapapa as more than genealogy: it organises origins, relations, and becoming, and makes knowledge and whakapapa interdependent rather than separable. Mana, whakapapa, and tikanga were, therefore, not cultural content added to a prior analytic frame. They were the terms through which mana-based authority had to be understood. The study approaches that authority as already constituted within a relational order that precedes any individual's institutional appointment.

3.4 Axiology: Te Ara Tika

Axiology names the values and obligations that governed how the research could be conducted, how kōrero could be used, and what responsibilities followed from interpretation. Cram defines axiology as the culturally based values and ethics that shape research conduct (Cram, 2017, as cited in Wilson et al., 2022, p. 382). Those obligations were structured through Te Ara Tika, which sets out whakapapa, tika, manaakitanga,

and mana as tikanga-based principles for responsible Māori research (Pūtaiora Writing Group, 2010). Te Ara Tika does not treat ethics as procedural approval alone. It links relationships, research design, cultural and social responsibility, and justice, so that the ethical quality of the research depends on whether the whole inquiry upholds the relationships through which it becomes possible. The application of Te Ara Tika to the research design, including AUTECH approval 24/5, is documented in Appendix A and in the account of access, kōrero, analysis, and ethics that follows.

Whakapapa required the study to remain accountable to the genealogical, institutional, and personal relationships through which access and interpretation occurred. Tika tested whether the methods fitted the communities involved, the research problem, and the terms on which mana-based authority is recognised. Manaakitanga shaped the conduct of kōrero and the later handling of what participants shared, so that care did not end when the interview ended. Mana required the research to treat participants as holders of authority and knowledge, not as subjects of external assessment, and to ensure that interpretation did not diminish their standing. Ethical adequacy therefore did not lie in compliance alone. It lay in whether the study sustained relationships rightly, used methods suited to Māori authority, handled kōrero with care, and remained answerable for the consequences of interpretation.

This mattered because the thesis examines authority constituted through whakapapa and sustained through relational obligation. A design that ignored those obligations would have repeated the institutional misfit the thesis analyses. Te Ara Tika therefore did more than regulate conduct. It kept the inquiry answerable to the same relational order through which participants described mana-based authority itself. That discipline allowed the study to examine the gap between mana-based authority and institutional form without reproducing that gap in the research process.

3.5 Research Design

3.5.1 Interpretive, Qualitative, and Abductive

The philosophical commitments established above impose specific design requirements. Because the thesis examines mana-based authority as constituted through whakapapa, the study treats participant accounts as descriptions of how authority operates. It does not reduce them to organisational roles, leadership styles, or observable behaviours. Because the inquiry traces how that authority moves through institutions organised on different premises, the design follows meaning, process, and institutional constraint across settings. The study therefore adopts an interpretive, qualitative, and abductive design.

Hatch and Yanow (2003) define qualitative research in interpretive organisational inquiry as work that treats institutional life as constituted through the meanings participants bring to it, and that proceeds through close engagement with those meanings rather than variable measurement or hypothesis testing. Lincoln and Guba (1985) locate qualitative inquiry in natural settings, with the researcher as the primary instrument, drawing on tacit and propositional knowledge and producing thick description that supports transferability rather than statistical generalisation. This study adopts those commitments as criteria for research procedure. It engages closely with participant kōrero in settings chosen by participants, sustains

interpretive attention to the meanings within those accounts, and produces contextually rich description that allows readers to judge relevance to their own settings. The problem cannot be addressed through variables, frequency counts, or behavioural measures. It requires engagement with *kōrero* concerning *whakapapa*, *wairua*, obligation, institutional navigation, and the conditions under which authority can or cannot act on its own terms. Twenty-one Māori leaders participated across Te Hāhi Mihinare, iwi governance, business, education, and health. The study used consistent orienting questions across sectors to enable comparison, while a semi-structured *kōrero* format allowed participants to define what mattered within their accounts.

The study is interpretive because it examines how Māori leaders describe the authority they carry, where they locate its sources, what sustains it, and how they understand the institutions through which it moves. These accounts are not subjective commentary on an otherwise neutral organisational reality. They describe the terms on which authority is constituted and recognised within the relational worlds participants inhabit. The analysis therefore works first through Māori conceptual resources before introducing Western analytic categories. Those institutional categories included logics, legitimacy and decoupling, together with organisational approaches to authority, selection and formation. They were used to examine institutional arrangements and constraints.

The study is abductive because it neither begins from conceptual emptiness nor applies a fixed framework. Māori concepts such as *mana*, *whakapapa*, and *tikanga*, alongside the four *mana* dimensions identified by Dell et al. (2018), name the phenomenon under investigation and guide attention within participant *kōrero*. The analysis does not seek to confirm these concepts by fitting data into them. It tests their explanatory reach against participant accounts and revises the analytic framework where they fall short. This approach follows Thompson's (2022) account of parallel engagement with empirical material and existing theory, and Tavory and Timmermans' (2014; see also Timmermans & Tavory, 2012) description of inquiry organised by anomalies that existing explanations cannot yet resolve.

Māori conceptual resources therefore operate as sensitising concepts rather than fixed categories. They direct attention to the ontological grounding of participant accounts without determining analytic outcomes in advance. As coding and memoing progressed, participants consistently distinguished between authority constituted prior to institutional encounter, the labour required to sustain it, and the institutional conditions that enable or constrain its exercise on its own terms. This distinction emerged through iterative engagement with participant *kōrero*, cross-sector comparison, and Māori conceptual resources until it adequately accounted for patterns across the material.

This design enables the study to treat participant accounts as authoritative descriptions of *mana*-based authority, to compare across sectors without collapsing institutional differences, and to develop an analytic distinction grounded in participant *kōrero* while disciplined by Māori scholarship. The research problem requires an interpretive, qualitative, and abductive design.

3.5.2 Cross-Sector Comparative Design

The study draws on *kōrero* with 21 Māori leaders across Te Hāhi Mihinare, iwi governance, enterprise, education and health. Te Hāhi Mihinare is the primary case. The four comparison sectors allow the study to

distinguish constraints arising from the Church's theological and constitutional arrangements from those that recur when mana-based authority operates under different institutional rules. The sectors are not treated as equivalent cases.

Te Hāhi Mihinare makes this problem particularly visible. Te Pouhere gives Tikanga Māori constitutional standing within the Church, yet episcopal jurisdiction, canon law, synodical procedures, and arrangements for finance and property determine which offices and bodies can make binding decisions, appoint leaders and control resources. The question is whether these arrangements allow the mana-based authority recognised by Te Pouhere to determine decisions within its proper sphere of responsibility. The issue arises within the Church's own claims to continuity through both mana and Anglican apostolicity.

The comparison sectors have different histories, obligations and grounds of legitimacy. Iwi governance involves collective mandates operating alongside Treaty settlement and corporate arrangements. Māori enterprise brings commercial obligations into relationship with responsibilities to the people, knowledge and assets it carries. Education operates through curriculum, qualification and regulatory requirements, while health works through clinical governance, funding arrangements and service delivery obligations. These sectors differ from one another as well as from the Church. None is governed by the Church's episcopal and canonical order. Where comparable constraints arise across these settings, they cannot be explained by Anglican polity alone.

The study retained the biographical and institutional context of participants' accounts during coding, examined patterns within sectors, and then tested provisional findings across sectors. The comparison considered whether arrangements for appointments, resources and binding decisions enabled or restricted mana-based authority in comparable ways despite the different institutional settings. Patterns that did not hold across sectors were qualified or remained specific to their original context. Section 3.6.4 explains the coding, memoing and cross-sector testing through which these judgements were made.

3.5.3 Kaupapa Māori

This study adopts Kaupapa Māori as its governing methodology. G.H. Smith (2017) traces Kaupapa Māori to shifts in Māori political consciousness as well as to language revitalisation initiatives such as Te Kōhanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa Māori. Its emergence involved a movement from waiting for change to producing it, and from reactive decolonisation to conscientisation centred on Māori aspirations. That distinction matters here. A study of mana-based authority that began with colonisation would organise the account around constraint. This study begins with Māori authority. It asks how Māori leaders carry, sustain, and exercise that authority, and then examines how institutions constrain, redirect, or fail to receive it.

G.H. Smith (2017) developed Kaupapa Māori theory to challenge the academy's hierarchies of knowledge and secure intellectual space for Māori ways of knowing within institutions that had marginalised them. Kaupapa Māori theory is not a fixed set of principles. It enables Māori to work beyond dominant cultural constraints through praxis, transformative intent, critique of academic authority, commitment to te reo Māori and tikanga Māori, and ongoing self-development. Researchers who treat it as a descriptive framework miss its demand for engagement. It requires the researcher to participate in the praxis it names.

Cram and Adcock (2022) describe Kaupapa Māori as both “an act of resistance in the face of the historical and persistent contemporary colonisation of Aotearoa, and an act of insistence that the 1840 Treaty of Waitangi be honoured” (p. 56). This dual character structures the methodology. Resistance refuses to treat Western institutional logics as the default analytic frame. Insistence creates accountability to Māori communities whose authority and institutional conditions the study examines. A methodology that resists without insisting remains critical but does not generate alternative obligations. Kaupapa Māori proceeds from ongoing relational and Treaty commitments, whether or not institutions recognise them.

L.T. Smith (2021) locates Kaupapa Māori within a distinct epistemological and metaphysical tradition that shapes how Māori “see the world, the way we organize ourselves in it, the questions we ask and the solutions that we seek” (p. 244). Te reo Māori and tikanga Māori are integral to that tradition, because language revitalisation has carried Māori forms of knowledge. This study therefore does not import an external methodology to examine mana-based authority. It works within the epistemological and relational conditions through which that authority is constituted.

L.T. Smith (2021) also identifies the colonial conditions that make Kaupapa Māori necessary. Western research traditions have embedded knowledge production within imperial practices that collected, classified, and re-presented Indigenous knowledge through Western frames. Those traditions separate the researcher from the researched and treat distance as intellectual virtue. Such assumptions cannot hold within an Indigenous epistemology, where the researcher is already located within the relational field under study.

Kaupapa Māori does not reject Western knowledge outright. L.T. Smith (2021) describes it as “a social project” that “weaves in and out of Māori cultural beliefs and values, Western ways of knowing, Māori histories and experiences under colonialism, Western forms of education” (p. 247), while insisting that research proceeds on Māori terms. That ordering matters in a thesis located in a management faculty. The study does not begin with management theory and then add Māori perspectives. Mana, whakapapa, and tikanga define the phenomenon. Western leadership theory enters only where participant kōrero requires it.

Kaupapa Māori sits within a wider field of Indigenous methodologies, but this study is grounded in Māori philosophical commitments. Wilson et al. (2022) describe a research interface in which Indigenous and Western approaches can work together without displacing the governing methodology. In this inquiry, whakapapa, tikanga, and mana set the terms for how authority is understood, how participants are engaged, and how interpretation proceeds. Mahuika (2019) identifies whakapapa as the organising structure of Māori epistemology because it orders relations genealogically. The researcher’s location within those relations is therefore a condition of access and accountability, not a bias to be removed. Kawharu et al. (2024) identify the relationship between mana and manaakitanga as central within whakapapa-grounded research. Mana locates authority in descent and inherited standing. Manaakitanga requires service, care, and responsiveness within relationship. Together, they define both the authority to speak and the obligation to serve. Kawharu and colleagues kāinga-based cases show that research proceeds through genealogical inclusion rather than external observation, with the researcher accountable to the relational networks that sustain the inquiry. This accountability extends beyond institutional ethics procedures.

Accordingly, this study rejects methodological approaches that would misrepresent these conditions. Critical ethnography positions the researcher as an observer of cultural practice, but this study proceeds from participation within whakapapa and institutional relationships. Detachment as a condition of critique contradicts the relational accountability that made the kōrero possible. Indigenous grounded theory, as described by Wilson et al. (2022), generates categories from data, but this study does not begin from conceptual absence. Mana, whakapapa, and tikanga already constitute the phenomenon and structure how participants describe it. Treating them as emergent categories would misstate both participant knowledge and the object of inquiry. Instead, the study uses abductive thematic analysis, following Thompson (2022), which allows existing concepts to guide attention while remaining responsive to what participants introduce. Kaupapa Māori governs the methodology. It determines the questions, relationships, standards of evidence, and lines of accountability. The analytic method operates within that framework to identify and develop patterns in participant accounts.

G.H. Smith (2017) proposes five tests for Kaupapa Māori research: positionality, criticality, structural and cultural engagement, “praxicality,” and transformability. In this study, these tests shaped design decisions rather than serving as retrospective criteria. Positionality required me to account for where I speak from and what legitimises that position. I am a Māori Anglican priest of Ngāpuhi descent whose ministerial, educational, and governance experience spans several sectors examined here. This location enabled access, because participants shared kōrero within established relationships. It also introduced risk, because proximity can produce premature analytic closure. The study addressed that risk through reflexive memoing and disciplined interpretation.

Criticality requires the analysis to show how colonisation operates within institutional forms and whether the researcher can argue for Māori interests (G. H. Smith, 2017). The cross-sector design enacted this requirement by exposing patterns of constraint across governance, business, education, health, and ecclesial settings. Where similar constraints recurred across sectors with different surface logics, the analysis identified structural conditions rather than isolated events. This shifted attention from individual adaptation to institutional redesign.

The structural and cultural test rejects deficit framings that locate problems in Māori individuals rather than institutional arrangements (G. H. Smith, 2017). The analytic procedure addressed this by coding both how leaders described their authority and how institutions enabled or constrained its exercise. This distinction was built into the analytic process rather than added after analysis.

Praxicality required a continuing relationship between inquiry, reflection, and application (G. H. Smith, 2017). This study met that requirement by grounding its questions in a live problem of Māori institutional life and selecting participants with direct experience of that problem. The analysis preserved the distinction between the constitution of authority, the labour required to sustain it, and the institutional conditions that shape its exercise, so that findings remain usable within the contexts from which they arise.

Transformability asks what change the research enables for Māori (G. H. Smith, 2017). Description alone is insufficient where existing conditions reproduce unequal power. The study therefore develops analytic distinctions that communities and institutions can use, particularly within Te Hāhi Mihinare as it

engages questions of constitutional and institutional reform. Transformability marks the difference between documenting constraint and equipping response.

These tests structured the design from the outset and remained active throughout. They prevent Kaupapa Māori from becoming a nominal label detached from methodological practice.

Cram and Adcock (2022) situate Kaupapa Māori within a longer history, arguing that “Māori have always been researchers” who work within paradigms grounded in relationality (p. 66). Kaupapa Māori research asserts the continuity of mātauranga carried through whakapapa rather than introducing a novel framework. That continuity matters here because the study examines mana as constituted through whakapapa before institutional encounter. The methodology aligns with that claim by operating within the same genealogical tradition rather than imposing an external analytic frame.

3.5.4 Whakapapa as Relational Principle

Kaupapa Māori governs the inquiry as methodology, while whakapapa structures how the research proceeds. Whakapapa orders relationships, enables access to participants, frames interpretation, and binds the researcher in accountability beyond the life of the study. Mahuika (2019) explains why whakapapa can sustain this methodological role. He describes whakapapa as the organising structure of Māori epistemology, in which all entities, words, thoughts, objects, minerals, places, and people exist in genealogical relation. Whakapapa, understood as the layering of one element upon another, does more than record biological descent. It organises knowledge, identity, political relationships, and connections to the spiritual and natural worlds. When this study uses whakapapa as method, it follows this genealogical logic to examine how participants understand their authority: where it originates, how it is transmitted, and what obligations it carries. The method therefore aligns with the epistemological structure of the phenomenon under investigation.

Cram and Adcock (2022) locate Māori ontology in relationships. Drawing on Wilson (2008), Martin and Mirraboopa (2003), Barlow (1991), Metge (1995), and Kennedy et al. (2015), they describe whakapapa as the kinship and genealogical ordering through which Māori know themselves in relation to people, whenua, environment, and the spiritual realm. Pepeha then locates a speaker within those relationships. This premise matters methodologically. Kaupapa Māori research does not treat knowledge as detached from the relations through which it is produced. The researcher enters the field as someone already located within whakapapa, and that location shapes access, interpretation, and accountability.

3.6 Data Generation

3.6.1 Access and Participant Selection

The study accessed participants through whakapapa and professional networks rather than institutional channels. This design followed tikanga. Approaching participants through institutional gatekeepers would have subordinated the relational basis of the inquiry to the institutional logics under examination and would have signalled that institutional authority governed the research relationship. Participants were recognised

within their communities as holders of mana-based authority, so the approach needed to reflect that standing. Initial contact occurred through personal introduction or direct communication within existing professional and governance networks. I established relational context before discussing the research kaupapa, because what participants share depends on the relationships within which kōrero is given. The Participant Information Sheet (Appendix B) and Consent Form (Appendix C), approved under AUTC 24/5, set out the formal terms of participation.

Kawharu et al. (2024) describe this position as that of the genealogically included researcher. The researcher does not stand outside the community as a neutral observer but enters the inquiry already embedded in the whakapapa and relational networks that make participation possible. This position does not remove the need for critique. It establishes the conditions of trust that sustain the inquiry and imposes obligations that precede and exceed formal research agreements. Institutional ethics approval remains necessary, but it operates within this prior relational accountability.

Twenty-one Māori leaders participated across five institutional sectors: ecclesial, governance, commercial, education, and health. Six participants came from the church, five from governance, four from enterprise, and three each from education and health. These accounts allowed each sector's institutional setting to be considered before cross-sector comparison. They did not provide a representative sample of any sector.

The study applied three selection criteria derived from the research questions, the epistemological commitments of the inquiry, and the need for participants who could engage the questions with depth. First, each participant held recognised authority within their own communities. Selection did not rely on organisational seniority alone, because institutional position does not guarantee whakapapa-grounded legitimacy. The study examines how Māori leaders carry mana-based authority through institutions, so participants needed to be recognised on Māori terms as well as institutional ones. Second, each participant had leadership experience within at least one of the institutional settings under examination. This ensured that participants spoke from direct experience of carrying mana-based authority through institutions organised on different premises. Third, participants needed to engage in sustained kōrero about authority and institutional life. That requirement reflected the relational conditions of the research, because such kōrero often involves politically sensitive and ongoing institutional realities.

These criteria operated in combination. Community-recognised mana without institutional experience did not meet the study's requirements, and institutional leadership without recognised mana-based authority was equally insufficient. The inquiry required participants who held both, alongside the willingness to engage in sustained reflection.

Participants came from multiple rohe, with strongest representation from Te Tai Tokerau and Tāmaki Makaurau. This distribution reflects the researcher's relational networks and the concentration of senior Māori leadership in these regions. Recruitment through these networks both enabled and constrained the inquiry. Existing relationships supported the depth and openness of kōrero and provided shared understanding of institutional contexts. At the same time, familiarity risked compressing what participants made explicit and introduced potential pressure towards shared framings. The study addressed these

conditions through the design of the kōrero and the analytic discipline outlined below. The final sample comprises 21 Māori leaders across ecclesial, governance, commercial, education, and health settings, with at least three participants in each sector (see Table 1).

Table 1 Participant Distribution by Sector

Code	Sector	Role (sub-category)	Gender	Regional base	Institutional role at time of interview
GOV1	Governance & Iwi Development	Corporate Governance / Iwi Governance	M	Te Tai Tokerau	Multiple governance roles across iwi enterprises and corporate entities
GOV2	Governance & Iwi Development	Iwi Governance	M	Tāmaki Makaurau	Cultural leadership, urban iwi; National Iwi Chairs Forum
GOV3	Governance & Iwi Development	Iwi Governance	F	Te Tai Tokerau	Iwi governance
GOV4	Governance & Iwi Development	Iwi Governance	F	Te Tai Tokerau	Iwi governance
GOV5	Governance & Iwi Development	Iwi Governance	M	Te Tai Tokerau	Iwi governance
ENT1	Enterprise & Business	Business	M	Te Tai Tokerau	Senior business leadership
ENT2	Enterprise & Business	Business	M	Tāmaki Makaurau	Senior business leadership
ENT3	Enterprise & Business	Economic Consultant	F	Tāmaki Makaurau	Economic consultancy; iwi commercial governance
ENT4	Enterprise & Business	Corporate	M	Tāmaki Makaurau	Deputy Chair, iwi; Director, national Māori tourism body; multiple governance roles
EDU1	Education	Tertiary Education / Wānanga	F	Tāmaki Makaurau	Senior leadership, wānanga
EDU2	Education	Schooling / Kura	M	Tāmaki Makaurau	Leadership, kura kaupapa
EDU3	Education	Tertiary Education / Wānanga	M	Tāmaki Makaurau	Senior leadership, wānanga
HLT1	Health & Social Services	Public Sector Health	F	Te Tai Tokerau	Senior health professional; public sector
HLT2	Health & Social Services	Public Sector Social Development	F	Tāmaki Makaurau	General Manager, Māori Partnerships and Programmes; central government ministry
HLT3	Health & Social Services	Charitable Aged Care Provider	M	Te Tai Tokerau	Director of Engagement; charitable aged care provider
CHU1	Church & Faith-Based Institutions	Pastoral/Ministerial	M	Te Tai Tokerau	Ordained minister
CHU2	Church & Faith-Based Institutions	Pastoral/Ministerial	F	Te Tai Tokerau	Priest in Charge/Archdeacon; parish pastoral and mission leadership
CHU3	Church & Faith-Based Institutions	Management, Church Social Service	F	Te Tai Rāwhiti	Chief Executive, Māori social services organisation; multiple national governance roles
CHU4	Church & Faith-Based Institutions	Pastoral/Ministerial	M	Te Tai Tokerau	Episcopal-level leadership

Code	Sector	Role (sub-category)	Gender	Regional base	Institutional role at time of interview
CHU5	Church & Faith-Based Institutions	Church Governance / Church-linked Social Service	F	Tāmaki Makaurau	Board governance; legal professional background
CHU6	Church & Faith-Based Institutions	Management, Church Social Service	F	Tāmaki Makaurau	Chief Executive, Māori social services organisation

Note. Gender and regional base are recorded for all participants. Further biographical details were not collected as structured intake data and appear only where participants volunteered information during kōrero. Where no such detail appears in the text, its absence reflects the wānanga methodology rather than a gap in participant eligibility. All participants met the three selection criteria set out above: recognised authority within their own communities, leadership experience within an institutional setting, and willingness to engage in sustained kōrero about authority and institutional life.

3.6.2 Positionality as Resource and Risk

My positionality operates as a methodological condition of the inquiry. As outlined in Chapter 1, my whakapapa and ordained ministry locate me within the relational and institutional worlds the thesis examines. This location enabled the research. Participants shared kōrero because they already knew me within those worlds and because the research relationship carried obligations they recognised. At the same time, this proximity introduced interpretive risk. Familiarity can produce premature analytic closure unless the researcher disciplines it reflexively. Within a Māori epistemological frame, relation enables knowledge rather than contaminates it (Roberts, 2013; L. T. Smith, 2021).

Whakapapa does not remove the need for analytic discipline. Kawharu et al. (2024) describe the genealogically included researcher as both resource and risk. The resource lies in access and depth. A researcher embedded within the relevant communities can reach participants in ways that procedural recruitment cannot and can sustain kōrero at a level of candour grounded in trust. This position also brings contextual knowledge that allows the researcher to interpret what participants say within its relational and institutional context rather than requiring explanation from first principles.

The risk arises from the same proximity. Long involvement in the institution under study, shared whakapapa connections with participants, and direct experience of the conditions under examination can lead the researcher to assume understanding in advance. That assumption can block careful listening. It can produce over-recognition, where the researcher reads participant accounts through their own experience rather than attending to them on their own terms. It can also compress what participants articulate, as shared knowledge reduces the need to state what both parties already know.

The study addressed these risks through two design decisions. First, reflexive memoing formed part of the analytic process throughout data generation and analysis. I recorded not only interpretations but also the assumptions, relationships, and institutional knowledge that might shape those interpretations. Second, I practised interpretive restraint during coding. I attended closely to participants' words rather than inferring meaning from shared context and held analytic distinctions open until the data, rather than familiarity, warranted closure.

These practices do not resolve positionality; they render it methodologically productive. A researcher outside these relational networks would not face this risk because they would lack the access the study required. A researcher within them who did not recognise the risk would close interpretation prematurely without noticing. The genealogically included researcher who applies reflexive discipline occupies the position the method requires: sufficiently connected to understand relational meaning and sufficiently disciplined to avoid substituting familiarity for analysis.

The whakapapa that grounds this position is set out fully in Chapter 1 and summarised here. On my mother's side, descent runs through Pōhurihanga of the Kurahaupō waka into Te Kupenga Tūpuna of the Muriwhenua iwi, Ngāti Kurī, Te Aupōuri, Ngāi Takoto, Te Rārawa, and Ngāti Kahu, across the rohe from Manawatawhi and Murimotu to Whangapē and Mangōnui. On my father's side, descent runs through Rāhiri

into Ngāpuhi via Ngāti Hau and Ngāti Kaharau, with Ōmanaia as kāinga and Hokianga as moana. Ordination in Te Hāhi Mihinare locates me within pastoral and governance relationships across these rohe and beyond.

These whakapapa are not background detail. They structure the inquiry. Access to participants in Te Tai Tokerau proceeded through Muriwhenua and Ngāpuhi networks that recognised me before the research, and participants agreed to take part on the basis of relationships that precede and will outlast the study. These same relationships disciplined interpretation. I tested what I heard in kōrero against the obligations those whakapapa impose on how Māori authority is spoken about and by whom. Where participants came from rohe beyond these affiliations, including Tāmaki Makaurau and Te Tai Rāwhiti, those obligations extended through forms of care and accountability required by whanaungatanga. This positioning also has limits. My proximity to Ngāpuhi and Muriwhenua networks gives interpretive reach within those contexts that it cannot claim elsewhere. The reflexive practices described above were designed in part to keep that asymmetry visible.

The lived experience carried through these whakapapa also shapes the mātauranga on which the inquiry draws. I grew up in Māori contexts where mana was enacted rather than explained, which produced an operative understanding of mana as *tuku iho*: inherited through whakapapa, sustained in tikanga, and recognised in everyday interaction. Dell et al. (2018) provide a four-dimensional account of mana—mana atua, mana tūpuna, mana whenua, and mana tangata—that draws out distinctions already present in that mātauranga. The literature helps name what mātauranga already holds; it does not create it. Treating mātauranga as dependent on prior academic formulation would misrepresent both its source and its authority.

This prior orientation shaped the study's abductive analysis. The coding architecture outlined in Section 3.6.4 uses the four mana dimensions as the initial structure for first-level coding, drawing on mātauranga that the literature clarifies rather than supplies. This position requires discipline. Reflexive memoing tracked this prior understanding alongside literature-derived concepts to prevent it from operating as unexamined assumption. The interpretive reach this formation enables is also bounded. I can hear mana expressed in registers my experience has attuned me to; other registers require forms of discernment I do not hold in the same way.

3.6.3 Data Generation Through Kōrero

The study generated data through in-depth kōrero conducted in a wānanga spirit. A wānanga creates conditions for sustained, open dialogue in which understanding develops through engagement. This approach allowed extended conversation, followed participants' priorities, and focused on what they identified as significant within broad orienting questions. It reflects an epistemology in which knowledge emerges through relationship rather than through the extraction of predefined information. This contrasts with structured interview formats that position the researcher as determining what counts as relevant knowledge (Wilson et al., 2022). In this study, participants held authority over the knowledge shared, and my role was to establish conditions that enabled that knowledge to be expressed with depth and integrity.

Two semi-structured guides framed the kōrero: a Sector Interview Guide for participants in iwi governance, enterprise, education, and health (Appendix D), and a Church Interview Guide for participants

in Te Hāhi Mihinare (Appendix E). Two guides were necessary because the study uses an asymmetric comparative design. Te Hāhi Mihinare is the primary case, while iwi governance, enterprise, education, and health provide the cross-sector comparison. A single guide would either have flattened the church material into generic institutional questions or imported ecclesial categories into sectors where they did not belong. The shared concern with authority, formation, institutional practice, and the conditions under which mana-based authority can act preserved comparability across the kōrero. The differentiated prompts allowed participants to speak from within the institutional language and structures of their own sector. The guides were therefore parallel rather than separate instruments: they asked the same research problem through institutionally appropriate forms.

Both guides began with a shared kaupapa preamble that introduced the study through ten tikanga Māori concepts: mana, whanaungatanga, manaakitanga, rangatiratanga, kaitiakitanga, mauri ora, tū rangatira, kotahitanga, te whakawhanaungatanga, and ngākau tapatahi. The preamble located the inquiry within te ao Māori and signalled that the study proceeds on Māori terms rather than translating Māori concepts into external frameworks. It also enacted manaakitanga at the outset by establishing the relational and conceptual ground of the kōrero before questioning began. The four mana dimensions identified by Dell et al. (2018) did not appear in the preamble. They entered only at the analytic stage, so participants spoke in their own conceptual vocabulary rather than within the framework later used for coding. The guides then diverged. The Sector Guide addressed leadership formation, institutional practice, decision-making, and the conditions under which authority could act within each sector. The Church Guide addressed parallel issues within ecclesial structures, including ordination, episcopal oversight, parish ministry, and constitutional partnership.

Tikanga governed each stage of the kōrero. Wilson et al. (2022) describe a sequence that begins with mihimihi to establish relational context, followed by karakia tīmatanga to open the space, the sharing of kai to sustain reciprocity and hospitality, and karakia mutunga to close and acknowledge the exchange (p. 389). These practices establish the relational and spiritual conditions necessary for this form of engagement. Omitting them would reposition the kōrero within institutional rather than tikanga-based terms and would alter what participants felt able to share. I offered koha to each participant in recognition of their contribution. This practice enacted manaakitanga and affirmed that the exchange rested on reciprocal obligation rather than transactional research logic.

The openness of the wānanga approach introduced analytic unevenness. Participants emphasised different themes and varied in the depth they gave to particular issues. The study addressed this by maintaining consistent orienting questions across all kōrero, ensuring that comparable terrain was covered, and by using analytic memos to track patterns across accounts rather than equating volume of material with analytic significance.

Participants selected the settings for each kōrero. Many chose locations embedded in their institutional or community lives, such as offices or marae. These settings shaped the depth and texture of the exchange. Allowing participants to determine the location recognised that mana-based authority includes authority over the conditions under which one participates in research.

Each of the 21 participants took part in one kōrero. The conversations varied in length, with a median duration of just over an hour and more than 22 hours of recorded material across the study. The semi-structured guides provided common orienting questions while allowing participants to develop accounts of leadership formation, relational obligations, and institutional practice in their own terms. Within each kōrero, clarifying questions and requests for examples supported closer examination of the experiences participants described.

The depth of that material owed as much to the relational conditions of the kōrero as to its structure. My whakapapa, institutional, and ministry location shaped access, exchange, and interpretation, as sections 1.6 and 3.6.2 describe. Participants could speak from within shared relational and institutional reference points, could name institutional arrangements without explanation, and could take the kōrero quickly to specific decisions and specific costs. Kaupapa Māori research treats this relational proximity as a condition of knowledge production (L. T. Smith, 2021; Wilson et al., 2022). Consistent orienting questions and analytic memos helped maintain comparability across accounts.

I recorded all kōrero with informed consent and produced transcripts. Digital transcription software generated initial drafts, which I then reviewed manually. I checked Māori terms for spelling and macron use and removed identifying details. Light editing improved readability by reducing hesitation and repetition without altering meaning. I maintained traceability between quoted material and original audio. Participants could decline to answer questions, pause the kōrero, or withdraw within the period specified in the consent process (Appendix C). These conditions maintained participant authority over their contribution and over what entered the record.

All data were stored securely on Auckland University of Technology servers, with access limited to the researcher and supervisors. Physical consent forms were stored separately in locked facilities. Data retention and destruction follow AUTECH approval conditions (reference 24/5; Appendix A). These practices treat participant kōrero as taonga held in trust and place them under kaitiakitanga obligations consistent with whakapapa-based relationships.

3.6.4 Analytic Procedure

The study analysed data through abductive thematic analysis, which engages theoretical resources and empirical material in parallel rather than in sequence. Interpretive organisational inquiry holds that institutional life cannot be understood from structure alone but must be interpreted through the meanings participants bring to it (Hatch & Yanow, 2003). Tavory and Timmermans (2014), building on Peirce's account of inference, argue that abductive reasoning requires the researcher to remain attentive to how participant accounts align with, resist, or extend existing frameworks. This attentiveness allows the researcher to recognise when kōrero unsettles prior expectations. Abductive analysis therefore makes the researcher's prior orientations explicit and subjects them to revision.

Thompson (2022) translates this logic into a procedure for thematic analysis that moves between immersion, iterative coding, and conceptual development. Analysis proceeds through sustained engagement with both empirical material and existing theory rather than following a data-driven or hypothesis-driven

sequence (Thompson, 2022). In this study, Māori conceptual resources did not function as hypotheses to be tested, nor did participant accounts generate categories in isolation. Each round of analysis reshaped how both the concepts and the coded material were understood.

Braun and Clarke's (2021) reflexive thematic analysis supports a theoretically informed approach in which existing frameworks guide initial coding while interpretive development remains open. Thompson's (2022) abductive extension provides the inferential logic for moving between coded material and Māori conceptual resources, while Kaupapa Māori commitments determine interpretive priorities and thresholds for analytic claims.

Within this approach, concepts such as *mana* and *whakapapa* operate as interpretive resources rather than imposed categories. The four *mana* dimensions identified by Dell et al. (2018)—*mana tangata*, *mana whenua*, *mana atua*, and *mana tūpuna*—structured first-level coding. This orientation draws on *mana* *tuku iho*, as discussed in Section 2.1.2, where *mātauranga* arises from lived experience and is articulated, not constituted, by the literature. At each stage, the analysis tested whether participant *kōrero* aligned with these dimensions or required their refinement.

The analysis began with immersion in each transcript. I read and transcribed *kōrero* before formal coding to register the texture of each account. This sequencing follows the principle of *tika*: participant accounts must first be understood within the relational and institutional conditions that produced them before analytic structures are applied.

First-level coding organised *kōrero* according to the four *mana* dimensions as the sources through which authority is carried (Dell et al., 2018). These dimensions provided analytic scaffolding. I located segments of *kōrero* that addressed the grounds of authority within one or more dimensions, establishing a base for further interpretation. I retained biographical and institutional material as descriptive coding to preserve context.

As coding progressed, three concerns recurred in participant accounts: the source of authority, the labour required to sustain it, and the extent to which institutional conditions allowed it to act on its own terms. I tracked these concerns in analytic memos and used them to interrogate coding within each *mana* dimension rather than as a reporting structure. The analysis held open whether these concerns would consolidate into a more formal analytic distinction.

The kaupapa preamble introduced participants to ten *tikanga* Māori concepts (Appendices D and E), but not the four *mana* dimensions. Participants therefore spoke in their own conceptual terms. Where their *kōrero* drew on preamble concepts, I coded these descriptively before assessing their analytic significance. This sequencing reflects *manaakitanga*: the researcher received *kōrero* on its own terms before organising it within the study's analytic vocabulary.

The study used two forms of memoing. Analytical memos tracked interpretive development, while sector memos documented the institutional circumstances of the sector accounts. Appendix F provides worked examples of the wider analytical procedure.

Second-level coding examined patterns within each sector before cross-sector comparison. I re-read coded material within each *mana* dimension through the three recurring concerns, now expressed in the

vocabulary of each domain. References to wairua, mauri, and tapu located authority within mana atua; accounts of obligation and intergenerational responsibility within mana tūpuna; collective recognition within mana tangata; and territorial grounding within mana whenua. This stage tested whether the three concerns held across domains or required revision.

Sectoral variation was addressed through the order of the analysis. I first read accounts within each sector, using descriptive coding and sector memos to record the institutional histories, structures, expectations, provisional patterns, and exceptions present in that setting. I then read the coded accounts across sectors. A provisional distinction carried cross-sector weight where comparison supported it; where a pattern remained specific to one sector, it stayed specific to that setting. Recurrence mattered precisely because these institutions allocated authority and made decisions binding through different arrangements. With three to six participants per sector, the purpose was contextual interpretation, without a statistical claim about the sector population or a claim to saturation.

Analytical memos continued throughout this process, recording tensions, shifts across sectors, and points where emerging patterns did not hold. These memos allowed me to track how initial descriptive coding developed into more formal distinctions and to test whether analytic claims were sufficiently grounded.

Cross-sector analysis tested whether provisional distinctions held across institutional contexts. For example, accounts coded within mana tūpuna distinguished between authority received as custodial obligation and authority conferred through institutional roles. A church participant described a commission received at consecration as a long-term obligation grounded in whakapapa, while an enterprise participant described authority over mātauranga as custodial responsibility rather than individual possession. Despite differing institutional contexts, both accounts described authority as genealogically transmitted, held in trust, and oriented towards future generations. This consistency justified moving from provisional coding to analytic articulation.

Within this abductive procedure I gave diagnostic attention to a particular kind of case, which I call a strain case. A strain case is one in which the participant's account showed mana-based authority operating, and the institution had no channel through which that authority could reach the decisions it should have governed. It does not select cases for the corpus. It foregrounds, within the corpus, the cases that most clearly evidence the institutional conditions under which mana-based authority is recognised but not received. Four strain cases were identified, one for each mana dimension, and treated as diagnostic exemplars. The procedure follows Tavory and Timmermans's (2014) abductive logic of attentiveness to cases that align with, resist, or extend existing frameworks. The strain cases align: they make the central pattern visible in concentrated form. I then tested the mechanisms they exposed against the wider corpus to see whether the pattern they made visible held beyond the diagnostic case.

A second pattern concerned how institutional structures failed to receive certain forms of authority. A health participant described carrying spiritual practices without institutional recognition, while an education participant described a leadership appointment process that did not account for whakapapa-based obligation. Although these accounts drew on different mana dimensions and institutional settings, both

revealed a structural pattern: institutions recognised one form of authority while excluding another grounded in whakapapa and relationship. This convergence supported analytic development.

A third pattern concerned temporal misalignment between participants' long-term obligations and institutional decision horizons. Participants across sectors described responsibilities extending across generations that institutional frameworks could not accommodate. Taylor and Goold (2024) identify similar tensions between Māori governance horizons and corporate fiduciary structures, which supports this interpretation.

Across these analyses, the study moved from provisional coding to analytic claims only when patterns held across sectors. Distinctions confined to a single context were retained as contextual findings but were not advanced as recurring cross-sector mechanisms. Where patterns required deeper grounding, the analysis engaged further Māori scholarship, including Marsden's (2003) account of mana as spiritually grounded and relationally transmitted.

The three recurring concerns informed the development of the mana *tuku iho*–mana *motuhake* frame. Subsequent analysis of strain cases and cross-sector comparison identified three mechanisms through which institutions constrained the exercise of mana-based authority, although the evidence for each varied across settings. Table 2 identifies the mana dimensions most salient in each participant's *kōrero* and the institutional constraint most clearly evidenced in that account. The mechanisms are introduced here to explain the analytical classification and developed fully in Section 5.3. Figure 1 illustrates the progression from participant *kōrero* through within-sector and cross-sector analysis to the explanatory framework developed in Chapter 5.

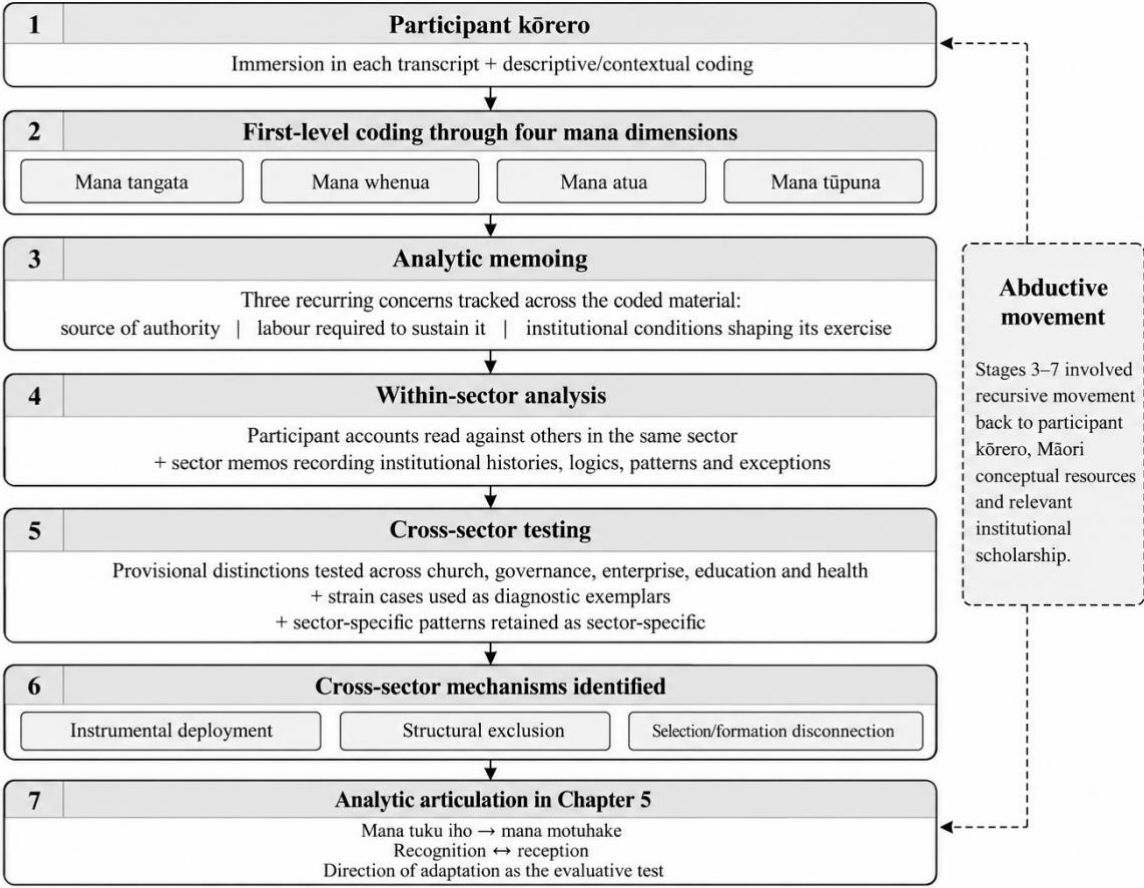
Table 2 Participant Distribution, Mana Dimensions, and Institutional Constraint Encountered

Code	Sector	Primary Mana Dimensions in Kōrero	Constraint Mechanism Encountered
GOV1	Governance & Iwi	[Mana tangata + mana atua] Relational authority built over eight years; spiritual grounding in whakapapa-based sense of who-ness; crisis as the moment of realisation	Structural exclusion: acted outside formal institutional channels when protocols could not receive the authority the crisis required
GOV2	Governance & Iwi	[Mana whenua + mana tūpuna] Territorial mandate over Ngāti Whātua rohe; attentiveness to tohu; ancestral charge to restore what 200 years had diminished	Structural exclusion; selection or formation disconnection: rūnanga governance separated from hapū mandate; shoulder-tap appointments without cultural formation
GOV3	Governance & Iwi	[Mana whenua + mana tūpuna] Direct territorial summons by kaumātua; papakāinga as the site of authority; ancestral dream held and fulfilled	None identified: institution redesigned around kaumātua authority
GOV4	Governance & Iwi	[Mana whenua + mana tūpuna] Territorial prohibition as active decision rule; spiritual weight of land; intergenerational obligation as governance standard	Structural exclusion: territorial obligation operated outside land trust governance channels
GOV5	Governance & Iwi	[Mana whenua + mana tūpuna + mana tangata] Ancestral words from 1846 as ongoing governance frame; territorial belonging as condition for commitment; diverse leadership recognised beyond the iwi-governance frame	None identified: authority operates within community, outside institutional form
ENT1	Enterprise & Business	[Mana tūpuna + mana atua] Custodial obligation to mātauranga transmitted through relationship; fidelity and provenance as the measure of right practice	None identified: authority operates within community, outside institutional form
ENT2	Enterprise & Business	[Mana atua + mana tangata] Spiritual-cultural competence as the ground of ministerial authority; what is lost when that ground is severed from appointment	Selection or formation disconnection: ministers appointed without the spiritual-cultural formation community recognition requires
ENT3	Enterprise & Business	[Mana whenua + mana tūpuna] Territorial mandate meeting structural wall; hundred-year analytical horizon as governance standard	Structural exclusion: territorial mandate found no channel within commercial board fiduciary structure
ENT4	Enterprise & Business	[Mana whenua + mana tūpuna] Territorial grounding recovered through physical return; 42 generations as foundation for subsequent institutional leadership	None identified: institutional founding documents designed to carry Indigenous values
EDU1	Education	[Mana atua + mana tangata] Spiritual authority enacted collectively; kaupapa constituted before the institution that now houses it	None identified: institution constituted from within the kaupapa
EDU2	Education	[Mana tūpuna] Ancestral lineage as the ground of the principal's role; 40 year succession horizon as the governing question	Selection or formation disconnection: selection assessed qualifications, not the ancestral obligation that grounded the role
EDU3	Education	[Mana atua] Holding Christian and Māori spiritual registers together without subordinating either	Structural exclusion: dual spiritual registers held without institutional acknowledgement of either

Code	Sector	Primary Mana Dimensions in Kōrero	Constraint Mechanism Encountered
HLT1	Health	[Mana tangata + mana atua] Relational authority accumulated through 26 years of consistent conduct; spiritual practice carried privately into clinical life	Structural exclusion: spiritual practice carried privately for twenty-six years; no formal institutional pathway to clinical governance
HLT2	Health	[Mana atua + mana tūpuna] Daily karakia as spiritual practice extending through relational invitation; ancestral ground described as innate	Instrumental deployment; structural exclusion: government signals threatened Māori-named programmes
HLT3	Health	[Mana whenua + mana tūpuna] Territorial obligation carried into capital discipline; ancestral precedent as institutional decision guide	None identified: territorial obligation carried as constitutive of institutional role
CHU1	Church & Faith-Based	[Mana tūpuna + mana tangata] Generational continuity as relational ground; financial structure as the limit of tikanga authority's reach	Instrumental deployment; structural exclusion: tikanga deployed coercively when financial channels could not be reached; financial control outside tikanga governance
CHU2	Church & Faith-Based	[Mana whenua + mana tūpuna] Territorial and whakapapa reading of who could carry a moment of reconciliation; institutional willingness as the structural question	Structural exclusion: institutional constitution not yet organised to receive what tikanga authority carries
CHU3	Church & Faith-Based	[Mana atua + mana tūpuna] Spiritual authority and ancestral obligation concentrated without structural support; preparedness as relational constitution	Structural exclusion; selection or formation disconnection: spiritual obligation concentrated without structural support
CHU4	Church & Faith-Based	[Mana atua + mana tūpuna] Inherited spiritual covering; 40-year ancestral commission received at consecration	Structural exclusion: sustained institutional conflict without governance protection
CHU5	Church & Faith-Based	[Mana atua + mana tangata] Spiritual integration of Māori and Christian authority; mana as obligation held rather than possession owned	Structural exclusion: institutional arrangements required legitimising what had not changed; departure as fidelity to the ground
CHU6	Church & Faith-Based	[Mana tangata + mana atua] Relational authority strong in service settings; weakened at the point of formal board governance	Structural exclusion; selection or formation disconnection: voice overridden at governance; reo competence required but not assessed in appointment

Note. Each row reports one participant account. The mana-dimension tags indicate the dimensions most clearly engaged in that kōrero; dimensions may overlap. The constraint column identifies the mechanism most clearly evident in that account, as discussed in §5.3. “None identified” means that no specific constraint mechanism was identified in that account; it does not establish that the whole institution had achieved reception. Figure 1 shows how the analysis moved from participant kōrero to cross-sector findings.

Figure 1 Analytic Progression from Participant Kōrero to the Recognition-Reception Framework



Note. The figure presents the main analytic progression for clarity. In practice, stages 3-7 involved recursive movement between participant kōrero, Māori conceptual resources, and relevant institutional scholarship. The four mana dimensions functioned as sensitising concepts and the three cross-sector mechanisms were developed abductively through within-sector analysis and cross-sector comparison.

Infographic generated with assistance from ChatGPT (OpenAI, 2026) from author-specified content and reviewed by the author.

3.7 Quality, Limitations, and Ethical Frame

3.7.1 *Quality Criteria*

Kaupapa Māori research does not adopt positivist quality criteria as its governing standards. Validity, reliability, and objectivity presuppose a detached researcher, a stable external reality to be measured, and reproducibility as the primary test of trustworthy knowledge. Those assumptions conflict with the ontological and epistemological commitments set out earlier. This study treats knowledge as produced within relationships, shaped by the position of the knower, and accountable to the communities from which it arises. Standards adequate to the inquiry therefore needed to remain accountable to those commitments rather than attempt to minimise their influence.

G. H. Smith's (2017) five tests, introduced in Section 3.5.3 as design-shaping commitments, also operate here as quality criteria against which the completed inquiry can be assessed. Positionality was addressed through sustained reflexive attention to my location as a Ngāpuhi man, a Māori Anglican priest, a resident of Te Tai Tokerau, and a participant across several of the institutional contexts under examination. Analytic memos tracked how that positioning shaped interpretation at each stage. Criticality was addressed through the cross-sector comparative structure, which identified how institutional forms not organised on Māori terms constrain, redirect, or absorb mana-based authority. The analysis named the institutional logics at work rather than attributing the conditions participants described to individual navigational failure or cultural particularity alone. The structural and cultural test was met through a coding architecture in which first-level coding located participant kōrero within the four mana dimensions as culturally constituted sources of authority, while sector memos documented the institutional logics through which that authority was received, constrained, or accommodated. Praxicality was addressed by tying the inquiry continuously to a live problem of institutional design and Māori authority, with findings intended to be usable by the communities and institutions engaged in those conditions. Transformability was addressed by producing an account of how Māori leaders carry, sustain, and exercise whakapapa-grounded authority within conditions of institutional constraint. Specifying what Te Hāhi Mihinare enables and constrains provides a grounded basis for ecclesial deliberation rather than an aspirational account of reform.

The appropriate standard for extending this study's findings beyond its immediate context is transferability rather than generalisation. Lincoln and Guba (1985) distinguish generalisability in the positivist sense — which requires representative sampling and statistical inference — from transferability, where findings produced in one context may illuminate conditions in another because the description is sufficiently thick and contextually specific for readers to assess correspondence. Under this standard, the researcher must provide context-rich description, and those who engage the findings must judge how far the documented conditions align with their own settings.

3.7.2 Transferability

This study supports transferability through the depth and contextual specificity of its reporting. Participant accounts are presented with enough detail about the relational, institutional, and whakapapa-grounded conditions from which they arise for those conditions to be intelligible. Cross-sector comparison records where patterns hold and where they do not, so that distinctions remain traceable to specific institutional and relational configurations rather than being presented as universally operative. Findings are reported at a level of specificity that enables researchers, institutional actors, and community members to assess whether the dynamics documented here correspond to conditions they recognise in their own worlds. Reflexive memoing further supports interpretive quality. Memos recorded each point at which interpretive movement occurred: revisions to provisional coding, the identification of cross-sector patterns, the testing of emerging distinctions against resistant material, and moments where my own positioning appeared to shape how I was reading a particular account. Together, they constitute a traceable record of judgement and provide the audit trail the study requires.

3.8 Limitations

This study carries four significant limitations. First, 21 participants across five sectors do not constitute a representative sample of Māori leadership in Aotearoa New Zealand. Nor does the study claim that they represent Māori leaders as a whole. Participants were recruited through relational and network-based pathways, and their accounts illuminate how whakapapa-grounded authority operates within particular institutional settings rather than establishing how widely those conditions are distributed. The findings do not support claims about the frequency of any condition, nor do they permit statistical inference to Māori leaders as a whole. The value of the inquiry lies in interpretive depth rather than demographic coverage, and the scope of its claims is calibrated accordingly.

Second, each participant was interviewed once. A single, substantive kōrero conducted in a wānanga spirit captures a moment within leadership lives that often extend across decades. Participants may have emphasised what was salient at the time of interview, may have withheld material they judged too sensitive or complex for a single encounter, or may have described conditions that have since changed. The study cannot track how accounts of authority and institutional life develop over time or whether patterns identified from single encounters would hold under extended engagement.

Third, my own location within the institutional fields under examination was both a condition of the inquiry and a source of interpretive risk. Whakapapa connections to Te Tai Tokerau, two decades of ordained ministry within Te Hāhi Mihinare, and governance experience across several sectors gave access to participant accounts and institutional dynamics that an external researcher could not have reached. The same proximity created the possibility that I would interpret participant kōrero through my own experience in ways not fully visible to me or fully corrected by reflexive memoing. The reflexive discipline described above was designed to minimise, not eradicate, this risk. Readers should keep this limitation in view when assessing the interpretive claims the analysis makes, particularly in relation to Te Hāhi Mihinare.

Fourth, the five sectors are deliberately weighted towards the church, which receives disproportionate attention as the primary analytic site. The research questions are framed around the denominational case, with enterprise, education, health, and iwi governance providing the comparative base that allows what is structurally specific to the church to be distinguished from what is common to mana-based authority under institutional constraint. The consequence is that those four sectors function as comparative resources rather than independent objects of study. Leaders in those fields may find that the study addresses cross-sector dimensions of their experience without engaging institutional particularities at equivalent depth. This limitation follows directly from the design and requires explicit acknowledgement.

3.9 Ethical Frame

Ethics in this study operated at two levels: institutional approval through the university's ethics processes and ongoing governance through Te Ara Tika's four principles applied across design, conduct, and reporting. These levels address different dimensions of the obligations the study carries, and neither substitutes for the other. Institutional ethics approval was obtained through the standard university process for qualitative research involving human participants. The application addressed recruitment, informed consent, the collection and storage of audio recordings and transcripts, confidentiality, withdrawal rights, and the intended return of findings. Approval (AUTEC 24/5; Appendix A) preceded any recruitment or data generation, and the Participant Information Sheet (Appendix B) and Consent Form (Appendix C) document the terms of participation. This process establishes a legally and procedurally required baseline of protection, which the study met, but it was not designed with Māori research relationships in view and cannot encompass all ethical obligations arising within a kaupapa grounded in whakapapa, manaakitanga, and the protection of mana.

Participant confidentiality was protected through sector-based coding during analysis and reporting. Each participant received a code indicating sector and interview sequence: CHU for Te Hāhi Mihinare, GOV for iwi governance, ENT for enterprise, EDU for education, and HLT for health, each followed by a number. No names, titles, community affiliations, or other identifying details appear in any document outside secure storage. Within the analysis and findings, all material appears only under these codes. This approach reflects a mana-centred understanding of protection. Confidentiality is not merely the procedural prevention of identification. It is a relational commitment to ensure that participants' willingness to share experience does not expose them to reputational damage, institutional pressure, or diminishment of their standing within the communities they serve. Some participants hold senior roles in contexts where a combination of institutional position and account content could make them recognisable even under sector coding. Where this risk arose, reporting moved to a level of generalisation that preserved analytic significance while removing details that would support identification. Where an account carried weight that generalisation would erode, decisions about whether and how to include it were governed by the same mana-centred judgement that shaped all reporting, with protection of participant standing taking precedence over analytic convenience.

The return of findings to participants and their communities remains an ethical commitment of the study. Following completion of the thesis, participants will receive a summary of the findings in accessible

form. For those associated with Te Hāhi Mihinare, findings relevant to the denominational case will be offered to appropriate ecclesial bodies in forms suitable for deliberation about institutional arrangements and the recognition of Māori authority. For participants in other sectors, findings will be returned through channels appropriate to their community contexts. This return honours Te Ara Tika's principle of tika, which requires that research practice be right and appropriate to the communities involved, and the principle of mana, which positions participants as authorities over their own experience whose knowledge carries obligations of reciprocity.

3.10 Conclusion

Kaupapa Māori governed how participants were approached, how kōrero was received, and how the findings remained answerable to whakapapa and tikanga. Abductive analysis moved between participant accounts, Māori conceptual resources, and relevant institutional scholarship, while coding, memoing, within-sector interpretation, and cross-sector testing provided an account of how the claims were developed. The design gives the church case primary weight and preserves the particular institutional circumstances of the comparison sectors. The findings remain interpretive and bounded by one kōrero with each participant and by my relational proximity to the field. Appendix F documents the analytic procedure.

Chapter 4: Findings

4.1 Overview

The findings draw on 21 participants from the church, iwi governance, enterprise, education, and health. Their accounts are presented through mana tangata, mana whenua, mana atua, and mana tūpuna, with participants often drawing on more than one dimension. The four dimensions guided first-level coding as sensitising concepts; sector memos and abductive comparison developed the cross-sector analysis. Each dimension closes with a strain case that makes a particular institutional constraint especially clear. Section 4.6 tests what those cases disclose against the wider corpus.

4.2 Mana Tangata: Relational Authority

Mana tangata names the relational dimension of authority: the standing that arises from, and remains accountable to, human relationships across time. Leadership becomes recognisable through the quality of conduct a leader sustains across repeated encounters, not through appointment or qualifications. All 21 participants spoke substantively about this dimension. Their accounts differed in how relational authority operated and in the institutional conditions it encountered.

Three forms of mana tangata recurred across sectors. The first was relational authority deployed in crisis, where a leader drew on accumulated standing to act ahead of institutional permission. The second was trust built through consistency over time, often without announcement, until others began seeking out that trust rather than the leader offering it. The third was authority grounded in the custodianship of transmitted knowledge, where what had been given imposed obligations on how a leader could use and pass on that knowledge. These forms ran beneath institutional roles as prior conditions for exercising those roles. A church leader enacted authority more commonly associated with governance, and a health leader carried the same logic as a carver.

Across these accounts, participants often described the source of relational authority before naming whakapapa explicitly, referring instead to groundedness or settledness as a state of being. GOV1 used the word “established” to distinguish this condition from confidence or reputation. CHU1 framed an equivalent condition through generational continuity, wearing the cope of a predecessor and finding that the weight of that lineage relativised what he was doing in the present. ENT1 spoke of obligations carried rather than authority claimed.⁷ HLT1 did not name the condition but described its effects through the response of others. Where that settledness was absent, or performed rather than held, the authority it was meant to carry did not follow. That point leads directly to CHU1’s strain case, where colleagues invoked tikanga language coercively and damaged the relational ground on which authority depends.

⁷ A cope is a semi-circular cloak worn by the clergy usually on ceremonial occasions. It derives from the *paenula* or *pluviale* worn in the late Greco-Roman world in cold or inclement weather. It is often richly embroidered. The original garment had a hood, but this now survives as a triangular-shaped ornament, attached at the back below the neck-line, which often has a cross or some other sacred symbol embroidered on it (Meakin, 2007, p. 66).

GOV1's COVID-19 response gives the clearest example of relational authority deployed in crisis. In early 2020, in a senior regional public service role, he watched peacetime welfare protocols collide with an emergency they were not designed to meet. He made a decision:

I overrode the rules, and I told my team that. I gave them that spiel that this is that moment, and I'm not going to leave it to someone else's authority to tell me what the right thing to do is.

The title gave him a site from which to act, but it did not supply the standing that made action possible. He distributed emergency support through networks built over years: iwi leaders, mayors, a regional council chair, and business contacts across the region. He did not describe those years as a strategy of accumulation for future use. He described them as consistent presence in what mattered to others. When he convened gatherings during COVID-19, people came:

The mana of my call meant that they would beam in weekly to get updates. It was an opportunity for them to get updates, but it was also an opportunity for me to remind them of our kaupapa.

The institutional position provided a platform. Relational ground built before the crisis made the call worth answering. GOV1 described the source of that capacity as establishment: a settledness that does not shift under institutional pressure.

It's very hard to compete with a Māori who is aware of their who-ness because their world is so expansive.

He grounded that expansiveness in his formation, growing up in a household where issues that mattered to the Māori community were discussed at the dinner table, and in a leader's willingness to set limits on themselves rather than make the institution about them.

HLT1 shows a slower form of accumulated relational authority. She has worked as a nurse over a long tenure in the same organisation. A group of Māori staff began meeting in the mornings for karakia, without roster or formal agenda, and remained open to anyone. Non-Māori colleagues who had initially kept their distance began seeking them out when a team member died.

We don't have to be out there going, we do this and that. People are actually coming to us to engage with them.

She traced the reach of this authority across generations, describing patients whose children later entered nursing after seeing her work:

I've had a few people say to me, "I really wanted to be a nurse. I saw how you dealt with my dad." Which is a huge compliment.

In her account, care extends across time and returns as capability. HLT1 did not describe this as a strategy. She leads worship at her church and spends time in the pub, not drinking but talking with people and praying with them when they ask. Some in the church found this uncomfortable, and her pastor defended

her practice from the pulpit. HLT1 recounted this without embarrassment: what looks like weakness to others, she can use as a strength.

When HLT1 was asked how she knew whether relational authority was real, she reached for an example from a Māori Battalion documentary in which the men identified a private, not an officer, as their leader. When commissioned officers were lost, the group elevated him because they had already recognised his authority.

It's not necessarily the ones that have the higher qualifications or the leadership positions that others identify as their leaders in there.

Across the morning gatherings, the colleagues who sought her out, and the patients whose children returned as nurses, recognition came from the same direction: from what others had witnessed before any moment of crisis or decision.

ENT1's account shows authority grounded in the obligation to safeguard transmitted knowledge. He leads a creative enterprise built around mātauranga Māori and speaks about authority as something carried rather than claimed. Knowledge came to him through decades of relationships with carvers, kaumātua, artists, and institutional leaders. That investment produced obligation:

I have a fundamental responsibility for the fidelity and the clarity and accuracy of the kōrero. For the provenance, where it's come from, because it didn't come from me, most of it, and how it gets passed on.

That obligation shapes how the enterprise operates. Titles are absent. ENT1 refuses competitive tendering because it requires him to bid against others and explain why his enterprise is better aligned. He calls that process "an insidious kind of selling out to yourself in that process." The refusal is not rhetorical. If the kōrero is not his to claim, he will not deploy it as a competitive advantage over others who carry different knowledge. He developed the point through the account of a carver whom a colonial missionary prohibited from placing carved tūpuna figures in a church building. Rather than abandon the commission, the carver created a new form: manaia figures held within the negative space of patterns that, to those who knew how to read them, remained present throughout the building.

Leadership takes diplomacy. And within diplomacy, the role of creativity is continually misunderstood and seen as artistic practice rather than a way of giving realisation to our values and to life.

For ENT1, the carver's response shows how relational authority operates under institutional constraint. The authority to carry the tūpuna into the building did not disappear when permission was refused. It took a form the institution could neither read as refusal nor prohibit. The knowledge was transmitted, the obligation was met, and creativity became an ethical necessity, not an aesthetic embellishment.

CHU1 served in a senior church role in Te Tai Tokerau after coming from another iwi. That mattered because local authority was not read through office alone. People also watched how he located

himself in the rohe, how he formed relationships, and how he carried the role in public. Early in his tenure, even what he wore became part of that assessment:

People would often comment on the fact that I was wearing [my predecessor's] cope. And so there was a sense that I was in continuity with him. And the moment you start thinking in terms of across generations, it relativises the function of leadership. Because it's not saying this is about you. I'm not here for myself. I'm here in line with other people, and there will be other people after.

The cope mattered because it made authority visible as continuity rather than personal possession. CHU1 was not presenting himself as an isolated office-holder. He was locating his ministry in a line of people before and after him, and local people recognised that sign. That recognition, however, did not settle what he could actually do inside church structures. His authority could be received relationally and symbolically while still being limited institutionally. However, CHU1 did not frame that limit as theological disagreement. He located it in financial control. Within church governance structures, money determined how far relational authority could reach, regardless of tikanga. Tikanga and Anglican governance were not in principled opposition. The problem was that the money, which governed what was actually possible, sat outside the constitutional framework that recognised tikanga leadership at all. Where the money went, effective decisions followed. CHU1 described the damage done when relational concepts were deployed coercively within that constrained space:

When people change manaakitanga ... to mean "me getting my own way" ... the stuff that we're doing to ourselves is probably more damaging, actually.

He found that most difficulties in his archdeaconry were resolved not by procedure but by trust:

Almost all problems that came up were best resolved in relational settings ... It wasn't me making a decision and then sort of sending an email out that would fix things up. The really key thing was having spent so much time with people on things that mattered to them.

Wearing the cope did not confer formal authority. It gave CHU1 access to a register of recognition that operated through whakapapa and continuity rather than appointment. In that moment, the cope gathered years of relational building into a visible sign of continuity.

GOV5 described how relational authority persists in forms that formal governance cannot measure. He explained *Ngāti Hine Pukepuke Rau* as an account of diverse leadership: not "too many chiefs", but leadership appearing in many forms. He then gave the example of a marae trustee who had not attended meetings for many years. Some suggested removing him from the trustees list, but GOV5 refused because the man carried authority through service:

He is the chief gravedigger. He is digging graves, and everybody really respects him. And when he does have a word to say, everybody listens intently.

The point was not that formal governance does not matter. It was that attendance alone could not measure the authority this trustee carried. His mana rested in decades of service, in the trust accumulated through the work of burying the dead, and in the weight others gave his rare words. A governance structure that counts attendance but cannot recognise service of that kind will misread the authority already sustaining the marae.

CHU2 named what this recognition requires of an institution. At a church leadership hui in Chile, she asked representatives from Colombia who had developed their canons and code of conduct. They answered directly: “We did.” CHU2 returned to the observation in a simple claim: “We can. If we are willing.” The formulation names the structural question that relational authority alone cannot resolve: whether an institution is willing to structure itself in ways that can receive what its people carry.

GOV2 framed the same structural problem through what happens when relational authority is challenged directly. When his iwi faced a sustained external claim over its territory, his response was public and deliberate. He focused not on the content of the claim but on the integrity of the leadership making it. His account drew on a formation shaped by his koro’s teaching about tohu, by the cultural leadership wānanga he helped convene, and by years of shoulder-tap relationships built within his rohe.

Integrity and mana is at the utmost of a person’s thinking. Even before their health. Even before their wealth. Wealth is attached to the ego, but integrity cuts straight to the heart. Be fearless, be courageous. If you have to challenge something, maybe that’s where you have to start. And do it in a way that is pinpoint accurate and is unapologetic.

GOV2 met that challenge from a standing built over years. He did not rely on office or title. He relied on the recognition of people who had watched him work and knew what he had carried for the hapū. This account belongs in the mana tangata dimension because the authority he drew on came through relational standing, rather than territorial mandate or ancestral commission alone. The fearlessness he described came from integrity sustained over time. Others already recognised that integrity, so the challenge did not unsettle his standing.

The strain case in this dimension is CHU1’s account of tikanga language being used coercively within the procedural processes of church government. He described governance settings in which participants shifted between tikanga and procedural modes according to which would secure an outcome. The institutional structure created incentives for that shift. When people deployed tikanga language to compel rather than to build trust, they damaged the relational ground on which authority depended.

Manaakitanga, you know, they change it to mean me getting my own way in certain ways, and, you know, all of those kind of stuff. Or rangatiratanga to be the sort of coercive style of leadership. Particularly around, you know, say the finances ... the vast majority of the money is not covered by Te Pouhere. And so I think I think that’s what creates a lot of the apparent tensions between being Māori and being Anglican.

When colleagues “change it to mean me getting my own way” and reframe rangatiratanga as “the sort of coercive style of leadership,” the standing that should produce trust instead produces suspicion. CHU1’s account matters because it shows that institutions can damage mana tangata even when people use tikanga language. The problem is not tikanga itself. The problem is the institutional setting in which tikanga language is turned into leverage while the real channels of authority, especially financial control, remain elsewhere.

Across these accounts, relational standing is built through sustained conduct and recognised by others before any institution confirms it. Where institutions deploy tikanga language instrumentally, they damage rather than reinforce the ground on which authority depends. GOV1’s COVID-19 decision, ENT1’s

refusal of competitive tendering, HLT1's pub ministry, and CHU2's Colombia question all show leaders exercising authority in directions the institution had not authorised and could not have produced on its own. The institution provides the site; the authority precedes it.

Table 3 gathers these accounts across sectors to show how relational authority is constituted in different institutional settings and prepares the cross-sector reading that follows. It restates participants already discussed above; it does not introduce new accounts.

Table 3 Mana Tangata: Relational Authority Across Sectors

Code	Sector	Form of Relational Authority	Institutional Condition Named	Analytic Implication
GOV1	Governance	Crisis authority: acting ahead of institutional permission	Welfare system protocols not designed for national crises	Relational standing supported action beyond the welfare system's ordinary authorisation channels.
GOV2	Governance	Integrity-based public challenge under external threat	External territorial claim over Ngāti Whātua rohe	Integrity governed how territorial claims could be challenged.
GOV5	Governance	Authority operating outside formal governance participation	Marae governance structure; trustee non-attendance over 20 years	Community recognition remained consequential outside regular trustee participation.
ENT1	Enterprise	Custodial authority grounded in transmitted knowledge	Competitive tendering processes; prohibition on carved tūpuna figures	Custodianship imposed obligations on the use and transmission of inherited knowledge
HLT1	Health	Accumulated authority through consistency over time	Public health institution; no formal recognition of tikanga practice	Consistent practice built standing that others sought out over time.
CHU1	Church	Generational continuity as relational ground	Financial control in governance structures outside tikanga reach	Generational continuity and relationship informed the handling of institutional problems.
CHU2	Church	Institutional willingness as condition for authority to reach	Anglican governance not yet constituted to receive what those within it carry	Institutional willingness affected whether the authority already carried could take effect.

4.3 Mana Whenua: Territorial Authority

Mana whenua names authority anchored in a specific territorial relationship. It arises from, and remains accountable to, place and to the whakapapa connections that bind people to that place. Fourteen of the 21 participants discussed this dimension. Three forms are visible across their accounts: direct territorial mandate exercised from within the rohe; authority recovered through physical return after disconnection; and territorial grounding carried into institutions distant from the whenua from which that authority originates.

Several participants discussed here also appear in other sections, and the dimension a particular account carries is not always self-evident from its surface content. GOV3's account of returning home to her kaumātua carries relational quality, but the kaumātua summoned her back to a specific piece of land, not to an abstract network of relationships. GOV4's teaching about land is also a tūpuna transmission, but the teaching names land as the irreducible condition: a specific prohibition tied to a specific resource. GOV5's ancestral saying could sit in mana atua or mana tūpuna, but he deploys it in marae governance and in recognising a gravedigger whose authority works through presence on the land. The dimension is determined not by topic alone, but by the accountability the participant describes bearing.

The territorial dimension clusters most strongly in the governance accounts, where participants hold direct mandate, carry specific teachings about land, and work within structures built to exercise territorial authority. It also appears at institutional remove in church and health accounts, where it operates as a frame for long-term discipline. The enterprise accounts create the strongest tension. ENT4's account shows territorial grounding recovered through physical return and then carried into corporate settings. ENT3's account shows what happens when an institutional structure designed to generate commercial return cannot receive the territorial claims made upon it. The finding is not merely that participants think territorially across sectors. It is that they describe with precision how territorial authority works, and ENT3 names with equal precision the structural failure that prevents it from working.

There's always this crossover in mechanisms because the system's not designed by us. What would we do a hundred and 200 years ago? How would it work? How would mana whenua exert itself 200 years ago?

Direct territorial mandate is clearest in GOV3's account. She was working away from her home region when the kaumātua called her home. She came. When they called again, she came again:

I always came home. When my old people call me, I would come home. And I used to scratch my head and think to myself, how the hell am I gonna do all that stuff. But when I look back now, and I think about how our community has actually gone the way it has. It's actually really looking after our families, looking after education. Instead of calling them agencies, we've actually called them [whānau]. You have to build a house.

When she decided to return and rebuild the papakāinga in her home community, people thought she was mad. The gorse was head-high. There were no roads.

Everyone thought I was crazy when I actually went back. My old people used to just cry and say to me, I didn't even actually believe that the papakāinga could come alive. And now we have many whānau back. ... Just the belief of my kaumātua. It was their dream. So all I did was do the mahi.

Her authority in the community comes from returning and carrying a collective obligation back to the land. The mandate did not originate with her. When she set up the governance structure with the kaumātua, they drew a distinction that shaped its design:

My old people used to say to me, look after that side of the business. Not the commercial.

They separated political and cultural authority from commercial function, each with its own accountability. The structure came from their instruction. When whānau began returning from the cities carrying difficulty, she set the terms on the marae without hesitation and traced those rules back to childhood:

I can hear them singing now. I can hear them. And from that growing up, it showed me a way that I need to affirm my tūpuna. It's only because of the old people.

GOV4 expresses the same direct mandate through teaching carried within her iwi, received in childhood and treated as active guidance. One kaumātua's injunction about land, which she carries as a decision rule, captures the logic:

Don't sell, don't sell, don't sell our land, because God is not making any more for your people. He's been doing reclamation, but he's not making any more, folks.

Her own words about land make the stakes explicit:

Whenua is more than a commodity. It's who stood on that land, the spirituality of the land.

What land generates cannot be recovered once it is gone. The obligation to those not yet born constrains what can be decided now. GOV4 carries this teaching into governance decisions about what land is held, what is borrowed against, and what must remain available for future generations. The teaching functions as an active filter through which decisions pass.

GOV5 holds the same territorial logic through words carried across generations of iwi leadership. An injunction following a nineteenth-century battle, warning against assimilation into Pākehā ways, still shapes how he reads governance responsibility:

Those words still ring in my ears and in my mind and in my heart ... how I apply my work, and how I try to adapt to our everyday circumstances.

He describes tikanga through the image of guide rails at a bowling alley. When he takes his mokopuna bowling, the rails keep the ball from going into the gutter. How the ball travels between them remains open:

Those are there. And how we operate within them, eventually your bowling ball is going to get to the end, and it might take a deviation along the way and take different paths. But those guide rails are there.

For GOV5, the words of tūpuna function as those rails do. The boundary is fixed; movement within it remains adaptive. He also makes clear that belonging to land carries obligation:

[Whakapapa] tells you, you belong. You belong to a [rohe] and you really do have obligations to look after your [whenua] and put your shoulder to the wheel.

His governance work at the marae, and the leadership he recognises in the gravedigger who has not attended a meeting in 20 years, both operate within that frame. The gravedigger's authority is territorial and relational. It is bound to place and kinship, exercised through service on the land itself, and commands more genuine deference than any board appointment.

ENT4 grew up away from his whānau's rohe, the child of a Māori parent whose generation had moved for work. His childhood was marked by disconnection from language, marae, and culture. He does not soften this: identity difficulties, trouble at school, trouble with life in general. His whānau papakāinga became his pathway back. At 18, for the first time, he felt proud of being Māori. That recovery deepened through a programme that took him to places across the motu, serving each community for several days at a time. At every place he went, he found whakapapa connections reaching back many generations. He carried that knowledge into his technology leadership role. Before he started, he told his manager he could not begin without a pōwhiri. She agreed. Mana whenua came, his whānau came, and the organisation's staff gathered to receive him. It was the first time the organisation had opened a role that way. He described that moment as the point at which he stopped covering who he was and started standing in it without apology:

Everywhere we went, every single place, I found whakapapa connections ... I've got this deep, rich connection to this land. And it gave me a real strong understanding of who I am, which gave me strength to move forward when you really, truly know who you are, where you come from. And, you know, you can go back to 42 generations back, was just an amazing feeling. So that sort of led me down this path of being staunch and being strong in who I am and authentic, knowing that actually I do have this whakapapa, and I actually need to stand up for it where I am and be non-apologetic about being well, rather than covering it, you know, as I was in the past.

The hapū governance work he sustained alongside that role drew from the same ground. ENT4 names the cost of disconnection precisely because he carried it. What he recovered was not supplementary to his leadership. It made leadership possible. This distinguishes his account from GOV3's. GOV3 answered a territorial summons from a position of continuous connection; ENT4 had to recover the connection before any summons could be heard.

CHU2 is a priest in charge of a pastorate in Te Tai Tokerau, called into the role by her bishop because he judged that the pastorate needed someone whose whakapapa reached across the communities it served. She states the condition plainly: "I whakapapa right across [the area]. And it is about renewing and restoring these relationships." At a church in her pastorate that had carried a conflict for nearly 2 decades, she knew that reconciliation required someone whose standing the community itself would recognise. That

person was not her. When a woman in the community approached her to take a role at a key event, one CHU2 believed should be held by someone else, she redirected the request and referred it to her bishop:

It went back to that, some of the people there wanted [another person] to lead it out. And so she rang me, and I said, who have you been talking to? I want to speak to that person. So that conversation was had, and then I spoke with the [senior] and said: [senior] you're doing this, not us. You're going to get us through that door.

The [senior] walked them through. The whanaungatanga broken by years of division was restored, and that church and marae have been thriving since. The territorial reading of CHU2's account makes the decision visible. Her decision to step back was not humility or pastoral skill alone. It was a precise judgement that authority attaches to persons in relation to specific places, and that putting the wrong person at the front, however capable, would have failed.

HLT3 draws the same logic from a different angle. He is not a shareholder in a land-owning incorporation, but his wife's whānau hold shares in one, and he uses that incorporation's decades of operating history as his model for how any Māori organisation should govern its capital. The incorporation has lasted because it has not borrowed against its asset base, has consistently reinvested, and has resisted short-term extraction. He carries that logic directly into the aged-care governance board on which he sits:

You actually keep putting money back into the organisation. Even though probably I don't need to, I keep investing it for the future. I take it just enough to give out, but it's always going to be here. Because it's not about me. It's about future generations.

The territorial dimension here does not require him to stand on the whenua. It requires him to exercise mana-based authority as if the whenua will still be there when the mokopuna inherit it. Conservative borrowing, continuous reinvestment, and resistance to short-term gain become the institutional expression of an obligation that runs through land to those not yet born.

Table 4 gathers these accounts across sectors to show how territorial authority is exercised, recovered, or carried through institutions that mediate its relationship to whenua. It makes visible the institutional conditions each form encountered. The table restates participants already discussed above; it does not introduce new accounts.

Table 4 Mana Whenua: Territorial Authority Across Sectors

Code	Sector	Form of Territorial Authority	Institutional Condition Named	Analytic Implication
GOV3	Governance	Direct mandate: return and rebuild	Kaumātua instruction; governance separating cultural from commercial	Kaumātua mandate guided return, rebuilding, and the separation of cultural and commercial responsibilities.
GOV4	Governance	Direct mandate: teaching as decision rule	Land trust governance; intergenerational obligation	The obligation to retain land operated as a rule for present decisions.
GOV5	Governance	Direct mandate: ancestral words as boundary conditions	Marae trustees; governance adaptation within tikanga frame	Ancestral instructions framed adaptation to present governance responsibilities.
ENT4	Enterprise	Recovered territorial grounding after urban disconnection	Corporate structure; hapū governance board	Renewed knowledge of whakapapa strengthened the obligation to assert territorial belonging.
CHU2	Church	Territorial grounding carried into distant institution	Church split; hierarchical governance	Relational standing enabled intervention across a divided church setting.
HLT3	Health	Territorial obligation carried into institutional capital discipline	Land-owning trust; aged care governance board	Capital decisions were judged against obligations to future generations.
ENT3	Enterprise	Territorial authority meeting structural wall	Commercial board with fiduciary obligations	Territorial representation and fiduciary decision-making required different institutional channels.

Note. Entries synthesise the participant accounts developed in section 4.3. The final column records the analysis of those accounts.

4.4 Mana Atua: Spiritual Authority

Mana atua operates across the accounts in three forms: inherited spiritual covering transmitted through whakapapa relationships; disciplined daily practice, including karakia, attentiveness to *tohu*, and Christian prayer; and collective spiritual practice within teams, where the practice extends beyond the individual leader into shared institutional life.⁸ Fifteen of the 21 participants spoke about this dimension. In church and education settings they named it directly and theologically. In governance, enterprise, and health settings it appeared through specific disciplines of practice rather than through explicit religious language. In each case, participants carried the spiritual dimension through habitual practice and relational formation, not through institutional appointment.

For Māori Anglican participants, *mana atua* did not mean a plurality of *atua* held alongside the Christian God as parallel sources of spiritual authority. Nor did they describe Christian faith as severing whakapapa from the transmission of authority. They described spiritual authority as delegated from God and inherited through whakapapa: not two sources held in tension, but a single lived ground in which Christian faith and genealogical transmission were integrated (see also Mahuika, 1992). For CHU participants, God as creator and humanity as created provided the foundational theological horizon. Whakapapa did not supply a competing cosmogony. It provided the relational and genealogical structure through which their specific identity, obligations, and authority were constituted within that order. CHU4's commission arrived at consecration when a rangatira placed a home communion set in his hands and charged him to be at Waitangi in 2040, an obligation he came to understand as custodial and accountable beyond the church and beyond the *iwi* to the nation. That commission drew its force in both registers at once: apostolically delegated through the church's ordination rite and whakapapa-grounded through the rangatira who conferred it. There was nothing to reconcile because the two had not been placed in opposition.

The distinction between *mana atua* and the other three dimensions required careful analytic attention during coding. Several accounts coded here could plausibly sit in *mana tangata*, because spiritual covering was transmitted through human relationships, or in *mana tūpuna*, because that covering arrived through ancestral lines. What places them in *mana atua* is the spiritual agency participants described operating through relational and ancestral channels to shape human conduct. During a period of church conflict, CHU4's uncle stood beside him as a *kaumātua* and, in CHU4's account, placed a covering over him that protected him from spiritual harm. In this specialised usage, I read covering as an extension of *atakau*: a *tikanga* practice in which the *mana* of one's *atua* and *tūpuna* is placed over a person, encounter, or undertaking as protection. CHU4 and CHU2 both use covering in this study to describe how leadership is held within spiritual accountability that operates through whakapapa rather than through institutional authorisation. GOV2 did not simply remember his *koro*'s teachings; over time he became dependent on *tohu*,

⁸ Covering (specialised usage): more formally the extension of *atakau* as a *tikanga* practice, in which the *mana* of one's *atua* and *tūpuna* is placed over a person, encounter, or undertaking as protection. Used by CHU4 and CHU2 in the findings of this thesis to describe how leadership is held within spiritual accountability that operates through whakapapa rather than through institutional authorisation.

on signs his koro had taught him how to discern. HLT2 began karakia as a team practice in her workplace, and the practice spread beyond her team in ways she had not planned. The coding decision turned on whether participants described the spiritual dimension as having its own agency before and through the relational and ancestral channels by which it moved.

The analytic surprise in this dimension was that spiritual authority appeared most visibly in church settings, as expected, but was carried most privately in health and governance settings, where institutional structures offered no formal recognition of it. Privacy did not diminish its reach. HLT1's morning karakia, practised before entering the clinical environment, eventually drew colleagues from other teams. HLT2's team karakia spread across the ministry through relational invitation rather than institutional programme. GOV2's attentiveness to *tohu* deepened over decades without any institutional framework to support it. Where such practices were absent, as ENT2 describes of ministers who had lost connection to the spiritual-cultural ground their role presupposed, the institutional authority they carried was hollowed out. For Te Hāhi Mihinare, that finding matters directly: mana-based authority may be constitutionally or procedurally recognised yet still fail in practice where those appointed to lead do not carry its spiritual ground.

Inherited spiritual covering is clearest in CHU4's account. His grandparents told him from childhood that he could not fall over, that if he fell, they all fell. His mother repeated it throughout his upbringing: "Express. Press your heart." He entered difficult institutional situations having already been formed by those teachings. During sustained conflict within his church community, marked by hostile meetings, personal attacks, and procedural manoeuvring, a senior kaumātua stood at a reconciliation gathering. He invoked whakapapa, named that what was being said would fall on mokopuna and grandchildren, drew the boundary, and turned to CHU4 and placed a covering over him. The hostility continued. Meetings worsened. Several who had stood with him died before the process concluded:

Because of that covering, I never took anything personally. They could call me names, but I thought: my uncle is here. He's the barrier between what you're saying and me. Which really kept me sane and kept me safe. At no point did I feel threatened. At no point did I feel, because [my uncle] was always there.

CHU4 describes the covering as an experienced reality operating through whakapapa. People swore at him and spat. He says he did not hear it, not in the sense of being unaware, but in the sense that the covering prevented it from reaching him. His wife experienced the same protection. They went through years of sustained institutional conflict, and at no point did either of them feel threatened. Internal church proceedings eventually provided a formal resolution. What sustained CHU4 across the years before that resolution drew partly on the church's formal mechanisms, counsel, prayer, pastoral care, but, in his account, the deeper sustaining force was the continuity of mana-based relationships enacted through obligation and presence over time.

Attentiveness to *mana atua* appears across governance, health, education, enterprise, and church accounts, but GOV2's *iwi* governance account shows the practice most directly. He says, "I've become more dependent on *tohu*." He does not describe *tohu* as a vague intuition or personal preference. He describes a disciplined attentiveness learned through his koro's teaching and tested over decades of decisions affecting

his iwi. Across decades of iwi governance work, he describes guidance arriving through this attentiveness when institutional processes could not carry the weight of what was being decided. The dependence is not passivity. It is cultivated receptiveness, a willingness to attend to what arrives rather than impose what one has already decided. This form of spiritual authority sits outside anything a governance manual could recognise, yet GOV2 treats it as central to the way he makes decisions affecting his iwi.

HLT2 describes her morning practice:

Every morning, we do karakia. It's supposed to be just my group, just my team that does karakia. But now we've got everyone across the country that want to come in. They come in on Teams or Zoom to participate.

What began as a team practice spread without any formal programme. Other floors began inviting them up. Her instruction to those who invited her team was consistent:

Whoever invites us, we normally say to them, well, you fellas lead the karakia and we're there to support.

She did not centralise the practice. She returned it to those who sought it, so that each group held its own mana-based authority rather than depending on hers. The practice moved through the ministry not because it was mandated but because people recognised in it something their institutional roles did not otherwise provide.

GOV4 spoke concretely about the same discipline. She had been describing a governance confrontation in which others had pressured her to remain quiet on a land decision. The teaching she reached for was one she had been given as a child:

What we've been taught from our people is that you are humble, but at the same time, you don't let people tremble over you. At the end of the day, if you know how to do things, there is an approach, and the approach is ensuring that we understand what is right and what is wrong. We cannot make wrong right.

The teaching carries spiritual force as well as ethical content. For GOV4, knowing what is right and refusing to legitimise what is not is a discipline transmitted through specific people and carrying authority because of who transmitted it and the ground on which they stood. ENT2, also a church member, is direct about what this attentiveness requires:

Our strength is our knowledge of the marae. When we bring in people to be our ministers that don't have that, or have come from very urban settings into our setting, and they can't provide that sort of leadership, the confidence in the church diminishes. They can barely do their pepeha. They make no sense when they talk Māori. And so the level of confidence in them becomes diminished. They can't understand when it's their time to be quiet, which is most of the time.

HLT1's account shows how the same discipline sustains itself inside a health institution that cannot formally recognise it. She begins each day with karakia before entering the clinical environment. The practice is carried privately. The hospital does not ask for it and does not provide space for it, yet its effects

become visible through conduct over time. The morning gathering she describes was constituted on the same logic:

It's been inclusive. We have our ways of doing things, but you're welcome to come. People that are like-minded, but maybe different cultures, have also started to come and want to learn, or even just sitting around having a kai and relating that way.

Colleagues who had initially kept their distance began approaching the group when death occurred in their teams. What began as a private discipline gradually became a relational resource within the organisation. The institution did not create this. HLT1 carried it in before the institution knew it was there, and over time the practice became embedded through accumulated trust rather than formal recognition.

GOV3 places her spiritual formation at the physical centre of papakāinga when she was young. The church sat at the middle. She learned how to conduct herself on the marae there, through childhood discipline, through the old people's singing, and through the accumulation of small repeated obligations that built, over time, a way of reading what was owed and what was coming. She carries that formation into governance decisions and into the marae she has rebuilt.

Collective spiritual practice within teams is most clearly described by EDU1. When the wānanga faced a housing crisis, the pou wairua went, without being asked, to stand at the end of a driveway and pray over a property offer. A week later it was accepted:

It wasn't just us. Our team were praying over it all the time. That's leadership displayed throughout our team.

EDU1 does not attribute the outcome to prayer as a mechanism. She identifies it as evidence that the spiritual practice had become collective, that the team carried it without being directed, and that this collective carrying was itself a form of leadership. The authority did not rest with EDU1 as the leader who initiated the practice. It rested with the team, who had absorbed it so thoroughly that they acted on it independently.

CHU2 describes the same attentiveness in the way she reads moments of institutional conflict. At the parish that had lived with division for nearly two decades, the question was not simply how to convene a meeting, but who could carry the spiritual authority required to reopen the relationship. Her own role as priest in charge gave her procedural standing, yet she recognised that the deeper authority required to move the community sat with a [senior leader] whose whakapapa connections reached into the rohe. Her decision to step back and place him at the front of the reconciliation process was therefore not only strategic. It was a judgement about where the spiritual covering for that moment actually lay:

That whanaungatanga, even though it was broken years beforehand, he walked us through that door. And since then, that marae has been thriving to date.

The spiritual dimension of that judgement is not incidental. CHU2 read the situation as one in which procedural authority alone would fail. What was required was authority carrying spiritual weight in a specific territorial and relational context, and she placed the person who held that weight at the front. Again, the

finding matters directly for Te Hāhi Mihinare: the exercise of mana-based authority within the church depends not only on office but on whether those present can recognise and yield to the spiritual ground a situation requires.

CHU5 described how attending a Tiriti wānanga gave language to her own position. The keynote speaker had described the events leading up to Te Tiriti and the place of faith within them. CHU5 reported her words:

We didn't give up our own. We took Jesus, and our faith, and put them together in our pocket, and they can actually reconcile together.

CHU5's response was immediate:

I thought that was a really beautiful way of reconciling different faiths, but also thinking about the relevance of our identity as Māori and as an Anglican in a really contemporary sense. It is about how we can be both, not at the expense of one or the other.

EDU3 describes a different form of coded holding. In an educational setting, he shared his testimony in te reo Māori in a way that did not collapse Christianity into te ao Māori, or set the two against each other as simple opposites. Instead, he used testimony to hold a distinction. Instead, he used the Christian form of testimony to keep the two registers distinct without collapsing one into the other. Christian faith named transformation and new life, while ngā atua Māori named dimensions of human life that had to remain in balance. EDU3 made the coding explicit: "I was, in my own coded way, reflecting those differences in the way that I shared my testimony." The setting mattered because the education institute gave him room to test that work in practice. EDU3 contrasted the creative freedom of the education institute, where karakia, scripture, hymns, te reo Māori, translated poetry, and non-faith participation could be tested in practice, with Anglican church settings where such experimentation would likely be treated as radical or sacrilegious. EDU3's coded testimony echoes the creative diplomacy ENT1 described in kōwhaiwhai, where manaia were carried in the negative space between pītau forms, visible to those who knew how to read the pattern. In both accounts, Māori meaning is not abandoned.⁹ In both accounts, Māori meaning is not abandoned. It remains present in forms the surrounding institution can tolerate, but not fully read.

The strain case in this dimension is ENT2's account of ministers appointed without the spiritual competence the role presupposes. The covering CHU4 received, the attentiveness GOV2 cultivated, and the karakia HLT1 carried privately are forms of spiritual authority sustained through habitual practice and relational formation. When the institution selects for formal qualifications it can assess rather than competencies the community recognises, the gap is visible in the moments where spiritual authority is most exposed:

⁹ Pītau refers here to curved or spiral forms used in kōwhaiwhai, the painted patterns often found on rafters and other architectural surfaces. Manaia refers to a Māori figure or motif. ENT1's point is that the manaia were not presented as obvious carved figures. They were carried in the "negative space" of the pattern: the shapes formed between and around the visible pītau lines. A viewer unfamiliar with the pattern might see decorative curves, while someone who knew how to read the work could see the manaia within it. ENT1 treats this as creative diplomacy: Māori presence remains in the church, but in a partly hidden form shaped by what the Christian setting would allow.

They can't conduct the tangi at the level we expect. They can barely do their pepeha. They make no sense when they talk Māori. And so the level of confidence in them becomes diminished. They can't understand when it's their time to be quiet, which is most of the time.

The first sentence carries the direct charge: a minister who cannot conduct the tangi at the level the community expects lacks the spiritual competence the role presupposes. The community recognises the gap and withdraws its confidence. The institution's appointment is valid; the mana the role was supposed to carry is not.

Table 5 gathers these accounts across sectors to show how spiritual authority is held and made operative in different institutional settings, and to set the inherited, disciplined, and collective forms alongside one another. It restates participants already discussed above; it does not introduce new accounts.

Table 5 Mana Atua: Spiritual Authority Across Sectors

Code	Sector	Form of Spiritual Authority	Institutional Condition Named	Analytic Implication
CHU4	Church	Inherited spiritual covering transmitted through whakapapa	Sustained institutional conflict; hostile meetings over years	Spiritual covering sustained the participant through prolonged institutional conflict.
GOV2	Governance	Cultivated receptiveness to tohu, deepening over decades	Governance decisions exceeding what institutional process could carry	Receptiveness to tohu informed judgement beyond formal institutional procedure.
HLT2	Health	Daily karakia extending beyond team through relational invitation	Government ministry; no formal provision for spiritual practice	Karakia extended through voluntary participation rather than formal institutional provision.
HLT1	Health	Private karakia before clinical work; morning gathering open to all	Hospital with no formal space for spiritual practice	Consistent spiritual practice gradually became a resource others sought during grief.
EDU1	Education	Collective spiritual practices; team acting without direction	Wānanga facing housing crisis	Spiritual practice accompanied collective action during a housing crisis.
CHU2	Church	Judgement about whose spiritual covering fits the moment	Parish divided for nearly twenty years	Relational and spiritual standing enabled movement where earlier intervention had failed.
CHU5	Church	Holding two traditions together without subordinating either	Institutional pressure toward singular framing	Māori and Christian commitments were held together without abandoning either.
ENT2	Enterprise	Ministers' authority dependent on carrying cultural-spiritual ground	Church leadership appointments lacking marae formation	Community confidence depended on formation that ministerial appointment did not itself ensure.

Note. Entries synthesise the participant accounts developed in section 4.4. The final column records the analysis of those accounts.

4.5 Mana Tūpuna: Ancestral Authority

Mana tūpuna names authority that arrives through ancestral transmission: commission received from tūpuna, obligation to carry what they invested, and the temporal horizon that ancestral accountability imposes on present decisions. Fifteen of the 21 participants spoke substantively about this dimension. In their accounts, three forms recurred: inherited commission, in which a specific elder charged the participant with a responsibility that shaped decades of subsequent leadership; intergenerational succession planning, in which participants built structures or developed people who would carry the work forward after them; and ancestral precedent as a guide to decision-making, in which participants drew on what tūpuna had faced and survived as evidence that present difficulty could also be met.

The accounts coded here overlap with those coded to the other three dimensions, and the reasons for their placement require explanation. CHU4's account of the kaumātua who stood to protect him at a reconciliation gathering could sit in mana atua because the covering was spiritual, or in mana tangata because the relationship was human. What places part of CHU4's kōrero here is that the kaumātua acted from ancestral commission, from the specific obligation whakapapa placed on him to protect his nephew in a context where mokopuna were named as those who would bear the consequences. EDU2's account of returning to the kura as its first graduate principal could sit in mana whenua because the return was to a specific place. What places it here is the temporal logic: a small number of people carry the lineage of the kura, and EDU2's first question on arrival was not about the present institution but about its next 40 years. HLT3's capital discipline could sit in mana whenua because it is shaped by a relationship to land. What places it here is that HLT3 draws on decades of the incorporation's operating history as ancestral precedent for how contemporary organisations should manage their resources.

This dimension shows how consistently participants worked to temporal horizons that exceeded the length of any institutional position they occupied. GOV2 described generations of deterioration requiring a cultural leadership wānanga spanning two years. EDU2 asked for a 40-year plan in his third week as tumuaki. ENT3 applied a 100-year decision horizon to iwi governance work. GOV5 framed belonging through a nineteenth-century saying that still governs his decisions in the present. CHU4 was charged at his consecration with a responsibility that projected nearly four decades forward. No institutional structure within which participants worked operated on these timescales. Commercial boards govern in cycles measured in years. Government ministries plan in three-year electoral terms. Even iwi trusts typically operate within strategic horizons of 5-15 years. The ancestral horizon participants described is not aspirational. It is the timescale on which they assess their decisions. The disjunction between institutional time and ancestral time is the structural condition shaping this dimension.

CHU4's account shows most clearly how a ministry vocation can be laid down across generations. At his consecration, the principal rangatira who attended presented a home communion set and said only that he must make sure he was at Waitangi in 2040. That instruction projected nearly four decades forward. CHU4 has been pondering it ever since. He now understands that the rangatira was charging him with the same commission the rangatira himself had received at a similar age and had devoted his life to carrying. The

commission was to live a ministry rooted in Waitangi, place, and people, one that would keep him accountable to whakapapa and history for the duration of his working life.

EDU2 holds the same logic at a different institutional scale. He is the first graduate of his kura to return as its principal. A small number of people carry the lineage that founded the kura. His own child attends the kura, and one of his mokopuna is also enrolled:

There are five of us who carry this lineage ... that whakapapa is why we're here doing this work.

Three weeks into the role, his first question about the kura's anniversary was not celebratory:

Where's our forty-year plan? We've just gone through forty years. How do we map out and project our next 40?

His answer runs through succession: developing staff who will still be there after he is gone. The kura's graduate profile does not list academic qualifications or NCEA levels. It names values. EDU2 wanted to formalise how those values are assessed, not because they are in doubt, but because taking them for granted is its own form of neglect. The ancestral commission he carries is not to maintain what was built. It is to ensure that what was built can reproduce itself across the next generation.

Intergenerational succession planning operates at iwi scale in GOV2's account. He described the historical condition his leadership responded to before naming the programme he helped build. His iwi had entered a long period of deterioration after a catastrophic nineteenth-century military defeat, compounded by colonisation. What was lost was not only economic and political capacity but cultural practices others could take for granted: oratory, kōrero, tikanga, and confidence in how to manaaki. Leaders in subsequent generations had to relearn what those practices looked like rather than receive them as a living inheritance:

[Our iwi] had gone through a 200 year period of utter deterioration and just flat out poverty: cultural poverty, economic poverty, political poverty. It's been a one hundred year free fall and then a 100 year clawing back of just some minor progress here and there.

He returned to his rūnanga to find that it had accumulated institutional standing while losing alignment with the hapū it existed to serve. His response was to rebuild forums across marae, kaumātua, and rangatahi groups, and to establish a cultural leadership wānanga taking emerging leaders through an eight-session programme over two years, moving between marae, going out to wāhi tapu and wāhi hirahira, and working through whakapapa and philosophy at the places to which those knowledges belonged:

[Programme name] is our cultural leadership wānanga. We have 25 young cultural adepts ... we bring them on to [the programme] four times a year, eight times over a 2 year period, and we take them through a process of learning. We move around marae, and so we learn about the hapū kōrero, the narrative of the area. Then we take them out on day two out to wāhi tapu, wāhi hirahira, and we go on to those sites and we talk about the histories of them. We learn about whakapapa.

The programme responds to more than a gap in succession planning. The tūpuna had built something. That inheritance had deteriorated. The leaders who could see the deterioration, and had the standing to act, carried the obligation to reverse it. This drove the move away from the shoulder tap, an

informal practice in which senior figures privately selected individuals they considered suitable and invited them into leadership roles without any open process. GOV2 does not condemn the practice. He argues that it worked only while cultural inheritance remained intact enough to sustain informal transmission. Once that inheritance thinned through urbanisation, language loss, and the erosion of intergenerational formation, the shoulder tap produced leaders appointed on relational trust alone without the tikanga grounding the role presupposed. Selection had become uncoupled from formation, and a practice that had once carried authority reliably now carried only its appearance. The wānanga exists because that inheritance can no longer be assumed. GOV2 stated the obligation plainly:

How can you lead your people if you don't love your people, you don't love your iwi, and you wouldn't do anything for your iwi to advance to a better place?

Mana tūpuna as a guide to decision-making is stated most precisely by HLT3:

When you face different challenges and obstacles that you have to overcome, when I think about a leadership role, you can look back to your tūpuna and look at their lives and say, well, if they can overcome it, I can.

Tūpuna provide evidence that difficulty has been met before and survived. HLT3 applies this not only to personal resilience but to institutional decision-making. His conservative capital structure, low borrowing, and continuous reinvestment all derive from the incorporation's decades of operating precedent. The tūpuna who built it managed resources across generations without the institutional arrangements contemporary governance takes for granted. Their success is, for HLT3, evidence that an intergenerational approach to capital management is not merely prudent but demonstrably possible. The ancestral precedent does not constrain his decisions. It expands the horizon within which he makes them: "You actually keep putting money back into the organisation. It's always going to be here."

ENT3 frames the same temporal obligation through the analytical kaupapa she carries into iwi governance work:

In 1840, we were better off than we are today. So in 2040, we wanna be better off than we are today. So the work has got a 15-year kind of time horizon for now, with a hundred years as part of the analysis. ... All of our enterprise should be here for a hundred years plus. We have to plan and think that way. Not short duration gratification.

The 100-year horizon is the measure against which she assesses whether a governance decision is right.

GOV5 connects territorial belonging directly to the conditions for intergenerational commitment. He is describing what draws whānau to marae gatherings:

When they come together, they know they belong. So they come in their droves, and they want to celebrate the essence of being. Otherwise, they would feel like they're anybody in the world. It certainly provides a sense of belonging. When people belong, they will commit.

For GOV5, belonging is the condition that produces commitment, and commitment sustained across generations is what makes institutional survival possible. People cannot commit to what they do not recognise as theirs.

ENT1 locates his business within a longer obligation. He describes what he is trying to protect as the continuity of *kōrero*, a thread that must be reapplied to each generation's circumstances rather than preserved unchanged. His business is the instrument through which that reapplication happens. It uses a Māori lens, reinvests revenue into a carving school and pro bono work rather than extracting dividends, and treats commerce as something that must be reculturalised rather than simply entered. When ENT1 says the business tries to elevate the sophistication of his people, he is not describing generic self-improvement. He is pointing to what his *tūpuna* had already achieved: a philosophical and intellectual tradition finely tuned to the world, able to regulate relationships and move whole societies through balance, obligation, and meaning. Colonial and public discourse have often flattened that inheritance into a warrior-culture caricature or a deficit account of Māori politics. ENT1 refuses that framing. For him, *mana tuku iho* requires the business to demonstrate, in each piece of work, the depth, ingenuity, and continuing force of inherited Māori knowledge:

The continuity of *kōrero* needs to be re-applied through generations ... everything we do elevates the sophistication of our people, that's their *mana tuku iho*.

The strain case in this dimension is ENT2's account of ministers who arrive without the competence their ancestral commission presupposes:

Some new ministers can barely do their *pepeha*. They make no sense when they talk Māori. And so the level of confidence in them becomes diminished. We're slowly divorcing ourselves from it. And it will be the end of the church if the leadership does not pick it up.

ENT2 describes what happens when the link between inherited ground and institutional role is severed. The minister holds the appointment. The ordination is valid in ecclesiastical terms. But the community's recognition, which is the ground on which *mana*-based authority rests, does not follow. EDU3, reflecting on what sovereign leadership looked like in practice, said:

How does sovereignty outwork itself in my leadership? Through the confidence I have and the *mana* that I have been given, by family, by the communities I represent and by God, to push forward on *kaupapa*. That is a confidence in my leadership ability that sits outside of a government structure or an organisational structure. I am able to assert leadership on behalf of others because through hard work and through the acknowledgment of others, and the lifting up of myself from others, I've been given the capacity and stage in order to lead.

Ancestral standing grounds the authority. Competence determines how far it can reach. HLT2, when asked directly where she understood the authority for *karakia* practice to come from, was brief: "Because it's innate in us." CHU5, reflecting on the difference between *mana* as she understood it and the Western leadership models she had encountered in governance settings, drew the key distinction:

It's not something you own. And everything that goes with it, versus a Western frame of what that might look like, where you do this to get to that, and most of it turns on power and money.

Authority carried as obligation cannot be owned because it was never the individual's to claim. It was transmitted, and the obligation accompanying it is to transmit it further. Where that obligation is honoured, in EDU2's succession planning, GOV2's cultural leadership wānanga, and ENT1's reinvestment in the carving school, authority strengthens across generations. Where it is severed, as ENT2 describes, the institution continues to function, but the authority it claims no longer reaches the people it is supposed to serve.

Table 6 gathers these accounts across sectors to show how ancestral commission, succession, and ancestral precedent ground authority across institutional settings whose horizons are typically shorter than the obligations participants carry. It restates participants already discussed above; it does not introduce new accounts.

Table 6 Mana Tūpuna: Ancestral Authority Across Sectors

Code	Sector	Form of Ancestral Authority	Institutional Condition Named	Analytic Implication
CHU4	Church	Inherited commission: 40-year charge at consecration; childhood formation by grandparents and mother	Sustained institutional conflict; reconciliation process extending over a decade	An inherited commission made ministry answerable to Waitangi, place, people, and a long horizon.
EDU2	Education	Intergenerational succession: first graduate returning as principal; five carriers of the lineage	Kura's 40 th anniversary; no existing forty-year forward plan	Whakapapa connected present leadership to succession and planning across generations.
GOV2	Governance	Intergenerational succession: rebuilding after 200-year deterioration	Rūnanga operating independently of hapū; no succession strategy	Responsibility to iwi required relational commitment as well as institutional leadership.
HLT3	Health	Ancestral precedent: Incorporation history as decision guide	Aged care governance requiring long-term capital discipline	Ancestral precedent informed responses to present challenges and long-term capital obligations.
ENT3	Enterprise	Analytical kaupapa: hundred-year decision horizon	Commercial board accountability operating in short cycles	Enterprise was judged against a century-long horizon rather than immediate gratification.
ENT1	Enterprise	Continuity of kōrero through generations; Mana tuku iho as living obligation	Creative enterprise carrying mātauranga Māori	Each generation carried responsibility for renewing and transmitting inherited kōrero.
ENT2	Enterprise	Selection/Formation Disconnection: office without ancestral ground	Church appointment processes	Appointment did not ensure the formation on which community confidence depended.

Note. Entries synthesise the participant accounts developed in section 4.5. The final column records the analysis of those accounts.

4.6 What the Accounts Share Across Sectors

Read alongside one another, the accounts show three cross-sector features. The strain cases make each feature visible because they show mana-based authority meeting institutional conditions it could not absorb. There were four formal strain cases, one at the close of each mana-dimension section: CHU1 in mana tangata, ENT3 in mana whenua, and ENT2 in both mana atua and mana tūpuna. They did not provide the only evidence for the mechanisms identified here. They provided the clearest diagnostic points. Once those mechanisms were identified, I checked them against the wider corpus.

Not every participant evidenced every mechanism, and the mechanisms did not operate identically across sectors. The wider accounts nevertheless confirm that the problems named in the strain cases were not isolated episodes. Instrumental deployment, structural exclusion, and selection/formation disconnection recurred across the material as institutional ways of narrowing, redirecting, or failing to receive the authority participants described. The strain cases therefore operate as diagnostic examples within a broader cross-sector pattern, not as the sole evidence on which the discussion rests.

The leadership roles participants held differed in the obligations they carried, and those obligations affected which dimensions of mana came most clearly to the fore. Responsibilities for land, place, and collective assets drew particular attention to mana whenua. GOV2 described defending Ngāti Whātua rohe as a matter of mandate and integrity, while GOV4 carried a kaumātua instruction concerning land into present decision-making. Spiritual and pastoral obligations brought mana atua forward. CHU4 described spiritual covering through whakapapa during sustained church conflict, while participants in governance and health described karakia and attentiveness to tohu within formal systems that provided limited channels for those practices. Custodianship and succession brought mana tūpuna forward. ENT1 described responsibility for the source, integrity, and transmission of mātauranga, while CHU4 described the long commission received at consecration. Where leadership depended on community trust and service, mana tangata carried particular weight. GOV1 drew on standing sustained through years of relationship, and CHU1 described relational authority operating beneath formal office. These dimensions overlapped; each account shows how the obligations of a role called particular forms of authority into action.

The institutional setting affected what the leader could do with that authority. Health participants described spiritual and whānau obligations carried through informal relationships where service arrangements offered no equivalent decision channel. Enterprise participants described territorial and custodial obligations that could be acknowledged while commercial rules retained final control. Within Te Hāhi Mihinare, leaders carried spiritual, ancestral, and relational obligations through a church whose financial, appointment, and governing arrangements could prevent that authority from becoming binding. The friction arose where the obligation attached to the role exceeded what the institution's ordinary channels allowed the leader to decide or change.

The importance of mana-based authority became most visible where institutional procedures alone could not discharge the obligations attached to the role. Participants described crisis action dependent on accumulated trust, inherited knowledge that had to be carried accurately and passed on responsibly, language

and identity transmitted across generations, and care shaped by whānau relationships that standard service arrangements could not themselves supply. Those obligations were already present in the work. Where institutions relied upon them but withheld operative authority or resources, Māori leaders had to supply the missing connection themselves. Recognition became consequential at the point where it either changed the decisions the leader could govern or left the burden with the leader.

The first shared feature is that participants described authority as grounded in something that preceded the roles they held. GOV1's sense of who-ness was formed before his appointment. CHU4's custodial commission arrived at consecration. HLT2 carried out of a single permissive organisation something that survived every subsequent institutional change. ENT4 traced his grounding through many generations located across journeys around the motu. GOV3's governance structure derived from kaumātua instruction before any corporate convention applied. EDU1's kaupapa was constituted before the institution that now houses it. ENT1's internal measure — whether the work was oriented correctly towards integrity and responsibility to those who had given what was being carried — preceded any client relationship. This pattern held across all five sectors. The institution was the site, not the source.

The strain appears most clearly where that prior grounding was absent or severed. In those cases, institutional authority did not merely weaken. It changed in kind. ENT2 described ministers who could not carry their pepeha, and the community's confidence in the institution diminished. GOV2 described a rūnanga that had accumulated institutional standing while losing alignment with the hapū it existed to serve. CHU6 described a governance table where her voice was overridden without engagement. In each case, the institutional form continued to function. Meetings were held. Decisions were made. Ministers were appointed. But the authority those forms were supposed to carry was no longer recognised by the communities they served. Institutional authority without prior grounding produces a specific kind of damage: it continues to exercise power after the mana that should legitimate it has withdrawn.

The second shared feature is that participants held authority across time in different ways, and those ways varied by sector. In iwi governance, GOV2 and GOV3 embedded obligations in forums, leadership wānanga, and governance structures derived from kaumātua instruction. They collectivised the labour of sustaining authority. In health and enterprise, HLT1, HLT2, and ENT1 carried obligations through practices that were largely individual: morning karakia, relational accumulation across decades, the discipline of refusal, and track records that widened the space within which tikanga-based practice could operate. In education, EDU1 distributed obligation across the team through the kaupapa itself, deliberately forming the teachers it would later employ. In the church, CHU4 endured years of conflict held by spiritual covering placed in relationship; CHU2 practised strategic patience within hierarchy; and CHU5 left when continued presence required too much compromise.

CHU1's strain case complicates that pattern. His account of tikanga language deployed coercively in church governance shows that the way leaders hold authority is vulnerable to the incentives created by institutional design. When participants in governance bodies shifted between tikanga and procedural registers according to which would secure the outcome they wanted, they damaged the relational trust on which mana-based authority depends. The problem is not that tikanga and institutional procedure are incompatible. CHU2

showed that they can work together when the institutional setting has developed the capacity to receive tikanga-based authority. The problem is that an institution whose decision-making power sits in one register creates incentives for participants to deploy tikanga language instrumentally. CHU1 located this most clearly in financial structures outside Te Pouhere. Where the money sits outside the constitutional reach of tikanga authority, tikanga language can be made to carry pressure without carrying power. The coercion CHU1 describes is the product of institutional design, not individual failure alone.

The instrumental pattern was not confined to the denominational case. HLT2 described Māori values spreading through a government ministry through relational invitation, but within a political environment that simultaneously threatened Māori-named programmes. Tikanga-informed practice remained personally carried rather than institutionally governed. CHU6 described years in which organisational values framed in tikanga terms remained tokenistic until sustained internal pressure produced change. EDU3 described creative freedom within an education institution constituted with permission to experiment, and contrasted this with the Anglican setting, where no such permission existed and where tikanga operated as negotiated adaptation rather than structural transformation. Across these accounts, tikanga was organisationally visible without being organisationally binding.

ENT3's strain case identifies a different kind of institutional limit. The marae representatives who requested board positions to protect mana whenua interests were not deploying tikanga instrumentally. Their claim was genuine, and the territorial authority they carried was real. ENT3's refusal to place them on the commercial board was also legitimate. Fiduciary obligations and territorial representation occupy incompatible positions within that institutional form. The strain does not arise because either party is wrong. It arises because the institutional architecture, designed within settler legal frameworks, lacks a channel through which territorial mandate can reach commercial governance without compromising either. ENT3 names this when she asks what mana whenua would have done 200 years ago. The present institutional form does not answer that question. It produces a situation in which legitimate authority arrives at a wall. This strain case matters across sectors because it names a structural limit affecting every setting in which mana-based authority encounters institutional forms designed on non-Indigenous terms. The church faces the same problem when tikanga authority encounters governance structures whose financial levers sit outside its constitutional reach.

Structural exclusion was the most widely evidenced mechanism in the data. CHU1 described financial control sitting outside the constitutional framework that recognised tikanga leadership. CHU2 described years of deferring to hierarchical authority before her appointment as archdeacon gave her the positional standing to act on tikanga-grounded convictions. CHU6 described a governance table on which non-Māori board voices structurally outweighed her Māori knowledge, so that what she knew was the right course of action was overwhelmed by voices that could not make sense of a te ao Māori perspective. CHU4 endured years of sustained institutional conflict without governance protection. EDU3 described holding dual spiritual registers together without institutional acknowledgement of either. HLT1 carried spiritual practice privately because no formal institutional pathway existed through which it could reach clinical

governance. Across these accounts, Māori authority was present in the institution but could not determine what happened where decisions became binding.

ENT2's strain cases in mana atua and mana tūpuna identify a third mechanism, and it carries the broadest implications. Ministers who arrive without the spiritual-cultural and ancestral competencies their role presupposes represent a failure not of individual formation alone but of institutional selection. The church appoints through processes that do not assess the competencies on which authority in Māori settings depends. The covering CHU4 received, the attentiveness to tohu GOV2 cultivated, and the karakia HLT1 carried privately are forms of spiritual authority sustained through formation that cannot be created by short courses or evaluated through ordination interviews alone. When the institution treats these competencies as supplementary rather than foundational, it produces leaders whose institutional authority is valid but whose mana-based authority is absent. The community recognises the gap and withdraws its confidence.

This mechanism operates wherever institutional selection privileges qualifications the institution can assess over competencies the community recognises. It was not specific to the church. CHU6 described a pou tikanga appointed to carry tikanga authority within a Māori social services organisation who lacked the relational formation and community-recognised standing the role presupposed. Staff did not look to him, and the CEO could not use the role to reconcile the value tensions the organisation faced. CHU3 described ministers deployed into demanding community roles without the sustained relational, spiritual, and practical support those roles required, so that the institution's investment in its own people fell short of what the work demanded. EDU2 described a kura in which no succession plan existed and the tension between state-mandated teacher registration standards and Māori formation criteria remained institutionally unresolved. GOV2 described shoulder-tap appointments within rūnanga that worked only while cultural inheritance was intact enough to sustain informal transmission and failed visibly once that inheritance had thinned.

The third shared feature is that participants described their authority as taking the form each institutional setting could receive. HLT2's karakia moved through a government ministry by relational invitation rather than announcement or policy. ENT4 embedded Indigenous values in founding documents and left behind a funded strategy. EDU1 described a slower form of reception, in which the kaupapa forms students and emerging leaders who may later become the staff able to carry it from within. CHU1 described a limit at the point of control: where financial power sat outside Te Pouhere, tikanga authority could be recognised without determining what became possible. CHU2 waited for the institutional standing that would allow movement. ENT1 refused work when commercial conditions could not receive what the work was for. EDU3 worked within an institution constituted with explicit permission to experiment and contrasted this with the Anglican setting, where no such permission existed. GOV5's gravedigger required no formal governance channel; his authority moved within the community itself. Across these accounts, the same whakapapa ground took different institutional forms depending on the conditions within which participants worked.

Read together, the strain cases identify three mechanisms through which mana-based authority is damaged or obstructed inside institutions. Instrumental deployment occurs where institutional incentives encourage people to use tikanga language as a tactical resource rather than as an expression of relational

obligation. Structural exclusion occurs where institutions designed on non-Indigenous terms lack channels through which mana-based authority can reach the decisions it should govern. Selection/formation disconnection occurs where recruitment, selection, and training are severed from whakapapa-grounded formation, so that institutions privilege assessable qualifications over the relational, spiritual, and ancestral competencies on which mana-based authority depends. These are not personal failures. They are institutional conditions under which the mana dimensions encounter requirements they cannot absorb.

Participants did not respond to these conditions by abandoning the ground they carried. GOV2 rebuilt forums. ENT3 held the boundary. CHU4 endured. CHU2 waited. HLT1 carried karakia privately. CHU5 left. The range of responses is itself evidence of what the strain cases reveal. When mana-based authority meets institutional conditions it cannot change, the leader absorbs the cost. The institution does not.

For the thesis as a whole, this is the point at which the cross-sector material answers the third research question most directly. The issue for Te Hāhi Mihinare is not whether mana-based authority is present in principle. It is whether the church's structures can receive, carry, and act on it without instrumentalising it, excluding it from operative decisions, or severing office from the whakapapa-grounded formation on which recognition depends. Table 7 gathers the recurring institutional conditions across sectors and the responses participants described, so the cross-sector pattern developed in this section can be read at a glance. It draws together accounts already discussed above and integrates the four strain cases within the conditions to which each speaks.

Table 7 Recurring Institutional Conditions and Participant Responses Across Sectors

Institutional Condition	Governance	Enterprise	Education	Health	Church
Authority source unrecognised by institutional structure	GOV2 rebuilt forums to realign rūnanga with hapū mandate	ENT1 refused competitive tendering that required detaching knowledge from its relational source	EDU1 held tika and pono against funder pressure to quantify conversion	HLT1 carried karakia privately before clinical work for 26 years	CHU1 worked relationally where financial control sat outside tikanga structures
Institutional time horizon shorter than ancestral obligation	GOV2 built two-year cultural leadership wānanga; GOV5 governed through 1846 ancestral words	ENT3 applied hundred-year decision horizon to commercial governance; ENT4 built institutional architecture designed to outlast him	EDU2 asked for 40-year plan in third week	HLT3 modelled capital discipline on [organisation's] 60-70 year history	CHU4 received 40-year commission at consecration
Tikanga and institutional procedure pulling in different directions	GOV3 maintained separation between cultural mandate and commercial function under kaumātua instruction	ENT3 declined marae board representation; redirected territorial claims to tono rūpū	EDU2 chose mana-enhancing response over institutional standards in a difficult staffing matter	HLT2 protected karakia and pōwhiri through relational trust without formal provision	CHU2 waited before institutional standing permitted movement; CHU6 was overridden at board level
Succession dependent on relational formation rather than institutional appointment	GOV2 established Te Matakahi; GOV5 placed mokopuna alongside emerging leaders	ENT1 maintained apprenticeship in carving school alongside commercial work	EDU1 formed teachers the wānanga would later employ; EDU2 developed staff for forty-year succession	HLT1 mentored incoming nurses through decades of consistent practice	CHU3 forwarded governance training to young staff; placed rangatahi on marae governance board
Institutional authority disconnected from mana-based grounding	GOV2 found rūnanga operating as its own empire, disconnected from hapū	ENT2 described ministers who could not carry pepeha or speak te reo	EDU3 used a Christian testimony form to hold Māori and Christian registers together in a setting that allowed such work	HLT2 described government signals that made Māori-named programmes institutionally conditional	CHU5 left roles that used her as tick-box exercise; CHU6 gave up at board level

Note. The table consolidates the institutional conditions already discussed across sections 4.2 to 4.6. It does not introduce additional participants. Each cell names what a participant in that sector said about that institutional condition, drawing on the formal strain cases (CHU1, ENT3, and ENT2 in mana atua and mana tūpuna) and the wider participant accounts presented above. Column headers identify sectors; row labels identify recurring institutional conditions.

4.7 Conclusion

Across the five sectors, participants carried authority grounded in whakapapa, tikanga, whenua, spiritual obligation, and relationships that preceded their institutional roles. The recurring constraint arose when institutions drew upon that authority while keeping resources, appointments, and binding decisions under rules that did not receive it. The three mechanisms identified through the analysis—instrumental deployment, structural exclusion, and selection/formation disconnection—appeared with different weight across the sectors. The strain cases made them especially clear; the wider accounts established their reach.

In Te Hāhi Mihinare, participants described sustained pastoral and spiritual responsibilities without the institutional resources, protection, or authority required to carry them. Some withdrew or declined further roles while remaining committed to the kaupapa. Across the sectors, leaders often supplied relational repair, crisis response, translation, or cultural work that institutional arrangements did not provide for. The findings therefore locate the cost of incomplete reception with the people on whom institutions depend. Chapter 5 examines how that cost arises from the institutional arrangements themselves.

Chapter 5: Discussion

5.1 Analytical Architecture

The participant accounts distinguish authority already grounded in whakapapa, the work required to sustain it, and the institutional arrangements that determine whether it can govern. Chapter 4 showed these concerns across different settings. This chapter develops them along the mana *tuku iho* → mana *motuhake* axis and explains the institutional constraints that separate acknowledged authority from authority able to determine decisions.

Recognition names an institution's acknowledgement of mana-based authority through constitution, language, ritual, representation, or policy. Reception requires changes to the channels through which decisions bind, people are appointed, resources are controlled, and accountability is enforced so that the authority can govern on its own terms. The distinction asks whose adaptation is required. When Māori leaders must translate whakapapa-grounded authority into rules settled elsewhere, recognition has left operative control unchanged. When those rules change so that the authority itself can determine decisions, the institution has begun to receive it. The three mechanisms: instrumental deployment, structural exclusion, and selection/formation disconnection, identify where that change is withheld. Sections 5.3.1–5.3.3 develop their operation through participant evidence.

Table 8 sets out the axis between mana *tuku iho* and mana *motuhake* and the terms that mark its endpoints.

Table 8 The Mana Tuku Iho → Mana Motuhake Axis

Register	Key Question	Grounding	Institutional Role
Mana tuku iho	Where does this authority come from, and what constitutes it?	Authority already constituted through whakapapa before institutional encounter begins, grounded in four interconnected dimensions: mana atua (spiritually delegated), mana tūpuna (ancestrally transmitted and custodially held), mana whenua (territorially and relationally grounded), mana tangata (collectively recognised through sustained human relationships).	The institution does not create this authority. At most it provides a site for its expression.
Relational and spiritual labour	What must be done to hold it rightly across time?	Authority sustained through ongoing spiritual discipline, relational labour, and ethical practice. Operates on intergenerational timescales (40–200 years in participant accounts) that institutional planning cycles (3–5 years) cannot accommodate.	Institutions either sustain or damage this labour. Where unsupported, the cost falls on those who carry the authority.
Mana motuhake	What can it become in this institutional setting, and has the institution reorganised so that authority governs on its own terms?	Authority that is self-determining: realised on terms set by its relational integrity rather than terms imposed by the institution. Requires institutional reorganisation of decision-making, resource allocation, accountability, and conflict resolution so that authority governs without translation.	The evaluative standard: whether the institution has constituted itself around the authority it claims to hold.

5.2 Mana Tuku Iho

The movement from mana tuku iho to mana motuhake rests on a prior claim about how authority is carried through time. Participants entered institutional life with authority already bound to whakapapa, place, and obligations that had to be carried rightly. The task here is to explain how that authority remains socially available across generations, so that what is inherited is not merely descent from a named ancestor but a living ground that continues to organise present conduct. Whakapapa, ancestral leadership, and pūmahara are necessary to that explanation.

In their study of Ngāti Hine, Kelly and Nicholson (2022) describe ancestral leadership as remaining active through descendants, places, carvings, oral histories, and acts of remembrance. The eponymous ancestor Hineāmaru is not merely a revered figure lodged in the past. Her descendants speak with her, to the point that Kelly and Nicholson (2022) can say she is being interviewed through them. Place is central to that continuity. Places carry leadership legacies, require ongoing maintenance, and hold genealogies of leadership available to future generations. Inherited authority remains live because descendants continue to inhabit, remember, and renew the places through which it is carried.

Wolfgramm et al. (2022) name the mnemonic mechanism through which this continuity persists. Pūmahara describes a generative collective memory code rather than a storehouse of recollection. It is collective memory reinforced through whakapapa, with leadership identities enacted through rituals, ceremonies, values, aspirations, and cultural forms that keep affiliation and belonging active in the present. Pūmahara explains how mana-based authority can continue to direct recognition and conduct long after the original actors have passed.

Kawharu et al. (2017) make that continuity concrete through Te Arawa. Tama te Kapua leads the people from Hawaiki, but not as a solitary leader. Tama stands as rangatira with Hei as kaumātua, Ngātoroirangi as tohunga and navigator, his sons Tūhoromātākaka and Kahu sailing and managing the waka, and younger kin such as Īhenga and Hātupatu later extending settlement in the new land. The narrative preserves more than esteem attached to an ancestor. It preserves a patterned distribution of authority: rangatira do not act alone, tohunga connect movement to specialised knowledge, kaumātua hold continuity and measure, and younger kin carry expansion forward.

Webber and O'Connor (2022) apply the Nukutawhiti narrative of Ngātokimatawhaorua to similar effect. Karakia stirs the weather and sets the waka in motion; taniwha accompaniment and atua support carry the voyage; the tohunga Pātara is called when the taniwha become trapped; karakia to Tāne and Tangaroa secure landing at Te Hokianga. The authority preserved is genealogical, invoked, assisted, and carried forward through descendants. In Wolfgramm et al.'s (2022) terms, this is pūmahara at work: the voyage remains active because it continues to code what authority looks like, how it acts, and with whom.

The participant accounts extend this literature. Kelly and Nicholson (2022) describe ancestral presence as sustained through descendant remembrance; GOV5's account of the chief gravedigger shows that pūmahara also carries authority that institutional calendars have stopped tracking. Kawharu et al. (2017) foreground distributed leadership across ancestral voyages; ENT1's custodial fidelity to kōrero he would

pass on without authoring makes that distribution contemporary and moral rather than only historical and narrative. Webber and O'Connor (2022) describe whakapapa as stories of survival; EDU2's request for a 40-year plan in his third week as tumuaki, and ENT3's 100-year horizon for iwi governance, show pūmahara working forward as accountability to those not yet present.

Organisational scholarship usually treats forward time as an institutional accomplishment. Strategic planning operates on 3-5 year cycles, governance reporting on annual ones, and budget authorisation on still shorter intervals (Hatch & Cunliffe, 2013). Even scholarship that pushes against short-termism, such as Slawinski and Bansal's (2015) work on strategic temporal work and Reinecke and Ansari's (2015) analysis of how organisations construct time, locates the longer horizon inside the firm's own planning practice. Pūmahara works on a different basis. EDU2's 40-year plan and ENT3's 100-year horizon were not extensions of a planning cycle. They were obligations to ancestors and successors that the institutions concerned had no instrument to register, no committee to receive, and no review point at which to assess them.

The temporal mismatch matters because it is not a calibration error. An institution can extend its planning horizon by another decade without changing the basis on which time is owed. The literature identifies pūmahara as collective memory. The findings show it operating as forward commitment whose claims the institution was not built to hold. The reason is structural. Institutions allocate authority through fixed-term office, distribute accountability through reporting cycles tied to financial years, and renew membership through electoral or appointive intervals that close one horizon before the next opens. A 40-year plan or a 100-year horizon does not merely lengthen those instruments. It addresses parties the instruments cannot name: ancestors who cannot be polled, successors who cannot yet vote, and a whakapapa line whose continuity does not appear as a stakeholder category. EDU2 and ENT3 were not asking the board to plan further ahead. They were registering an accountability for which the board had no register.

In this thesis, *mana tuku iho* refers to that already constituted authority: handed down through genealogical relations, sustained through pūmahara, renewed in descendant relation, and judged by obligations that exceed the institution. It does not refer to symbolic belonging or ancestry in a thin cultural sense. It refers to authority whose source lies outside the institution and whose legitimacy does not begin at appointment. *Mana motuhake* names the realised condition in which authority already carried through *mana tuku iho* becomes operative on its own terms in present institutional life. It does not name a second source of authority. It marks the point at which mana-based authority is no longer merely acknowledged, borrowed, or relied upon, but can organise decision, accountability, and direction from within.

Western organisational thought has typically located authority either in office or in the person who occupies it. Weber's (1978) typology arranges legitimate domination under legal-rational, traditional, and charismatic forms, each of which traces authority to grounds the institution itself can name. French and Raven's (1959) bases of social power, and later structural treatments by Pfeffer (1981) and by Clegg et al. (2006), multiply the recognised forms of power but still frame them as organisational, running through positions, dependencies, control over resources, and institutionally recognised attributes. *Mana motuhake* does not fit those bases. It does not arise from delegated office, informal influence within the institution, or

leader charisma. It arises from a relational order constituted before the institution speaks and remains operative whether or not the institution acknowledges it. The leader is not the source. The leader is the point at which mana already carried becomes operative inside the institutional setting.

A reading of mana atua specific to the Māori Christian participants in this study requires clarification, because it cuts across the wider Māori literature and because the chapter's analysis depends on it. Marsden's (1992) formulation, in which mana is delegated through the atua, remains central to the thesis's conceptual frame. However, the Māori Christian participants in this study did not describe mana atua as involving a plurality of atua alongside the Christian God. They narrated it through God. They did not describe a theology that displaced whakapapa. They described spiritual authority as singularised through God while remaining whakapapa-grounded in its mode of transmission. Participants could speak without contradiction of God as creator, ordination as apostolic continuity, and authority as inherited through rangatira, kaumātua, whānau, and iwi. Whakapapa functioned as the relational and genealogical order through which Christian authority became historically located, collectively recognised, and morally binding.

The evidence for this reading is empirical, textual, and interpretive. CHU4 described his commission as spiritually sourced in both registers at once: apostolically delegated through the church's ordination rite and whakapapa-grounded through the rangatira who conferred it. He stated directly that the two had not required reconciliation because they had not been placed in opposition. EDU3 described the active integration of Christian transcendence with Māori cosmological balance held in te reo Māori and in relational registers. CHU2 read institutional reconciliation through whakapapa-located spiritual authority rather than through office alone. This reading does not rest on the absence of conflict in the accounts. It draws on what participants described positively, on the denomination's liturgical vocabulary, and on Mahuika's (1992) account of how Māori clergy reconciled inherited Māori understandings with the gospel.

The church's liturgical self-understanding carries the same integration. The affirmation of faith in *He Karakia Mihinare o Aotearoa / A New Zealand Prayer Book* addresses the Christian God directly as te Atua tapu while attributing to God the qualities of mana, ihi, wehi, mauri, and ora (Anglican Church in Aotearoa, New Zealand and Polynesia, 1989). Māori cosmological categories are therefore the medium through which Christian theological authority is confessed. Mahuika's (1992) claim that Māori clergy were able to reconcile inherited Māori understandings with the Gospel points to the same process historically. Mana atua in Māori Anglican experience is Christian in source, Māori in its categories of reception, and whakapapa-grounded in its lines of transmission. I read the affirmation here in its te reo form because the Māori theological vocabulary at issue appears there and does not reappear in the English translation.¹⁰ Across the five sectors,

¹⁰ An affirmation of faith from *He Karakia Mihinare o Aotearoa / A New Zealand Prayer Book* (Anglican Church in Aotearoa, New Zealand and Polynesia, 1989, p. 481) reads:

Ko koe, e te Atua tapu, te tino Atua,
Nōu te mana, te ihi, te wehi.
Nōu te ao, te mauri, te ora.
Nāu te katoa, i te rangi, i te whenua.
Ko koe tonu te Atua.

Ko koe te māramatanga o te ao,

participants described mana *tuku iho* through the four dimensions named in Section 5.1, but the dimensions did not appear as separate categories. They appeared in combination, with one or another more prominent depending on context. HLT1's standing in nursing accumulated through sustained relational care, but the trust colleagues placed in her at moments of loss was also recognition of someone whose presence carried whakapapa and tūpuna into the ward. GOV5's chief gravedigger held mana tangata through community recognition and mana whenua through custodial relation to the urupā, neither of which the governance calendar tracked. ENT4's return to his grandmother's papakāinga reconnected him to whakapapa, te reo, and whenua at once, and that reconnection travelled with him through later corporate roles because the four dimensions were not detachable from one another.

These cases share a pattern across religious, governance, education, enterprise, and health settings: the source and accountability of leadership exceeded role description in every direction. The source lay in relations the institution did not constitute. The accountability ran to communities the institution did not convene. The dimensions appeared together because the authority they describe is not divisible into institutional and non-institutional components. Authority constituted in this way cannot be legitimised by an institution because the institution is not the source that authorises it. A rangatira does not hold mana as a competency alone. They carry it on behalf of those who delegated it and under the judgement of those who assess whether they have carried it faithfully. ENT1 described his responsibility for the fidelity and accuracy of kōrero that came from tūpuna and would be passed on, making him custodian rather than author. EDU2 treated his return to the kura not as personal achievement but as carrying a lineage sustained by five whānau across generations, with his obligation running to succession rather than to a planning cycle. When an institution appoints such a person to a role, it gains the benefit of their capacity. It does not acquire the source of their authority, because that source lies outside the institution's order of legitimacy.

Legitimacy theory in organisational scholarship distinguishes the conferral of legitimacy from its operational basis. Suchman's (1995) typology, used in the next section, treats legitimacy as a property that audiences grant to organisations. Earlier institutional work by Selznick (1957) had already noted that an

I tīaho rā koe i roto i te pōuri,
Kia puta ake tāu Tama ko Īhu Karaiti
Hei pou tokomanawa mō te ao.
Ko koe tonu te Atua.

Ko koe te Wairua Tapu,
Ko koe taku rākau,
Ko koe taku tokotoko,
Ko koe taku oranga ngākau ē,
Ko koe tonu rā te Atua. Korōria ki a koe.

The authorised English facing page renders the opening stanza as "You, O God, are supreme and holy. You create our world and give us life. Your purpose overarches everything we do" (Anglican Church in Aotearoa, New Zealand and Polynesia, 1989, p. 481). The English translation does not carry the Māori theological vocabulary of mana, ihi, wehi, mauri, and ora. Those categories appear only in the te reo text, addressed directly to te Atua tapu. The affirmation therefore does not transliterate a pre-existing English theology into Māori. It holds specifically Māori theological content in te reo that the English text does not replicate, and locates that content within the denomination's authorised worship.

organisation can be legally constituted without being morally authorised by those it claims to serve, and Deephouse and Suchman (2008) develop the same distinction at field level. Lukes's (2005) third dimension of power is relevant here: the most consequential exercise of power is not coercion or agenda setting but the capacity to define what counts as legitimate in the first place. The institutions in this study confer legitimacy through appointment, audit, and reporting. Mana-based authority is not conferred by those mechanisms and is not contingent on them. When an institution treats appointment as the point where legitimacy begins, it has not extended legitimacy to a person carrying mana. It has confined the authority that person already carries inside a frame that does not register its source.

In a bureaucratic structure, authority attaches to position, moves through formal reporting lines, and stays with the office when its occupant leaves (Hatch & Cunliffe, 2013). Mana-based authority differs. An institution may appoint a person who carries mana and place them within its hierarchy, but it cannot generate mana *tuku iho* or absorb the communities and ancestral relations from which that authority is drawn. Nor does mana fit neatly within Weber's (1978) traditional or charismatic categories. Mana is spiritually delegated, ancestrally grounded, relationally sustained, and collectively judged. Across the cases in this study, institutions continued to function on their own logics while mana-based authority moved on another basis. The authority participants described did not fail because institutions were poorly run. It rested on premises those institutional forms did not recognise or know how to carry.

The contrast is clear when read against the main organisational accounts of power. Lukes (2005) describes power as exercised in decision, in non-decision, and in the shaping of preferences. Pfeffer (1981) and Pfeffer and Salancik (1978/2003) treat power as resource dependence and the management of organisational interdependencies. Foucault (1977/1995) treats power as productive, distributed through disciplinary practices that form the subjects who act within them. Each account locates power inside the institutional or social formation it analyses. Mana-based authority is not legible on those terms. It is not coercive, not primarily resource-dependent, and not produced by disciplinary practice. It is delegated through *whakapapa* and *atua*, sustained through *pūmahara*, exercised under the judgement of those who confer it, and forfeited when *manaakitanga* fails. The mismatch is not that institutions exercise power and Māori communities do not. Both do. The mismatch is that the criteria, source, and judges differ, and the institution does not control any of the three.

Across governance, enterprise, education, health, and religious settings, participants with different institutional roles described this same pre-institutional grounding. Their positions varied. Their insistence that authority was carried from elsewhere did not. Mana *tuku iho* therefore names the ground that institutions encounter but do not create. The question for the remainder of the chapter is what happens when institutional forms claim to honour that authority but are not reorganised to receive it.

5.3 Relational Constitution Under Institutional Constraint

Mana *tuku iho* comes through *whakapapa*, but it still has to be sustained in practice. The Law Commission's account of *tikanga* Māori treats mana as neither static possession nor institutional office. Mana includes authority ascribed through *whakapapa*, authority acquired through conduct, and spiritual authority received

from ngā atua; it is also answerable to the people whose recognition gives leadership practical force (New Zealand Law Commission, 2001, paras. 137–142). Mana-based authority therefore does not remain intact simply because its source lies beyond the institution. Leaders can carry it well, damage it, or lose recognition when they fail to act in right relation with those to whom they are answerable.

Kawharu et al. (2024) develop this argument through the mana/manaaki dynamic. Conduct that upholds relational obligations under pressure sustains mana. Institutions therefore do not merely constrain manaaki. When they prevent leaders from meeting relational obligations, they can weaken the mana those obligations sustain. The office may remain, but the authority it was meant to carry can weaken because the relationships that recognise and sustain mana have been damaged.

Organisational research on psychological contracts offers a weaker analogue. Rousseau (1989, 1995) shows that formal employment relationships depend on more than written terms. People act on promises, customs, signals, and shared understandings about what each party owes the other. Robinson and Rousseau (1994) show that when employers breach those understandings, employees may remain in the role, but trust, satisfaction, and intention to stay decline. The formal relationship can continue while the trust that made it credible weakens.

This is not the same as manaaki. The obligations at issue are not psychological contract terms between a role-holder and an employer. They are obligations carried through whakapapa and owed to whānau, hapū, iwi, atua, and tūpuna. When institutional conditions prevent leaders from meeting those obligations, the damage registers among the relationships that sustain mana, not only inside the institution's own processes. This pressure is not historically neutral. As Chapter 2 showed, colonisation had already reorganised the political, social, and economic conditions through which rangatira met collective obligations. Contemporary institutions therefore encounter mana-based authority on ground already reshaped by dispossession and institutional redesign.

The strain cases in Chapter 4 confirm this pattern. These were accounts in which institutional encounter placed visible pressure on mana-based authority. CHU1 described governance settings where people deployed tikanga language coercively rather than relationally, damaging the ground of recognition on which mana-based authority depended. GOV2 described a rūnanga that increased its institutional standing while the hapū it existed to serve withdrew recognition as its relational mandate eroded. The selection cases examined later show ministers arriving at appointments without the ground their roles presupposed. In each case, institutional conditions reshaped what mana could be in that setting rather than leaving it intact while merely preventing its expression.

Participants therefore did not treat maintenance as optional care for something stable. They described compensatory labour required to prevent further erosion. Spiller et al. (2021), drawing on Freire, describe the pressure exerted when a dominant culture pulls people towards its normalised values and norms, producing “façades of conformity” that silence cultural self-worth, confidence, and belief (p. 82). They also describe colonial inclusion as entry into a dominant cultural circle that requires people to surrender identity and integrate into a monocultural norm (Spiller et al., 2021, p. 84). In the strain cases, participants were not describing ordinary adaptation to institutional life. They were describing the labour required when Māori

leaders must keep mana-based authority recognisable inside settings that repeatedly pull it towards institutional forms built on other terms. The labour participants described was the cost of refusing that surrender while remaining within the institution. Nakata (2007) identifies the lived dimension of that condition, describing the constant tensions of being asked to remain continuous with one position while becoming discontinuous with another and noting that those tensions are physically experienced. Participants said they carried those tensions in their bodies, in their ministries, and in the relational work through which they sustained their communities despite institutional indifference to that work.

Institutions do not simply prevent mana-based authority from being expressed. They alter the conditions under which that authority is maintained, transferring the labour of continuity onto leaders and communities while preserving arrangements organised on other terms. Table 9 sets out the three mechanisms through which institutional forms thin, translate, or block the authority they claim to recognise. It locates each mechanism within the contested field between *mana tuku iho* and *mana motuhake*. The table draws together mechanisms developed across the chapter; the discussion that follows takes each one in turn.

Table 9 The Contested Field: Three Mechanisms of Institutional Constraint

Mechanism	Operation	Effect
Instrumental deployment	Tikanga circulates without tikanga accountability, corrupted by institutional incentive structures that reward tactical deployment of relational concepts	Damages the relational ground on which mana depends
Structural exclusion	Mana-based claims cannot reach the channels through which finance, governance, discipline, and strategy are determined	Mana-based authority is acknowledged but does not reach the channels where decisions are made
Selection/Formation Disconnection	Recruitment, selection, and training processes assess institutional qualifications without assessing ancestral, spiritual, relational, and territorial competencies on which community recognition depends	Persons placed in roles that presuppose a ground they do not carry

The three mechanisms are evidenced unevenly across the dataset, and the discussion that follows reflects that asymmetry. Structural exclusion appears in all five sectors, with multiple participants describing it directly. Section 5.3.2 carries that distribution into the argument. Instrumental deployment and selection-and-formation disconnection are evidenced more densely in the church than elsewhere. The strain cases through which each was developed in Chapter 4 carry most of the analytic weight, and the cross-sector quotes in this section confirm that the same pattern is recognised beyond the strain case rather than providing parallel grounds for the claim. Where the evidential weight rests primarily on a single case, the prose says so. The argument is not that every sector displays each mechanism with equal density. It is that mechanisms developed abductively from the strain cases recur, in identifiable forms, across the dataset.

5.3.1 Instrumental Deployment of Tikanga Language

The first mechanism through which institutions constrained mana-based authority was instrumental deployment: the uptake of tikanga language, symbol, protocol, or performance without the accountability relations that give tikanga its force. By tikanga language I mean the institutional adoption of kupu and concepts associated with tikanga, such as manaakitanga, whanaungatanga, kaitiakitanga, rangatiratanga, or tikanga itself, in vision statements, strategies, ceremonies, or public communications while the structures through which authority, accountability, and decision-making are exercised remain unchanged. Tikanga in its substantive sense is the customary system of values and practices grounded in whakapapa that governs what it is right or tika to do, including who may decide, how disputes are resolved, and how mana is protected (Mead, 2016). Tikanga language refers to the use of those terms at the level of rhetoric, symbol, or policy text when the underlying tikanga remains structurally unenforced.

Structural exclusion and selection-and-formation disconnection both describe conditions of institutional design. Instrumental deployment describes a pattern of institutional and participant uptake that emerges under those conditions. It is institutional in the absorption of tikanga language into strategy, ceremony, and rhetoric. It is participant-facing in the tactical use of that language by those for whom other channels remain closed. Instrumental deployment therefore depends analytically on the design conditions the other two mechanisms name, and it appears first because it is often the most visible form the constraint takes. The three mechanisms do not stand at the same level. Instrumental deployment names a pattern of behaviour. Structural exclusion and selection-and-formation disconnection name conditions of institutional design.

Across the sectors in this study, institutions adopted Māori concepts into stated values, strategic plans, or ceremonial life as markers of inclusion and responsiveness. Coates et al. (2023) describe this as institutional rhetoric: institutions speak the language of Indigenous aspiration while their operative arrangements continue to privilege inherited norms. From the standpoint of mana-based authority, this is a specific kind of decoupling. Bromley and Powell (2012) specify the form it takes. The classical decoupling argument, set out by Meyer and Rowan (1977), described a gap between formal policy and actual practice: organisations adopted policies that were never implemented. Bromley and Powell (2012) argue that this policy–practice gap has narrowed under contemporary audit and accountability regimes. The more pervasive form of decoupling is now what they call means-to-ends decoupling: organisations implement policies

thoroughly while the policies bear only a weak relationship to the core tasks they were meant to advance. The visible procedure is real; what it produces is not the substantive end the procedure was supposed to serve.

The findings in this study belong squarely to means-to-ends decoupling. Tikanga language was visible. It appeared in greetings, karakia, ceremonial openings, public statements, governance rhetoric, consultation processes, organisational values, and institutional claims to cultural responsiveness. That visibility did not mean tikanga had become a governing authority within the institution. More often, it meant the institution had learned how to host Māori forms at the level of expression while retaining for itself the power to determine what those forms would mean, when they would be used, and how far they would reach. L.T. Smith (2021) describes the wider pattern: gestures of recognition that initially appear radical can become watered-down liberal devices that reinforce the status quo. Participants did not describe inclusion in a simple sense. They described selective institutional uptake of tikanga on terms set by the institution rather than by the authority relations from which tikanga derives its force.

Tikanga is not reducible to a cultural register. Tikanga names the right ordering of relationship through obligations that are historical, spiritual, territorial, and collective (Mead, 2016). When institutions extract the visible or performative features of tikanga from those accountability relations, they do not translate tikanga into a more accessible idiom. They alter what it can do. Tikanga may remain present as vocabulary or ceremony while its capacity to judge institutional conduct is suspended. Under those conditions, institutions can appear culturally responsive without becoming accountable to the authority they name. On the axis from *mana tuku iho* to *mana motuhake*, instrumental deployment recognises *mana tuku iho* symbolically while preventing it from reaching *mana motuhake* in practice. Organisations spoke fluently of *manaakitanga* and *whanaungatanga* in public documents and ceremonies. When conflicts arose or significant decisions were made, processes followed generic legal, bureaucratic, or canonical templates with little or no reference to *hui*-based resolution or to the local tikanga that would ordinarily govern encounter, acknowledge harm, and restore relationships (Mead, 2016). Māori concepts were recognised in speech but did not set the rules of the game.

The findings show this pattern most directly in CHU1's account of governance settings where people deployed tikanga language coercively rather than relationally. The damage lay in the fact that the language through which right relation ought to have been protected was used in a way that undermined the relational ground on which mana-based authority depended. A *rūnanga* could accumulate institutional standing while the *hapū* it purported to serve withdrew recognition as the mandate eroded. Tikanga language could therefore operate institutionally in a limited sense while becoming anti-tikanga in its effect. Tikanga itself could become part of the mechanism through which mana-based authority was displaced. Means-to-ends decoupling explains how that displacement is sustained over time: the procedural surface remains intact while the substantive end the procedure was meant to serve drifts further out of reach (Bromley & Powell, 2012). Among the participants in this study, CHU1's account shows this mechanism most directly. The wider cross-sector evidence is treated here as evidence of the deployment pattern rather than as independent evidence that tikanga itself was made anti-tikanga in those settings.

The mechanism appeared across all five sectors, though not with equal density. HLT2 described karakia and Māori practice spreading through a government ministry through relational invitation while the institution itself remained untransformed at the governance level. CHU6 described years of organisational values framed in tikanga language that functioned as tokenism until sustained internal pressure produced change. HLT1 named the same pattern in the health sector, observing that institutional values had for years been “just tokenism” before the institution began to take them more seriously, with the qualifier itself acknowledging that the change was gradual rather than complete. CHU5, when working in the governance sector, named the mechanism when she described being placed in roles where the institution had “tried to use me as a tick box exercise,” at the cost of the people she was accountable to, and described leaving such roles when the values alignment was not real. EDU3 contrasted the creative freedom of an institution constituted on kaupapa Māori terms with the Anglican setting, where tikanga functioned as negotiated adaptation rather than structural transformation. In other sectors, participants described institutions that had become fluent in Māori terminology, values language, and ceremonial practice while leaving untouched the grounds on which authoritative decisions were made. Māori forms could frame meetings, open strategic conversations, legitimise plans, or signal relational sensitivity. The criteria that decided outcomes remained managerial, financial, legal, or procedural. Institutions did not treat tikanga as an order of authority in its own right. They treated tikanga as something that could enrich the institution’s preferred mode of operation without challenging it.

This pattern explains why participants often spoke of exhaustion. The labour required of them was not representation alone. It was the labour of carrying the substantive force of tikanga in settings where the institution had become adept at using its language while resisting its discipline (Haar & Martin, 2022). The mechanism is easier to see if one asks who decides what counts as a right use of tikanga in the institution. If the answer remains the institution’s existing managerial or procedural centre, then tikanga has not been received as a source of authority, however visible it may be. It has been incorporated as an inclusion marker rather than as binding obligation. Coates et al. (2023) describe the same pattern in Indigenous institutional theory: settler institutions absorb Indigenous concepts into their existing categories of value and continue to determine the rules by which those concepts are interpreted. Participants repeatedly described precisely this displacement of judgement. The institution decided when tikanga was appropriate, what level of commitment it required, how it would be interpreted, and when other considerations would override it. Tikanga could be present everywhere and authoritative nowhere.

The mechanism should not be reduced too quickly to tokenism, though tokenism may be one of its effects. Tokenism is the more familiar term in the empirical literature on Māori in workplaces. Harris et al. (2016) report that Māori employees in a Crown Research Institute experienced a contraction of Māoritanga in the workplace once leadership changed, with the substance of cultural practice receding even where its forms persisted. Kuntz et al. (2014) similarly find that organisations vary widely in the extent to which espousal of Māori values is reflected in actual practice, and that Māori employees quickly detect the difference. Both studies treat tokenism as a question of degree: how thoroughly stated values are matched by daily conduct. The findings here point to something more structured. Instrumental deployment is

institutionally rational. It allows organisations to secure legitimacy and present themselves as responsive without altering the distribution of power within the institution (Bromley & Powell, 2012; Meyer & Rowan, 1977). It offers symbolic accommodation at lower structural cost than operative reception.

Bargh and Otter (2009) trace the same logic in their account of progressive spaces of neoliberalism in Aotearoa: institutional environments accommodate Māori claims at the level of recognition while preserving the property and decision arrangements those claims were meant to challenge. McCormack (2012) reaches a related conclusion through a different route, showing how state institutions process Māori claims into forms the institution can metabolise while constraining the substantive content of indigeneity itself. Understood this way, the mechanism is not accidental to institutional life. It is one means by which institutions manage the pressure presented by alternative grounds of authority.

The practical consequences are significant. First, when institutions build tikanga into a process but keep decision power elsewhere, Māori leaders carry extra work. They have to ask whether a karakia, value statement, tikanga process, or consultation hui shaped the decision, or whether the institution used it to make an unchanged process look accountable. That question carries risk. When Māori leaders insist that tikanga should govern the decision, others may cast them as ungrateful, difficult, or disruptive, even though they speak from tikanga accountability. Ruwhiu, Staniland, and Love (2021) call this role the Indigenous parrhesiastes: the Indigenous person who speaks truth from inside an institution, challenges its dominant norms, and bears the danger attached to that speech. Kidman (2020) describes the same pattern in universities: they celebrate Māori scholars as diversity partners, then push them to the margins when those scholars disrupt settler silences. In both accounts, institutions invite Indigenous presence but make Indigenous people carry the cost of asking whether the institution will honour the commitments it has named.

Second, instrumental deployment shifts the cost of institutional coherence onto those carrying mana-based authority. If tikanga is displayed but not received, someone must manage the contradiction between institutional self-description and institutional practice. Participants' accounts show that this work often falls to Māori leaders who remain relationally answerable to whānau, hapū, iwi, or Māori constituencies while also operating inside the institution. The institution gains twice over: it secures the legitimacy associated with visible Māori forms, and it externalises onto Māori leaders the labour of reconciling tensions those forms cannot resolve once detached from their authority ground. Haar and Martin (2022) document this externalised labour in the science sector. Their study of Māori scientists examined the Vision Mātauranga policy that requires science organisations to engage with Māori. They identify a pattern they name aronga takirua, the cultural double-shift. Māori scientists carry their formal scientific role and, in addition, carry an unfunded and largely unrecognised role as cultural conduit between employer and Māori communities. Across three studies they identify whakawhanaungatanga, kawenga, taumaha, āheinga tangata, tikanga, hauora, and umanga takaware as recurring themes, and they show through job-contract analysis that most employers do not allocate paid time for the cultural engagement they nonetheless expect. The cultural double-shift is what means-to-ends decoupling looks like for the people inside it: the policy is implemented thoroughly at the level of strategy and stated commitment while the relationship between that policy and the substantive work it requires sits unresolved on the shoulders of a small number of Māori employees.

The wellbeing impact is measurable and serious. Haar and Martin (2022) reports that Māori in the workplace face elevated psychosocial demands tied to cultural role expectations, with consequences for mental health that the wider literature on emotional labour and burnout would predict. Kariou et al. (2021) and Zapf et al. (2021) review that wider literature, showing how sustained emotional labour without adequate resource or recognition produces exhaustion, depersonalisation, and reduced personal accomplishment, the three components of burnout. Haar et al. (2025) extend the analysis: when organisations support cultural diversity in substantive rather than ceremonial ways, the benefits accrue to Māori and Pākehā employees both, but the gains depend on practice catching up with rhetoric. The implication for instrumental deployment is important. Where institutions use tikanga language without receiving its discipline, the labour of holding the gap together produces the conditions Kariou et al. (2021) and Zapf et al. (2021) describe. Exhaustion is not a personal failing. It is a predictable consequence of sustained means-to-ends decoupling carried by a small group of employees who answer to obligations the institution does not itself answer to.

Third, instrumental deployment weakens trust. When institutions repeatedly use tikanga without accepting tikanga accountability, they teach participants to distrust institutional displays of cultural commitment. That distrust is not a subjective overreaction. It is a rational response to repeated decoupling between language and operative authority. Robinson (1996) shows that perceptions of breached promises in employment relationships produce measurable declines in trust, satisfaction, and intentions to remain, and that these effects accumulate even when individual breaches appear small. Rousseau (1995) frames the underlying structure as a psychological contract: a set of mutual obligations the employee believes the employer has accepted. Where a settler institution publicly takes on tikanga obligations and repeatedly fails to honour them, it generates the conditions that breach research describes. The trust loss is not narrowly interpersonal. It travels back into the relational fabric the institution claims to host.

The mechanism therefore reaches beyond symbolic offence. It touches the reproduction of authority itself. Mana-based authority is sustained through right relation, and right relation requires reliable accountability. Where tikanga is deployed instrumentally, the institution unsettles the terms through which mana can be maintained. Māori leaders must then carry the authority of tikanga within settings willing to speak its language but unwilling to be judged by it. The result is not simply hypocrisy. It is erosion.

Instrumental deployment should not be explained only as bad faith. That accusation is too narrow and too moralising. The pattern is structurally produced. In institutions where operative authority sits elsewhere, tikanga language can become one of the few available means by which those excluded from the real channels of power attempt to exert pressure. Under those conditions, tactical use becomes part of the institutional pattern itself. The institution has produced an environment in which tikanga is made to carry work that its current place in the structure cannot sustain. Once relational concepts are drawn into tactical struggle, the concepts themselves begin to strain (Kidman, 2020; Ruwhiu, Staniland, & Love, 2021). Manaakitanga, rangatiratanga, and whanaungatanga circulate within contests over outcomes rather than within disciplines of obligation. The language that should secure trust starts to produce suspicion. Participants no longer meet one another through obligations they recognise as binding. They meet one another with an awareness that the language of obligation may already be strategic. Institutional procedure

can continue under those conditions. Meetings can still be held and outcomes still recorded. Mana-based authority is nonetheless diminished because the relational ground on which it depends has been destabilised. Wherever institutions welcome the language of Indigenous authority while leaving binding power elsewhere, the conditions are in place for that language to be drawn into tactical use. Instrumental deployment follows from recognition that has not altered institutional control.

5.3.2 Structural Exclusion of Mana-Based Claims

The second mechanism is structural exclusion: mana-based claims can enter institutional deliberation while the channels through which decisions bind, resources are allocated, and disputes are settled remain organised around other grounds of authority. This mechanism appeared across all five sectors: commercial, governance, ecclesial, educational, and health. It is closely related to instrumental deployment, but it is analytically distinct. Instrumental deployment names the use of tikanga language without the accountability relations that give tikanga its force. Structural exclusion names the institutional condition that makes such use possible. Where final authority sits elsewhere, mana-based claims can be admitted to consultation, recognised in policy, or seated at the table without holding the operative power that would make those claims govern outcomes.

Cornell and Kalt (2000) provide the analytical anchor for this mechanism. Their comparative work on Indigenous nation-building identifies two conditions that determine whether Indigenous institutions function effectively. The first is cultural match: governing institutions must align with the political culture of the people they govern, because institutions imposed from outside that culture lack the legitimacy required to compel sustained compliance. The second is effective sovereignty: an Indigenous polity must hold genuine jurisdiction over the resources, rules, and decisions that affect its own life, because cultural alignment without operative authority produces institutions that are recognisable but not consequential. The two conditions hold together. Cultural match without sovereignty produces institutions that look right but cannot act. Sovereignty without cultural match produces authority that the community will not recognise as its own.

Coates et al. (2023) extend the same diagnostic into Indigenous experience inside Western institutions. Their account of institutional rhetoric directs attention to the gap between what institutions say about Indigenous priorities and what their operative arrangements enable. Both literatures arrive at the same point. An institution may announce its commitment to Indigenous authority and still organise decision-making, resource control, and accountability through channels that have not been reorganised around that authority.

Suchman (1995) offers a complementary distinction. He identifies three forms of legitimacy that institutional audiences can grant or withhold. Pragmatic legitimacy rests on the self-interested calculations of an organisation's most immediate audiences and is supplied through exchange, influence, or attribution of favourable disposition. Cognitive legitimacy rests on comprehensibility and taken-for-grantedness: institutional audiences treat an actor or claim as legitimate when they can place that actor or claim within the categories through which the institution makes the world intelligible. Moral legitimacy rests on positive normative evaluation: audiences judge an actor, output, procedure, structure, or person as proper, desirable,

or worthy of support. The three forms can come apart. An institution may find Māori presence useful and recognisable, and so grant mana-based claims pragmatic and cognitive legitimacy, while refusing those claims moral force in the procedures and structures through which decisions become binding. Structural exclusion, as used here, names that dissociation. Mana-based claims can be heard and understood, while the institution continues to decide through procedures and structures that those claims do not govern.

The findings name structural exclusion as the mechanism through which that gap is sustained. Mana-based claims were not always repudiated or dismissed outright. More often, they entered consultation, discussion, symbolic acknowledgement, or limited participation while being kept from the channels through which institutional power operated. The issue was not prejudice or personal hostility, though both may intensify it. The issue was where operative authority sat. Mana-based claims could be present in the institution without being allowed to govern it. GOV4 stated the condition directly: “if you’re going to bring Māori, you have to bring them at the table at the highest possible point,” because at any lower level the value Māori bring is “lost.”

CHU1’s account makes the structural character of exclusion visible at the financial level of denominational life. He observed that “there is no Māori self-determination because some of the power structures in the church are still left completely untouched ... particularly around, you know, say the finances,” and that “the vast majority of the money is not covered by Te Pouhere” (CHU1). The constitutional architecture supports the claim he was making. Te Pouhere requires every person holding office or receiving “emolument” from property held under General Synod / te Hīnota Whānui authority to sign a declaration of adherence and submission to that authority, and it vests in General Synod / te Hīnota Whānui the power to frame regulations for the management of property and the administration of trusts (Anglican Church in Aotearoa, New Zealand and Polynesia, 2020, Part C). No equivalent provision gives Tikanga Māori autonomous control over the financial resources on which its ministry depends. The Motion 11 report to General Synod / te Hīnota Whānui recorded the resulting imbalance: across the Province’s estimated \$2.87 billion in total assets, Tikanga Māori entities held approximately \$48 million, while Tikanga Pākehā dioceses held approximately \$1.36 billion and a group of provincial trusts administered a further \$1.47 billion, all governed under General Synod / te Hīnota Whānui regulations (Motion 11 Small Working Group, 2020, p. 22). Tamihere (2025) reported that Tikanga Māori’s combined annual income remained 4.48% of Tikanga Pākehā’s, and that the Māori church structure continues to face what the paper calls “an almost unassailable disadvantage” in resource and capacity (p. 10).

Cornell and Kalt’s second condition is exactly what is missing here. Te Pouhere has formally addressed cultural match by recognising Tikanga Māori. Effective sovereignty over the financial channels through which ministry, property, and personnel decisions are made remains located in bodies that operate under the regulatory authority of General Synod / te Hīnota Whānui. In Suchman’s terms, Tikanga Māori has been granted cognitive and pragmatic legitimacy through constitutional language, while moral legitimacy at the structural level has not followed. The church’s ordinary financial procedures have not themselves been placed under a tikanga standard.

The mechanism extends beyond the church. GOV2 described an iwi rūnanga that had drifted from the hapū it was meant to serve. He recalled that “the whole alignment of the rūnanga ... was nonexistent with where the hapū and where marae were wanting to hit. It was its own little fiefdom, its own little empire that didn’t have any situational awareness about where the hapū were wanting to lead” (GOV2). His response was to stand for election with the explicit goal of resetting “the role of the rūnanga so that it became an ally and an enabler of our hapū” (GOV2). The rūnanga held the legal personality, the resourcing, and the formal mandate to represent the iwi. Its operative direction had nonetheless detached from the hapū through whom mana-based authority is constituted.

Cribb and Mika (2023) identify a similar problem in post-settlement governance entities. Their study shows that whakapapa and hapū rangatiratanga may shape design intentions, but post-settlement governance entities must also satisfy Crown requirements, legal advice, tax settings, asset protection, and risk management. As those entities move from settlement into ordinary operation, the issue becomes less whether the legal form exists than whether it enables iwi aspirations to direct the organisation’s work. Cribb and Mika (2023) note that management planning often assumed that what had been decided before settlement remained adequate for the post-settlement entity, while one participant described the resulting structure as “clunky” because it was shaped by tax neutrality and asset protection. They therefore argue that post-settlement governance entities need to treat structure as a facilitator of iwi aspirations, not as an institutional end in itself (Cribb & Mika, 2023, p. 117). GOV2’s account aligns with that diagnosis. The institution remained intact as a representative body. What had detached was the operative relationship between governance form and the hapū whose mana the structure was meant to carry.

CHU6 described the same pattern in another governance setting. She spoke of leading a kaupapa Māori organisation while serving on a governance board “with non-Māori members ... who have strong voices, sometimes what I know is the right thing to do is overwhelmed by those non-Māori voices on the board, and I just tend to give up.” She named the asymmetry directly: “in my mind, their voice is stronger than mine because they’re Pakeha ... they hold fast to what they know works, and that’s the end of that.” The issue was not whether the organisation could describe itself as kaupapa Māori. It was whether the board, as the body through which institutional authority became binding, allowed kaupapa Māori judgement to govern decisions. CHU6’s account suggests that it did not. Non-Māori members could affirm the kaupapa while holding fast to inherited assumptions about what “works.” In that setting, cultural responsiveness remained possible at the level of language and relationship, while operative authority still followed the norms carried by those with stronger institutional voice.

GOV4 traced the same problem in Anglican governance and in wider board work. She observed that tikanga has institutional value only where the people making decisions understand it, and that one Māori member of a governance body cannot carry that work alone. Where governance bodies bring on a single Māori voice and treat that appointment as sufficient evidence of cultural commitment, the body has met a representational threshold without altering the grounds on which decisions are made. Cornell and Kalt’s (2000) argument is precisely that this kind of partial alignment fails to produce effective sovereignty because the institutional channels themselves have not been reorganised. In Suchman’s terms, the single appointment

supplies cognitive legitimacy without altering the institution's procedural and structural sources of moral legitimacy.

The denominational evidence shows convergence in office more readily than in process. CHU4's account of the earlier conflict does not show tikanga itself failing. It shows a conflict within Te Pihopatanga o Aotearoa moving beyond the processes then available to settle it with recognised institutional force. Kaumātua authority could warn, cover, protect, and name wrong conduct through whakapapa and tikanga. Yet tikanga adjudication had not been constituted as an ordinary route for settling that dispute. When the conflict could not be resolved internally, the matter moved to General Synod's Judicial Committee. The transfer exposed where final decision-making authority sat. Canonical adjudication had a formal channel. Te Pihopatanga could have constituted a tikanga adjudicative channel, but it had not done so.

CHU4 later recalled a proposal that Te Pihopatanga o Aotearoa appoint a kaumātua as "a tikanga person, there to adjudicate when the tikanga processes and understanding fails". The proposal named the missing process. It did not ask for tikanga to be recognised in principle. It asked Te Pihopatanga o Aotearoa to constitute a person with tikanga standing who could receive a matter, judge conduct, and say what had gone wrong under tikanga when ordinary processes did not settle conflict. CHU4's closing observation was blunt: "nothing has changed". By CHU4's account, Te Pihopatanga o Aotearoa had still not made tikanga adjudication an ordinary route for settling conflict with binding institutional force.

CHU2 shows the same pattern in parish practice. Before becoming archdeacon, CHU2 could advance whanaungatanga through "Tikanga-Rua" services only by deferring to the church's hierarchy: "yes, sir, no, sir, three bags full, sir. To keep the peace". Once office gave CHU2 standing the institution recognised, they could press the work forward: "now we're gonna start talking ... now we are on a level playing field". The office did not create CHU2's tikanga-grounded authority. It made that authority institutionally usable. That convergence made action possible, but it left the process problem intact. Tikanga could travel through a recognised office-holder, while the procedures that settled authority still depended on office, hierarchy, delegation, and permission.

Te Pouhere makes this more than a local problem. It names partnership, requires the church to organise its affairs within each tikanga, and speaks of keeping open the avenues to common ground (Anglican Church in Aotearoa, New Zealand and Polynesia, 2020). Yet the same constitution gives binding force to representative bodies, formal assent procedures, episcopal sanctioning, constitutional adherence, and regulated delegation. Those arrangements decide who may act, what form a claim must take, and when the church treats authority as binding. Constitutional recognition of mana-based authority is therefore not enough. Following Cornell and Kalt (2000), the question is whether the church has reorganised the routes through which authority becomes operative, so that mana-based claims can govern decisions rather than depend on office-holders carrying tikanga through procedures built around other forms of authority.

Anglican ecclesiology already distinguishes recognised participation from binding ecclesial authority. Avis (2013) locates Anglican unity in koinonia carried through episcopal, synodical, and conciliar life rather than through centralised sovereignty. The *Principles of Canon Law Common to the Churches of the Anglican Communion* make the legal point more directly: Anglican churches are not bound by a central

legislative, executive, or judicial authority, and the Instruments of Communion bind a church only to the extent that the church's own law gives them force (Anglican Consultative Council, 2022). That distinction matters inside Te Hāhi Mihinare because Te Pouhere recognises Tikanga Māori and Te Pihopatanga within the province, but binding authority still depends on the channels through which the province's constitution, canons, trusts, appointment processes, and synodical procedures give a claim operative effect. Māori leaders can be present in deliberation, and Te Pihopatanga can be constitutionally recognised, while mana-based authority remains outside the structures that control finance, property, appointment, discipline, and institutional direction. The gap is between recognised presence and operative authority.

CHU3, who led a church-based social service organisation, distinguished between institutional mission and the resources required to sustain those who carry it. She asked how Te Hāhi ensures that its investment in people matches what it expects from them, arguing that the answer cannot lie only in "how much buildings you've got and how much land" the church retains. The issue, for her, was whether the church invests in the people sent into communities "to continue to do God's work". Ministers and other church workers were called to support whānau in distress, then returned home to their own roles as parents, aunties, uncles, and whānau members. CHU3 concluded that, at least in her experience, "the church was lacking in that investment into their people who are the face of the church." Her contrast with social service practice made the structural point clearer. In an earlier organisation, staff were expected to support bereaved whānau after work because there was no organisational support for doing so "during work hours"; in her current organisation, staff could attend tangihanga during work time and koha was budgeted as part of community responsibility. The problem, then, was not that relational and spiritual labour could not be institutionally supported. It was that Te Hāhi often relied on that labour without building the time, supervision, leave, pastoral care, and resourcing needed to carry it safely.

HLT1's transcript points in the same direction. Her experience of building space for karakia and tikanga practices within a clinical service over many years illustrates what slow inclusion looks like when the formal institutional channel has not yet opened. Inclusion through informal relational work becomes the available mode when no governance pathway exists through which mana-based authority can reach the routine operations of the institution.

ENT3's account from the enterprise sector identifies the same condition where territorial authority meets commercial governance. Marae representatives sought board positions on an iwi-owned commercial entity to protect mana whenua interests. The territorial authority they carried was legitimate. The fiduciary obligations of the commercial board, designed within settler legal frameworks, were also legitimate. ENT3 told them, "You actually already have your say through other mechanisms ... I can't put you on the board for that reason." She named the structural difficulty directly: the institutional architecture lacked a channel through which territorial mandate could reach commercial governance without compromising either. ENT3 framed the limit through a hundred-year analytical horizon: "There's always this crossover in mechanisms because the system's not designed by us. What would we do 100 and 200 years ago? How would it work?" Mana whenua claims could be heard at the level of consultation while remaining excluded from operative authority over capital, land, and intergenerational decision-making.

EDU3's account from the education sector identifies a parallel exclusion at the level of spiritual authority. Working across a tertiary education setting and the Anglican Church, he described holding Christian and Māori spiritual registers together in his daily work without institutional acknowledgement of either as a legitimate ground of authority. The education institution was constituted with explicit permission to experiment, so the integrative work he was doing could move. The Anglican setting carried no such permission, and tikanga in that environment operated as negotiated adaptation rather than structural transformation. The exclusion was not that EDU3's spiritual authority was contested. It was that the integrative work depended on him rather than being structurally secured, and in the Anglican setting tikanga operated as negotiated adaptation rather than structural transformation. The integrative work continued, but it was personally carried rather than institutionally governed.

GOV1's account from the public-service sector shows what happens when the relevant channel is absent. As a senior public servant during the early days of the COVID-19 pandemic, he found that the welfare system's operating rules had been "designed for peacetime, not wartime," and that the institutional channels available to him did not have the capacity to authorise the response he judged necessary. He overrode the rules on his own authority and recorded the cost: "I'm not going to leave it to someone else's authority to tell me what the right thing to do is." The override worked, and other regions followed, but the analytic point is structural. The institution's operative channels did not carry the authority required to receive his judgement until he stepped outside them. Where mana-based authority cannot reach routine decision channels, exercising that authority requires participants to act in ways the institution did not authorise in advance. The cost falls on the participant who steps outside the structure to do what the structure could not.

Across these accounts, participants described the difference between being heard and being determinative. Mana-based claims were welcomed at the level of ceremony, presence, cultural legitimacy, or advisory contribution while remaining marginal to the points at which resources were allocated, priorities fixed, appointments confirmed, or disputes settled. Māori leaders could be visible and respected and still lack the means to direct institutional outcomes. Institutions expected them to carry responsibility, mediate tensions, maintain relationships, and represent communities without conferring equivalent power to shape the structures within which those responsibilities were discharged. The institution redirected cost. It conferred expectations of mana-based leadership without conferring corresponding authority over the institutional arrangements that produced the need for that leadership in the first place.

The denominational case intensifies this pattern because ministry, property, and common life are not secondary matters. They are the means through which ecclesial authority becomes operative. Where Māori standing was acknowledged in principle but could not determine the structures through which ministry was organised, property controlled, or common life ordered, the exclusion could not be dismissed as technical. It went to the heart of whether the church could carry the authority relations it claimed as part of its own identity. Mana-based authority is not realised through consultation alone. It requires decision-making authority answerable to the whakapapa-grounded relationships from which that authority is drawn. If those relationships do not travel into the points where institutional decisions become binding, then the institution has not received that authority, however often it may recognise it (Coates et al., 2023).

This analysis helps explain why participants' accounts so often conveyed strain rather than straightforward rejection. Structural exclusion does not always feel like being silenced. It often feels like being needed but not empowered, consulted but not obeyed, respected but not followed, or included on terms that leave the decisive grammar of the institution untouched. That condition is difficult to name because the institution can point to inclusion as evidence against criticism, while those working within it continue to experience the non-equivalence between voice and control. Māori leaders are drawn into continuous negotiation. They must persuade rather than determine. They must maintain relationships with communities who expect them to carry authority while working inside structures that require them to convert that authority into advisory, managerial, or procedural forms before it can be acted upon. Coates et al. (2023) describe the pattern as one in which institutions absorb Indigenous concepts and aspirations into their public self-description while retaining governing norms, evaluative standards, and operative procedures shaped elsewhere.

Kidman (2020) describes a comparable dynamic in the settler-colonial university. She argues that Indigenous scholars in such institutions operate within an “imperial knowledge complex” (Chatterjee & Maira, 2014, p. 12) that “manages and contains the means of knowledge production as well as their access to institutional resources” (Kidman, 2020, p. 249). The institutional response to Indigenous presence is not exclusion in the older sense but inclusion on terms set elsewhere: native scholars are “celebrated as diversity ‘partners’ at the same time as being consigned to the institutional margins” (Kidman, 2020, p. 247). The double helix of neoliberal managerialism and settler-colonial structure produces a condition in which the institution acknowledges Indigenous standing in its public self-description while the procedures through which decisions are made, resources distributed, and contributions evaluated remain governed by criteria the institution has not put up for revision. The findings of this study show the same dynamic outside the university. CHU1’s observation that the financial channels of the church are “left completely untouched” (CHU1), GOV2’s description of a rūnanga whose alignment with the hapū had become “non-existent” (GOV2), and CHU6’s account of giving up because “their voice is stronger than mine because they’re Pākehā” (CHU6) all describe a similar structural pattern. Institutional inclusion supplies the marker of partnership without supplying the operative authority required to make partnership consequential.

The consequences are serious. Leaders remain answerable to whānau, hapū, iwi, or Māori constituencies for outcomes they cannot fully determine. That asymmetry can damage standing, because communities judge leaders by what they can secure, while institutions judge them by how well they operate within limits they did not set (Kidman, 2020; Ruwhiu et al., 2021). It weakens trust in the institution’s claims to partnership. Partnership cannot be measured only by the existence of recognised parties. It must be measured by whether authority is shared or remains formally differentiated yet practically subordinated (Coates et al., 2023; Cornell & Kalt, 2000). It also generates attritional labour. Because the institution does not carry mana-based authority through its ordinary channels, leaders must continually create provisional bridges between the authority they represent and the procedures that constrain it. That labour is costly, often invisible, and rarely institutionally recompensed (Haar & Martin, 2022).

Structural exclusion therefore names a condition in which the institution does not need to repudiate mana-based authority in order to constrain it. It only needs to locate final authority elsewhere. Mana-based claims can be visible without being operative, and honoured without being determinative. Cornell and Kalt's (2000) two conditions identify what would have to change for that to be otherwise. Cultural match must hold not only at the level of constitutional language but in actual decision rules. Effective sovereignty must extend not only to advisory roles but to the channels through which resources are allocated, appointments confirmed, and disputes resolved. Suchman's (1995) typology makes the same point in different terms: pragmatic and cognitive legitimacy can be conferred on mana-based claims while moral legitimacy at the procedural and structural levels remains lodged in arrangements that have not been redesigned. Until both Cornell and Kalt's conditions are met, an institution can recognise mana-based authority sincerely and still reproduce structural exclusion through the arrangements by which it conducts its ordinary life.

5.3.3 Selection/Formation Disconnection

The third mechanism is selection/formation disconnection: the severance of institutional selection from the whakapapa-grounded formation on which community recognition depends. Participants did not dispute that institutions must assess competence. They argued that the forms of competence institutional procedures recognise are not neutral measures of readiness. They are evidence forms tied to another grammar of authority (Cribb & Mika, 2023; Tholen, 2023). Across sectors, participants described leadership as carried through whakapapa, sustained in relationship, tested over time, and recognised by those entitled to judge whether it had been held faithfully. Institutional selection, by contrast, rendered leadership visible through qualifications, prior roles, procedural fluency, interview performance, managerial readiness, and other evidence that could be standardised, compared, and defended (Kristof-Brown et al., 2005; Morley, 2007). The disconnection therefore did not lie between good candidates and poor process. It lay between positional authority and the grounds on which authority was constituted in the first place.

This mechanism is distinct from structural exclusion. Structural exclusion operates after mana-based claims enter the institution but are kept outside the channels where binding decisions are made. Selection/formation disconnection operates earlier, when institutions decide what will count as evidence of readiness, legitimacy, and suitability for appointment. Its logic is not the withholding of influence after entry. It is the prior filtering of who can appear credible as an office-holder. An institution may widen participation at the decision table and still fail to receive mana-based authority if the pathway into office has already been organised around another grammar of validity.

ENT2's account gives the clearest evidence of this mechanism because it shows how institutional appointment can become severed from formation in mana atua and mana tūpuna terms. EDU2 shows a parallel pattern in education, where institutional measures of readiness failed to recognise the relational and whakapapa-grounded formation through which authority had been built. The wider cross-sector material does not carry the full spiritual and ancestral weight of ENT2's account, but it shows the same institutional pattern: organisations selected for evidence they could recognise and defend, while the communities from

which mana-based authority arose judged readiness through longer histories of relationship, obligation, and trust.

CHU6 described a pou tikanga role where the person who held the institutional title and spoke the language of tikanga lacked the formation the community would recognise. Staff bypassed the role, and the chief executive could not use it for the tikanga counsel the position was supposed to provide. CHU3 observed that the church systematically under-invested in the formation of ministers, deploying people into demanding community roles without the sustained relational, spiritual, and practical support those roles required. ENT3 conveyed a similar pattern in reported speech from church leaders he had spoken to: those leaders described that “when you complete your training, there’s actually nothing there to support you in terms of your ministry,” with the consequence that those who held a calling had to weigh it against the practical demands of providing for whānau. EDU2 described a tension between state-mandated teacher-registration standards and the whakapapa-grounded formation a kaupapa Māori school required of its leaders. That tension remained institutionally unresolved. GOV2 described rūnanga governance in which shoulder-tap appointments proceeded without the cultural formation the roles presupposed.

In governance, education, health, and enterprise, participants described roles in which the deeper work required of leaders depended on recognition carried across whānau, hapū, iwi, community, and place, while the systems used to identify suitable candidates privileged professional and bureaucratic legibility (Cribb & Mika, 2023; Kristof-Brown et al., 2005). Those systems could assess institutional readiness with confidence. They were poorly equipped to assess whether a person’s authority was recognised by the communities to whom they would remain answerable, whether they had been formed through the long relational disciplines the role presupposed, or whether they could carry obligations extending beyond the office itself. The problem recurred wherever institutional appointment depended on evidence that could be made portable, measurable, and defensible within bureaucratic procedure, while the authority required for the role depended on genealogical, territorial, relational, and spiritual grounds that did not convert neatly into those forms.

Participants could therefore describe appointments as procedurally valid but unable to carry the authority the role required. Institutions need ways to compare candidates, record decisions, and show that appointments have been made fairly. The difficulty begins when those procedures are treated as though they settle legitimacy itself. Suchman’s (1995) distinction between procedural and structural legitimacy helps clarify the problem. A procedure may be accepted as fair, while the structure that uses it still fails to identify who is able to carry the role. In the cases participants described, the institution could appoint someone correctly by its own rules without testing the relationships, inherited accountabilities, territorial standing, or spiritual recognition on which the role depended in Māori terms. The problem was not that the appointee lacked ability. It was that the institution selected for procedural validity while leaving the deeper question of authority unresolved.

Cribb and Mika (2023) locate a related problem inside Aotearoa post-settlement governance. Their study shows that post-settlement governance entities do not only need legally acceptable structures. They need forms of management and organisational design capable of carrying whakapapa, hapū rangatiratanga,

iwi aspirations, and the cultural, social, environmental, and economic purposes that settlement entities are expected to serve. Where that work is not done, the structure may continue to function legally while its operating routines remain shaped by Crown requirements, tax settings, asset protection, and inherited corporate assumptions (pp. 115, 117). For the present mechanism, the relevance is clear. Recruitment processes that screen for portable qualifications and measurable performance are doing what they were built to do. They are not failing on their own terms. They fail because they do not test whether the appointee carries the authority relations the role presupposes. Those relations do not fit the evidence forms the procedure was designed to evaluate.

Tholen (2023) shows why institutions rely on such evidence: employers use higher education qualifications as proof of productive skill, as signals of desirable characteristics, and as legitimised means of exclusion and closure. Edwards and Aulakh's (2024) study of specialist public relations recruitment makes the boundary-making problem more explicit. They show how "fit" allows recruiters and clients to favour candidates who already appear compatible with the norms, expectations, and recognisability of the field. Together, these accounts explain why qualifications carries such institutional force. It reduces uncertainty, enables comparison, and makes appointments procedurally defensible, even when it cannot test the authority relations on which the role depends.

Institutions can produce a defensible but poor appointment when they treat fit with their own culture as the main test. Kristof-Brown et al. (2005) show that person–organisation fit is usually measured by how closely an applicant's values match the organisation's values. Morley (2007) similarly shows that organisations use recruitment to find candidates who appear to match their culture. This suggests the problem lies in what the appointing body chooses to measure. Where managers, panels, bishops, trustees, or appointment committees read merit through managerial, professional, or canonical norms, they reward candidates who know how to inhabit those norms. They may not ask whether the person can answer to whakapapa, whenua, whānau, hapū, wairua, or community. Those relations do not sit beside competence. They help constitute the authority the role requires. An institution can therefore follow its rules, appoint someone who fits its culture, and still fail to ask whether the people to whom the role is answerable recognise that person as able to carry it.

Bourdieu (1986) offers a distinction that helps name what the procedure is doing. He uses the term capital to describe any resource an institution treats as evidence of worth, in the same way money operates in an economy: it can be accumulated, exchanged, and recognised as authoritative. He then separates two forms of cultural capital. Institutional cultural capital exists when a body authorised to certify competence, such as a university awarding a degree, a registration board issuing a licence, or a church conferring orders, issues a formal qualification that the institution accepts as proof of qualification. Embodied cultural capital exists in the person rather than on paper. It is acquired through long formation in habits of conduct, ways of carrying responsibility, and dispositions of judgement built up over time, and it is "external wealth converted into an integral part of the person" (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 244). The first form travels in documents. The second is recognisable only through sustained presence.

Selection/formation disconnection in the present cases can be read as a specific operation: institutional procedures are constituted to recognise the first form and not to recognise the second except where it has already been ratified through selection/formation channels the institution controls. ENT2's account of ministers arriving without the competence their ancestral commission presupposes shows this operation clearly. The institutional capital is fully present: the minister has been ordained, the ordination is valid in ecclesiastical terms, and the appointment is held. The embodied capital is absent in a way the congregation can identify the first time the minister stands before them. ENT2 names what the absence looks like: the minister can "barely do their pepeha," and they "make no sense when they talk Māori" (ENT2). Pepeha is not a criterion the church can issue. It is acquired through long formation in a specific relational and territorial practice, and it is recognisable only when carried in front of people who know what they are looking at. The church has no procedure that can test for it, and ordains on the procedures it does have. The result is what ENT2 reports: "the level of confidence in them becomes diminished," and the institutional authority no longer reaches the people the minister has been appointed to serve.

EDU2's case shows the same operation in an educational context. The kura needs leadership from a small group of graduates who carry its founding whakapapa and have been entrusted to sustain it as a kaupapa Māori institution across generations. That horizon appears in its long-term planning and in a graduate profile that names values rather than NCEA-style attainment. Teacher registration systems ask a different set of questions. They test recognised qualifications, professional certification, and standards-based competence. They can recognise institutional capital, but they cannot test whether a person has been formed by the kura's whakapapa or recognised by its community as able to carry the kaupapa. The tension therefore did not arise from a missing procedural step. It arose because the registration system was built to recognise qualifications and standards, not whakapapa-grounded authority.

Embodied cultural capital in Bourdieu's (1986) sense remains capital within a field: it requires the field's recognition to function as authority and is exchanged at rates the field sets. Mana motuhake is not a misrecognised capital awaiting a better conversion rate inside the institutional field. It is constituted through whakapapa, atua, tūpuna, whenua, and tangata, and is exercised whether or not any institutional field ratifies it. The selection/formation disconnection examined here is therefore not the institution undervaluing a capital it could, in principle, recognise. The institution is built to recognise authority through qualifications, standards, teacher roles, and approval processes. Mana-based authority does not begin there. It is carried through whakapapa, whenua, whānau, hapū, wairua, and community recognition. The institution can authorise someone to hold a role, but it cannot create the mana that makes that person answerable to the relationships from which authority comes.

Selection/formation disconnection therefore names more than a flawed hiring process. It names a structural preference for forms of capability that are portable, measurable, and defensible within bureaucratic procedure, even when the authority required for the role depends on grounds that cannot be reduced to those forms.

Buchanan (1996) explains why bureaucracies reward people who stay inside role-defined duties. Bureaucracies organise work through hierarchy, authorised roles, rules, policies, and principal-agent

relationships. They therefore favour candidates who can act as reliable agents for the organisation and reduce risk for those above them (pp. 419–421). Whetten (2006) adds the identity point. Organisations ask who they are, and members treat some attributes as central, enduring, and distinctive (pp. 219–220). Appointment panels then read candidates against that institutional self-description. Where the institution understands itself through managerial, professional, or canonical norms, it is likely to reward the person who can inhabit those norms, not the person whose authority comes through whakapapa, whenua, whānau, hapū, wairua, or community recognition.

Jackall (2009) shows how managers learn this discipline in practice. They look upward, read what superiors want, bracket private moral commitments, and present the self the organisation recognises as competent (pp. 62–64). Weaver (2006) names the ethical cost: organisations and wider cultures can activate some moral self-understandings and suppress others (pp. 343, 348). These accounts show how a panel can follow its rules and still choose the wrong person for a Māori-facing role. The panel may choose someone who fits the office, reassures the institution, and speaks its language. But if whakapapa-grounded formation authorises a person to carry the role, the panel has tested role compliance rather than authority.

EDU3 showed that the problem did not sit in one parish or appointment. Across the contexts he knew, “lots of different pockets of some really good initiatives” had not “kinda come together in a single model.” In one parish he saw “really cool things happening” but no visionary leader. In another, he saw “really visionary leadership” but “serious gaps around te reo Māori and tikanga.” In a third, the ministry team had built a strong relationship with mana whenua, but had no Māori staff. No single site lacked everything. The problem was that formation, leadership, te reo Māori, tikanga, Māori staffing, and relationship with mana whenua rarely came together in the same place. At scale, selection/formation disconnection looked less like one failed appointment than an institutional failure to gather the elements of mana-based authority into durable leadership.

Two further studies show how appointees may carry this mismatch in practice. Babin et al. (2000) found that employees who perceived their ethical work climate more positively reported lower role conflict and role ambiguity, and higher job satisfaction and organisational commitment. Sims and Keon (2000) make the conflict more explicit. They found that when employees’ ethical decisions did not match the decisions they believed their organisation, informal policies, or supervisors encouraged, employees reported greater discomfort and intrapersonal role conflict. These studies do not address mana-based authority, but they help explain the strain produced when an organisation asks a person to act through expectations that do not match the commitments the person carries. Rozuel and Kakabadse (2011) shift the focus from a managerial-ethics angle: a role-based account of responsibility is not enough, because ethical action also depends on the person behind the role. For Māori leaders appointed through selection/formation disconnection, the conditions that produce the strain are visible. The institution selects for one form of authority and then places the appointee in a role whose authority depends on another. The conflict is not a personal failing or a fit problem to be managed. It follows from an appointment process that can make a person legitimate to the institution while leaving their standing with the relevant Māori community unresolved.

Participants therefore distinguished position from standing. An institution can confer a role, position, or office because its procedures know how to verify those things. Standing works differently. A person has to carry it, and others have to recognise and sustain it in right relation. Institutions often treated appointment as decisive because they could record it, defend it, and place it within a merit-based process. Māori communities often treated standing as decisive because authority depends on more than appointment. Selection/formation disconnection names the break between those two tests. The institution can fill the role and defend the process while still failing to receive the authority relations on which durable leadership depends.

Table 10 traces where each mechanism operates, the strain case from Chapter 4 in which it emerged, and the cross-sector accounts that confirmed it. Structural exclusion and selection/formation disconnection describe how institutional design channels or thins authority. Instrumental deployment describes a pattern of institutional and participant uptake that emerges under those design conditions.

Table 10 Three Mechanisms of Institutional Constraint

Mechanism	Description	Point of Operation	Origin Strain Case	Cross-Sector Distribution
Instrumental deployment of tikanga	Tikanga language, symbol, and protocol become institutionally visible while the structures through which authority and decision-making are exercised remain unchanged. Bromley and Powell (2012) name this means-to-ends decoupling: procedures are implemented thoroughly while the substantive ends they were meant to serve drift out of reach. The relational ground on which mana-based authority depends is damaged by the very language that was supposed to express it.	After a leader is in place, under the design conditions named by the other two mechanisms	CHU1 (Mana Tangata strain case, Chapter 4)	Church: CHU1 described governance settings where tikanga language was deployed to compel rather than to build trust; CHU6 described a competitive landscape where whanaungatanga and manaakitanga ceased to govern actual behaviour. Governance: GOV2 found a rūnanga that had accumulated institutional standing while losing alignment with the hapū it existed to serve. Education: EDU3 contrasted creative freedom in a kaupapa Māori institution with the Anglican setting, where tikanga functioned as negotiated adaptation rather than structural transformation.
Structural Exclusion of mana-based claims from institutional decision channels	Institutional forms inherit assumptions about authority, property, and decision-making that leave no channel through which mana-based authority can reach the decisions it should properly govern. Legitimate authority arrives at the institutional boundary and finds no	At the boundary between mana-based claims and institutional decision-making	ENT3 (Mana Whenua strain case, Chapter 4)	Enterprise: ENT3 declined marae requests for board positions because the commercial entity carried fiduciary obligations its structure could not reconcile with territorial mandate. Church: CHU1 described financial control sitting outside tikanga structures; CHU6 was overridden at board level without engagement. Governance: GOV2 found a governance body that had separated itself from hapū and marae mandate. Health: HLT1 carried karakia privately for 26 years because the institution provided no formal mechanism for spiritual practice to reach clinical governance;

Mechanism	Description	Point of Operation	Origin Strain Case	Cross-Sector Distribution
	procedural pathway through which it can register as a basis for institutional action.			HLT2 described government signals threatening Māori-named programmes so that the institutional channel through which her work reached communities was itself made conditional. Education: EDU1 held tika and pono against funder pressure to translate kaupapa-Māori outcomes into countable performance measures.
Selection/Formation Disconnection	Selection processes privilege assessable qualifications over the relational, spiritual, and ancestral formation on which mana-based authority depends. The institution receives an appointment that is formally legitimate under its own procedures but not recognised by the communities the role serves. The community recognises the gap and withdraws its recognition.	Before the leader arrives, in the appointment process itself	ENT2 (Mana Atua and Mana Tūpuna strain cases, Chapter 4)	Church: ENT2 described ministers arriving without pepeha, reo, or the spiritual-cultural formation their role presupposed; CHU6 lost credibility as a Māori leader because reo was not assessed at appointment. Governance: GOV2 found shoulder-tap appointments producing governance leaders without the cultural formation the role demanded. Health: HLT2 entered government ministry settings where karakia and pōwhiri were not part of any position description. Education: EDU2 was assessed on qualifications but not on the ancestral obligation that was the actual ground of his leadership.

Note. This table identifies the point at which each mechanism operates, the principal strain case through which it was developed, and selected cross-sector accounts used to examine and refine its interpretation. The participants listed are illustrative rather than exhaustive. Evidence for the mechanisms varied across the sectors, as discussed in Section 5.3. Structural exclusion and selection/formation disconnection concern institutional design, while instrumental deployment concerns the ways tikanga language is taken up under those conditions.

5.4 Mana Motuhake

Mana motuhake names the realised, self-determining condition in which mana-based authority orders institutional life on its own terms. It does not identify a second source of authority. Nor does it describe autonomy in the abstract, as though the mere existence of Māori decision-making structures were sufficient. Mana motuhake names the point at which whakapapa-grounded authority determines the operative life of a Māori institution: how decisions are made, to whom authority is answerable, how resources are held and used, how conflict is addressed, and what counts as legitimate action. M. Durie (1998) places mana motuhake within a set of Māori self-determination concepts that also includes tino rangatiratanga and sovereignty. In his chapter "Mana Motuhake: Autonomy, Governance and Nationhood," he describes mana motuhake as "emphasising independence from state and Crown and [implying] a measure of defiance" and as "embodying a link with customary Maori systems of authority, especially in the face of colonising forces" (p. 220). Mana motuhake refers to an institutional condition that holds those two dimensions together: independence from Crown authority and continuity with inherited Māori orders of mana.

Mana motuhake should therefore be read as an institutional condition rather than a personal attribute. A leader may carry profound mana yet be unable to realise that authority fully where the institution within which they work is organised on other terms. The findings repeatedly showed this disjunction. Participants did not describe weak authority. They described strong authority operating in settings that did not know how to carry it. CHU5 put the issue clearly: when an institution appoints such a person to a role, it gains the benefit of their capacity but does not acquire the source of their authority. GOV3's governance structure, derived from kaumātua instruction before any corporate convention was applied, showed mana motuhake beginning to operate at the design stage: her kaumātua separated political and cultural authority from commercial function before the structure was built, and services were named as *whare*, not agencies. EDU3 contrasted this with the Anglican setting, where no comparable permission existed at the point of establishment. Chapter 4's strain cases show the same disjunction. CHU1's governance setting, ENT3's commercial boundary, and CHU6's board all showed strong Māori authority present within institutions unable to govern through it. The institutions did not lack Māori leadership. They lacked operative forms through which Māori leadership could determine what followed.

The direction of adaptation is decisive. Institutions frequently present accommodation as though it were transformation. They create space for Māori language, values, ceremony, and participation, and then treat that space as evidence that the institution has become responsive to mana-based authority. Accommodation is not reorganisation. Mana motuhake requires the institution to move towards the authority it claims to recognise rather than requiring that authority to become intelligible only in institutional terms. Where the direction runs the other way, mana-based authority remains contingent. It can appear, contribute, and at times influence, but it does not govern.

In practical terms, mana motuhake requires decision channels that do not merely hear mana-based claims but are governed through them. It requires accountability arrangements that answer to whakapapa-grounded obligations rather than only to abstract compliance. It requires resource control that follows

intergenerational and collective responsibility rather than purely managerial rationality. It requires forms of selection, formation, and dispute resolution that recognise the grounds on which community authority is constituted in practice. Without such reorganisation, institutions may create space for Māori authority to appear, but not the conditions for it to govern.

There is a risk of misunderstanding *mana motuhake* as a claim for separation rather than a claim about the terms of legitimate order. The findings do not support that reduction. Participants did not describe a desire simply to withdraw from institutional life. Their accounts showed repeated efforts to work across inherited institutional forms while preserving the authority relations from which leadership was drawn. The issue was not relational isolation. It was whether institutional life could be structured so that those authority relations were not continuously subordinated to managerial and procedural logics. *Mana motuhake* is not the opposite of relationship. It is the condition in which relationships are ordered by the authority proper to them, rather than by an external institutional frame.

The threshold is difficult to meet because Māori institutions operating within wider environments organised through law, management, professional procedure, and qualification competence are not building on neutral ground. Those environments already carry assumptions about what authority is, how it should be evidenced, and what makes a decision binding. Three lines of organisation theory clarify how that ordering works. Henle (2006) shows that organisational structure and context shape conduct independently of individual character, and argues that ethical conduct depends on a structure in which ownership of values is built into ordinary roles rather than announced from above (p. 348). Duchon and Burns (2008) describe how organisational culture can take a narcissistic form in which "self-aggrandizement ... entitlement ... and denial replace reality based decision making" (p. 355), so that the organisation protects its own self-image in preference to the relations it claims to honour. Whetten (2006) shows that organisational identity, the central, enduring, and distinctive features through which an organisation recognises itself, sets the terms on which any external claim is admitted into ordinary operations (pp. 219–220). Together these accounts show that institutions are constituted through structure, culture, and identity that already encode what authority looks like before any specific claim is made. Māori authority is tolerated most easily when it can be rendered advisory, symbolic, or supplementary. It becomes more difficult when it seeks to determine.

Western leadership theory does not close this gap. Authentic leadership locates authority in the leader's self-awareness, balanced processing, relational transparency, and authentic behaviour (Avolio & Gardner, 2005, pp. 315–317). Ethical leadership locates it in the leader's combined moral person and moral manager dimensions, sustained through social learning processes (Brown & Treviño, 2006, pp. 595–597). Servant leadership locates it in the leader's stewardship, humility, and disposition to put others first (van Dierendonck, 2011, pp. 1228–1230). Each tradition makes gains over earlier leader-centric accounts, but each still locates authority in qualities held by the individual leader, supported by the structures, cultures, and identities Henle (2006), Duchon and Burns (2008), and Whetten (2006) describe. *Mana motuhake* asks a different question. It asks not what kind of leader the institution should produce, but what kind of institutional order is required for whakapapa-grounded authority to govern without translation. Authentic,

ethical, and servant leadership can be carried inside an institution whose underlying form remains unchanged. Mana motuhake cannot.

Participants' accounts show why this threshold matters. Where mana-based authority was not received operatively, leaders could still act, but only by carrying burdens the institution itself did not assume. They translated, compensated, waited, absorbed tension, and repaired relationships strained by institutional conduct carried out in the name of values the institution was not prepared to honour. What appears from the outside as Māori resilience or leadership adaptability often has this hidden structure: the institution's failure has been privately converted into the leader's burden. Mana motuhake names the point at which that compensatory labour is no longer the concealed precondition for Māori authority to function. It is the condition in which the institution itself carries the authority relations on which its legitimacy depends.

5.5 Ngā Pou e Toru: The Contested Field Between Mana Tuku Iho and Mana Motuhake

The mana tuku iho → mana motuhake axis can be read through three pou. Mana tuku iho is pou tuatahi: authority constituted through whakapapa before institutional appointment. Mana motuhake is pou tuarua: the condition in which that authority can govern institutional life on its own terms. Te Ringa Kaha is pou tuatoru, naming the inherited institutional force exercised through legal, ecclesial, managerial, professional, and bureaucratic arrangements that control binding decisions, property, resourcing, and appointment. Institutional theory helps explain how that force persists through established rules and norms (Bromley & Powell, 2012; Suchman, 1995; Whetten, 2006).

Kukume names the unequal pull between them. Te Ringa Kaha can draw on mana tuku iho while retaining the channels through which institutional power binds. Leaders continue to carry obligations grounded in whakapapa, often through forms of labour that the institution has not assumed. Drawing on Freire (1970), Spiller et al. (2021) describe a dominant culture's isomorphic pull towards normalised expectations and the façades of conformity it can produce. Te Ringa Kaha names the institutional force at work in the accounts examined here. The three mechanisms developed in §5.3 explain how the asymmetry operates; the distinction between recognition and reception in §5.1 tests whether it changes.

Māori leadership in this field is the practice of carrying mana-based authority into judgement, decision, and action while remaining answerable to the obligations from which it arises. Under the pull of Te Ringa Kaha, leaders may sustain, refuse, negotiate, or seek to change the institutional conditions through which that authority must act. Leadership cannot be explained by individual character, style, or endurance alone. The institutional arrangements determine how far an inherited obligation can reach.

Te Pouhere changed the constitutional layer of Te Ringa Kaha within Te Hāhi Mihinare. The Bi-Cultural Commission (1986) named what the 1928 arrangements had withheld: episcopal status in creating the role of the Bishop of Aotearoa, but without full episcopal jurisdiction. The 1992 restructuring of the Anglican Church in Aotearoa, New Zealand and Polynesia into Three Tikanga responded to that failure by giving Te Pīhopatanga o Aotearoa episcopal jurisdiction, partner status in General Synod / te Hīnota Whānui, and formal recognition that the church had developed through more than one pathway from its beginnings

(Anglican Church in Aotearoa, New Zealand and Polynesia, 2020; Bi-Cultural Commission, 1986). That shift mattered. At the constitutional level, Te Ringa Kaha yielded ground.

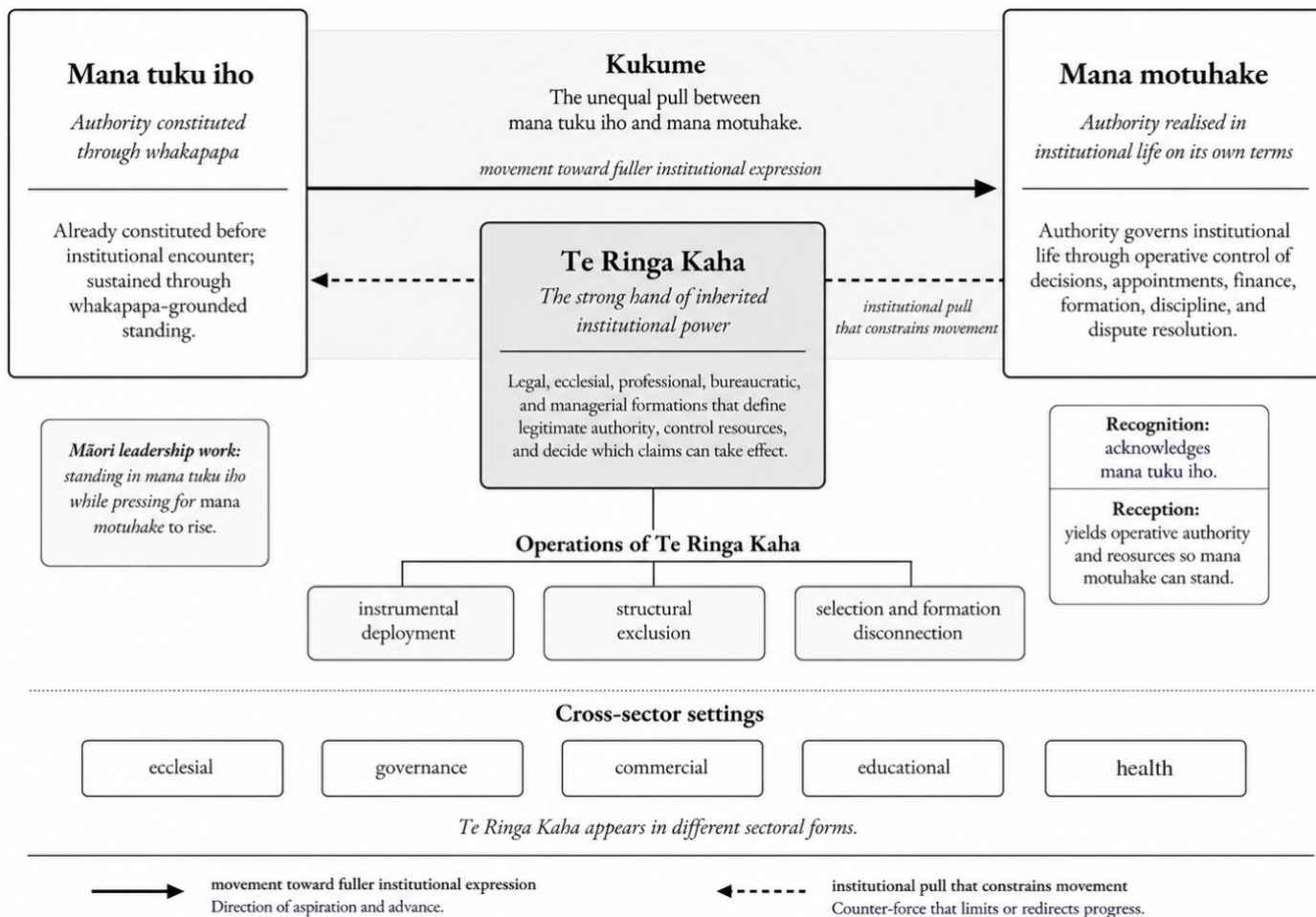
The same release did not occur at the level of resourcing. Trusts, endowments, education and ministry funds, diocesan property holdings, stipends, and formation infrastructure remain largely within structures established through settler church arrangements that Te Pouhere did not redistribute (Tamihere, 2025; Taylor & Goold, 2024). Te Pihopatanga o Aotearoa therefore exercises jurisdiction without the same resource base that enables jurisdiction elsewhere in the church. A bishop who holds jurisdiction but lacks the resources to ordain, train, deploy, and sustain ministry across a takiwā holds an office without the operative ground that office presupposes. In the church's own case, the recognition–reception distinction appears as partial constitutional reception without resource reception.

This reading adds an institutional account of decline within Te Hāhi Mihinare. General religious sociology can explain part of the environment in which the church now operates: secularisation, ageing membership, demographic change, and the weakening of inherited Christian frameworks across wider society. Those explanations matter, but they cannot explain what happens when the church formally recognises mana-based authority while leaving the resources needed for that authority to govern elsewhere. The three-pou frame addresses that internal problem. It shows how mana *tuku iho* can be worn down when it stands for generations under Te Ringa Kaha's pull without mana *motuhake* rising into operative form.

That wearing has visible forms. A person may be appointed to office without the formation needed to carry the authority the role presupposes. The whakapapa-grounded base of authority may narrow until one or two leaders carry obligations that once sat across a broader collective base. Mana *tuku iho* may also continue outside the church, sustained by whānau, hapū, and iwi formations that have stepped back from an institution that has not moved towards them. These patterns can occur together. Each shows what *kukume* looks like over time when Te Pouhere recognises mana *tuku iho* and gives constitutional form to a claim of mana *motuhake*, while resources remain held in structures that prevent that authority from becoming operative. Where reception reaches the resourcing layer, and where trusts, endowments, property, stipends, and formation infrastructure are redistributed so that jurisdiction has the operative ground it needs, mana *motuhake* can become operative. Until then, mana *tuku iho* continues to bear the load.

Figure 2 shows the unequal *kukume* between mana *tuku iho*, mana *motuhake*, and Te Ringa Kaha. The mechanisms developed in §5.3 explain how institutional force can acknowledge mana-based authority while retaining control of the channels through which it would have to govern.

Figure 2 Ngā Pou e Toru: The Contested Field Between Mana Tuku Iho and Mana Motuhake



Note. Infographic generated with assistance from ChatGPT (OpenAI, 2026) from author-specified content and reviewed by the author.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

6.1 What This Thesis Has Shown

Across Te Hāhi Mihinare and the four comparison sectors, participants described mana-based authority constituted through whakapapa and carried into institutions that often acknowledged it while retaining control over binding decisions, resources, and appointments. The three mechanisms recurred across different institutional settings, though their operation and distribution varied. Te Hāhi Mihinare presents the issue clearly because Te Pouhere names Māori authority within the church's own constitutional identity. The remaining question is whether the church's ordinary arrangements can carry the authority its constitution already recognises.

6.2 Contributions

This thesis contributes by showing how mana-based authority is recognised, constrained, and unevenly received inside institutions organised on other terms. Its central contribution is the distinction between recognition and reception. That distinction shows why whakapapa-grounded authority cannot be studied as role, behaviour, or institutional appointment alone. It also identifies the mechanisms through which institutions shift the cost of alignment onto Māori leaders, and names the conditions institutions would need to change if they are to receive the authority they invoke.

6.2.1 Theoretical Contribution

A central theoretical contribution is the recognition–reception distinction, which adds a directional test to existing accounts of legitimacy, decoupling, and institutional rhetoric: whose adaptation is required when an institution claims to recognise mana-based authority? Suchman (1995) explains how organisations secure legitimacy within socially constituted norms and beliefs. Bromley and Powell (2012) describe means-to-ends decoupling, in which formal practices can remain weakly connected to the purposes they claim to serve. Coates et al. (2023) show how institutions can incorporate Indigenous language and ceremony while retaining governing arrangements organised elsewhere. The distinction developed here asks whether the institution changes the channels through which authority becomes effective, or requires Māori authority to fit those channels.

The three mechanisms developed in §5.3 identify how recognition can remain disconnected from operative authority. Instrumental deployment, structural exclusion, and selection/formation disconnection show where tikanga commitments, binding decision channels and appointment criteria fail to carry the authority institutions acknowledge. The mana tuku iho → mana motuhake axis connects the grounds of authority, the obligations carried by leaders, and the conditions under which that authority can govern. Māori scholarship provides the account of whakapapa, tikanga, obligation and continuity on which this analysis rests (M. Durie, 1998; Henry & Wolfram, 2018; Kawharu et al., 2024; Marsden, 2003; Mead, 2016; Spiller et al., 2020). The distinction, mechanisms, and axis together constitute the explanatory contribution.

Table 11 Recognition versus Reception: The Evaluative Distinction

Condition	Definition	Test
Recognition	Institutional acknowledgement of mana-based authority in language, symbol, and constitutional form	Authority is named, celebrated, or consulted
Reception	Operative structures reorganised around the authority so that it governs without translation	Authority determines institutional form rather than being accommodated within pre-existing structures
Decision criterion	Direction of adaptation	Did the institution reshape itself to receive the authority, or did the authority reshape itself to fit the institution?

Note. The distinction follows §5.1 and turns on the direction of institutional adaptation.

6.2.2 Methodological Contribution

Methodologically, this thesis demonstrates how researchers can conduct abductive analysis within a Kaupapa Māori research design. It brings Kaupapa Māori research and abductive analysis into sustained relation. Kaupapa Māori research requires researchers who work with Māori to recognise Māori epistemologies, prioritise Māori benefit, and answer to whakapapa-grounded accountabilities (Cram, 2017; Pihama et al., 2002, 2019; G. H. Smith, 2017; L. T. Smith, 2021). Timmermans and Tavory (2022) describe abductive analysis as a logic of theory construction in which surprising observations generate hypotheses about the theoretical case the data disclose. The researcher then moves recursively between theory and observation until the most plausible explanation accounts for the pattern. Although these traditions begin from different premises, both require the researcher to remain in disciplined dialogue with the relationships, concepts, and institutional settings through which knowledge emerges, rather than imposing an inferential frame from outside the data.

This thesis adapts abductive logic to Kaupapa Māori practice in three connected ways. The first adaptation concerns how surprise was generated. Timmermans and Tavory (2022, p. 1) treat surprise as the engine of theory construction, but in this study surprise did not arise only from inductive familiarity with the data. The cross-sector design deliberately placed enterprise, governance, education, health, and ecclesial settings alongside one another because each sector works through different institutional assumptions. Patterns recurred across those settings, yet no single substantive theory reviewed in Chapter 2 predicted that recurrence. The pattern became visible because the thesis selected cases that varied by institutional form while holding constant the exercise of mana-based authority. Timmermans and Tavory (2022, pp. 32–34) distinguish map theories, which provide substantive coordinates for a particular field, from compass theories, which disclose social grammars that travel beyond one field. In those terms, this thesis used sector-specific literatures as map theories and mana-based authority as the compass that disclosed a pattern those sector maps could not absorb.

The second adaptation concerns the movement between data and theory. Timmermans and Tavory (2022, pp. 155–157) describe abductive analysis as a recursive process, but in this thesis that movement occurred through mana atua, mana tūpuna, mana whenua, and mana tangata, not through theoretical traditions external to te ao Māori. These categories did not function as ad hoc analytic codes. Māori scholarship, including Marsden (2003), Mead (2016), M. Durie (1998), and Royal (1998, 2017), provided the resources through which the thesis could read the strain accounts and formulate the distinction between recognition and reception. Kaupapa Māori commitments required that ordering of the analysis. Had the research imported its theoretical apparatus from elsewhere and then used Māori accounts merely to illustrate it, the thesis would have reproduced the analytical asymmetry it diagnoses. By working abductively from within Māori conceptual resources while remaining in disciplined contact with institutional theory, the thesis made the analytic pattern visible without domesticating it.

The third adaptation concerns how the thesis makes a theoretical case while remaining answerable to whakapapa-grounded accountabilities. Timmermans and Tavory (2022) argue that every abductive analysis

must answer the question, “what is this data a theoretical case of?” (p. 156). This thesis answered that question through whakapapa methodology, not through procedural decision rules alone. Cram (2017) and Pihama et al. (2002) argue that Kaupapa Māori research makes the researcher answerable not only to academic readers but also to participants and to the communities through whose kōrero the data exists. This thesis argues that the data show a recurring institutional pattern: institutions recognise mana-based authority but do not receive it into their operating arrangements. That claim was not imposed at the outset. It developed abductively through repeated movement between participant accounts, Kaupapa Māori theory, and the institutional patterns emerging across the cases. Table 2 and Figure 1 document that analytic movement, and Section 5.5 consolidates it as the recognition/reception distinction. The research process also tested the analysis relationally, through accountability to participants and through the karakia and tikanga that framed each interview.

These adaptations show that Kaupapa Māori research and abductive theory construction can discipline each other rather than compete. Abductive analysis requires Kaupapa Māori research to test culturally familiar interpretations against unexpected patterns in the data. Kaupapa Māori research requires abductive analysis to justify its theoretical maps to Māori concepts, relationships, and accountabilities rather than import them from elsewhere. This thesis therefore provides a worked example of abductive theory construction conducted on Kaupapa Māori terms, and identifies a methodological design that other researchers can adapt to their own analytic problems.

6.2.3 Critical and Evaluative Contribution

This thesis makes two critical and evaluative claims. First, it exposes a limit in institutional literature on legitimacy, decoupling, and the rhetoric–practice gap. That literature identifies inconsistency between organisational language and organisational conduct, but it does not consistently ask who must adapt when institutions fail to align their claims with their operative structures. Suchman (1995), Bromley and Powell (2012), and Coates et al. (2023) treat the gap as an organisational property that organisations can diagnose and address. Reading institutions through the recognition/reception distinction changes the question. The three mechanisms specified in Chapter 5 and drawn together in Section 5.5 identify the concrete points at which that question must be answered. When an institution names mana-based authority as integral to its life but does not reorganise its structures to receive that authority, better language or improved policy does not close the gap. Māori leaders close it by translating, compensating, waiting, repairing relationships, and carrying the institutional work the organisation has not undertaken.

The cases across sectors tell the same story. CHU2 exercised strategic patience for years within church hierarchy before her standing allowed movement on tikanga-grounded convictions. CHU6 was overridden at the decisive point after years in an organisation whose formal values used tikanga language. HLT1 carried karakia privately for 26 years because the institution provided no formal mechanism through which spiritual practice could reach clinical governance. Institutional literature may read such cases as decoupling. The recognition and reception distinction asks who must move when the organisation decouples its stated commitments from its binding arrangements.

Second, the thesis identifies the cost borne by those who carry mana-based authority inside institutions that recognise but do not receive it. What appears externally as Māori resilience or leadership adaptability often has a hidden structure: institutional failure becomes the leader's private burden. Māori leaders translate, compensate, wait, absorb tension, and repair relationships strained by institutional conduct carried out in the name of values the institution was not prepared to honour. Spiller et al. (2020) describe Māori collective leadership as sustained through three connected practices: activating a knowledge code, cultivating ties of affection, and working the tensions (p. 517). Those practices require more than individual skill. They depend on relationships, tikanga processes, time, resourcing, and shared accountability that allow the work to be carried collectively. When institutions do not support those conditions, the burden shifts onto individual Māori leaders, who are left to work the tensions without the collective structures that mana-based authority requires.

Henry and Wolfgramm (2018) reach a parallel conclusion in their account of relational leadership as a way of being in relation to others rather than as a discrete role. They show whakapapa organising relationships across spiritual, ancestral, terrestrial, and social domains, with leadership emerging from that relational field. When institutions disconnect that field from the channels through which decisions become binding, the leader carries the disconnection privately. Salmon et al. (2023) name the cumulative effect: Indigenous leadership can be eroded when leaders internalise Western styles and forms. Non-receiving institutions therefore do more than impose the immediate strain of compensatory labour. Over time, they displace the relational ontology on which mana-based authority depends. Cribb et al. (2022) document the same pattern in Māori-led enterprise, where institutional environments built on extractive assumptions weaken the value relations the enterprise was formed to sustain.

This thesis specifies the points at which institutions exact that cost through the three mechanisms identified in Chapter 5. It also refuses to treat compensatory labour, translation, waiting, repair, and relationship-holding as the natural expression of Māori endurance. They are signs of incomplete reception and should not be romanticised. When non-Māori leaders rely on mana-based authority for legitimacy, trust, and continuity while leaving Māori leaders to carry institutional contradiction privately, they participate in structural evasion. Shared governance requires shared responsibility for the authority relations on which the institution depends.

6.2.4 Practical Contribution

The thesis draws four practical implications from the architecture of recognition and reception, and from the three interlocking mechanisms identified in Chapter 5. The first concerns institutions that claim to recognise mana-based authority. For them, the test is whether recognition changes the ordinary channels through which decisions are made, people are appointed, resources are controlled, and disputes are settled. The second concerns Māori organisations as organisations. For them, the question is not whether mana-based authority can enter institutional life, but whether the structures Māori build around it can withstand institutional pressure from outside. The third concerns how organisations read, evaluate, and develop Māori leaders when they rely on leadership vocabularies drawn from Western leadership theory. The fourth concerns the

wellbeing of those who carry mana-based authority inside institutions that recognise but do not receive it, and the responsibilities of whānau, hapū, iwi, and institutional employers who depend on that authority. The thesis grounds these implications in the data and states them as diagnostic tests rather than as a reform manual. They remain bounded by the conditions under which the data were generated.

6.3 Implications for Institutional Design

The three mechanisms identified in Chapter 5 also function as practical tests. They correspond to three areas of institutional design: the relation between tikanga language and tikanga accountability, the routing of authority through binding decision channels, and the relation between appointment, formation, and the authority a role requires.

The first area concerns tikanga language and tikanga accountability. An institution may invoke tikanga concepts such as manaakitanga, rangatiratanga, kaitiakitanga, or whanaungatanga in strategies, values statements, and ceremonies. Whether those concepts govern conduct is a different question. The institution must move from expression to obligation to enforcement. It must specify what each tikanga concept requires in operational terms: what conduct manaakitanga requires, what conduct kaitiakitanga rules out, and what rangatiratanga obliges in that setting. It must embed those obligations in decision rights and process documents rather than only in values statements. It must establish tikanga-grounded accountability mechanisms that can name breaches and require repair. It must align governance arrangements so that those who carry mana-based authority have determinative rather than merely consultative effect. It must incorporate tikanga obligations into performance review and leadership evaluation, create channels through which whānau, hapū, and iwi can assess whether the institution is upholding those obligations, resource the relational labour that manaakitanga and whanaungatanga presuppose, and review every point at which tikanga concepts are translated into legal, managerial, or corporate forms so that translation preserves rather than distorts their meaning.

Bromley and Powell (2012) supply the analytic warrant for this test: when formal practices are loosely coupled to outcomes, symbolic recognition can substitute for operative reception. Cribb et al. (2022) demonstrate this structural requirement in their analysis of Te Pā Auroa, the governance framework for the Whanganui River established under the 2017 Treaty settlement. Their account shows that Indigenous frameworks cannot govern organisational practice unless they are built into ordinary routines, decision criteria, accountability processes, and governance structures, not merely acknowledged in principle. The practical question is therefore not whether the institution uses tikanga language, but whether people can breach the obligations that language presupposes without any mechanism for naming, judging, and correcting the breach. Where they can, the institution has produced symbolic recognition rather than operative reception.

The second area concerns the routing of authority through decision channels. Representation on committees, participation in discussion, and access to consultation do not establish that mana-based authority has entered the decision structure. They show only that it has entered discussion. Institutions must map the points at which decisions become binding: who controls finance, appointments, dispute resolution, strategic

direction, land and property decisions, and final authorisation. They must then test whether mana-based claims can reach those sites and determine what follows there. When institutions hear mana-based claims at the deliberative surface but prevent them from having formal effect where institutional power concentrates, they secure the legitimacy benefit of consultation without bearing the cost of reorganisation. Chapter 5 identified this as structural exclusion: institutions keep mana-based claims outside the channels where decisions bind. The practical test is whether the institution can identify, for each binding decision channel, a route by which mana-based authority enters as authority rather than as advice. Where no such route exists, the channel forms part of the problem.

The third area concerns appointment and formation. Selection procedures may be consistent, comparable, and procedurally defensible while still failing to recognise the authority a role requires. This failure matters where authority depends on whakapapa, community recognition, territorial knowledge, and spiritual and relational formation. Institutions must move from formal criteria to relational recognition and then to appropriate appointment. They must define each role by the kind of authority it must carry, not only by the skills or competencies it needs. They must redesign criteria so that those criteria recognise relational, cultural, and community-grounded forms of authority rather than only individual achievement. They must involve those who recognise the authority in question, including whānau, hapū, iwi, or relevant communities, rather than treating institutional panels as sufficient by themselves. They must admit non-institutional indicators of authority as evidence, including community standing, demonstrated relationships, knowledge of place and people, and spiritual and relational formation. They must adjust interviews and scoring matrices where those tools cannot recognise the forms of authority the role requires. They must align formation pathways with appointment, so that the institution prepares people for the authority relations the role demands rather than only for institutional procedure. They must also build in relational accountability after appointment, so that those appointed remain answerable to the communities through which their authority is recognised.

Kristof-Brown et al.'s (2005) account of person–organisation fit supplies one part of the analytic warrant. Where a role requires relational and spiritual formation but the selection process assesses only qualifications competence, the appointment may be procedurally sound while remaining substantively misaligned. Cornell and Kalt (2000) supply another. Their cross-tribal study of American Indian economic development found that successful institutional outcomes required practical sovereignty and cultural match to be present together. Practical sovereignty meant that the institution exercised decision-making authority over the matters it claimed. Cultural match meant that formal institutional structures aligned with the community's underlying cultural norms of legitimacy. Cornell and Kalt found that institutions not backed by cultural match were less likely to produce sustained economic and social outcomes (p. 466). That condition applies directly to the appointment problem this thesis identifies. When institutional selection is disconnected from the whakapapa-grounded formation on which community recognition depends, the institution produces a procedural appointment without the cultural match required to sustain the role's authority. The issue lies in the design of the appointment process, not in the individual appointed.

These three areas operate together. An institution may pass one test and fail the others. Where tikanga language is matched by tikanga accountability but mana-based authority cannot reach the decision channels where power concentrates, the institution may have moral legitimacy in Suchman's (1995) terms, but it has not received mana-based authority into its operative life. Where mana-based authority enters decision channels but selection processes continue to recruit through qualifications criteria alone, the institution will gradually lose the people through whom that authority must act. The three mechanisms interlock.

Each sector carries a specific version of the same problem. For iwi governance and post-settlement governance entities, the pressing issue is temporal. Intergenerational horizons of 40 or 100 years sit uneasily within annual cycles, short board terms, and reporting obligations built for other accountabilities. Some entities continue to route cultural and commercial obligations through a single governance channel, which can translate cultural obligations into commercial terms over time. For commercial enterprise, the question is whether any binding channel, not merely strategy language or advisory process, has been altered around the authority the organisation claims to recognise. Where it has not, the organisation remains governed elsewhere while drawing on Māori leaders to legitimise and mediate that governance. For education, the findings are comparatively hopeful because some settings were constituted from within the kaupapa rather than adding kaupapa to a pre-existing form. Those settings show that institutions can be built around relational and spiritual conditions rather than accommodating them from the margins. Mainstream educational organisations therefore face the question of whether they will treat kaupapa, reo, karakia, and whakapapa-based accountability as formative of institutional life rather than as supplementary cultural content. For health, the question is whether whānau, wairua, whenua, and collective accountability enter as determinants of care or only as contextual considerations around a model settled elsewhere. For Te Hāhi Mihinare, the question is especially demanding because the church cannot credibly treat tikanga, partnership, and Māori authority as optional additions to a settled order. Te Pouhere claims more than that. The question is whether the operative channels of governance, appointment, discipline, property, and strategy can carry mana-based authority on its own terms.

Four structural moves follow from the findings. The first concerns governance and binding decision channels. CHU1's account that the financial channels of the church remain "completely untouched" by Te Pouhere identifies the operative gap directly. Te Pouhere recognises Tikanga Māori as one of three orders of standing within a single church, but the channels through which money is appropriated, budgets approved, property held, and strategic priorities fixed continue to operate through structures that pre-date that recognition and have not been redesigned around it. Recognition without redesign of binding channels reproduces the structural exclusion analysed in Chapter 5. The church's General Synod, its standing committees, and its property and trust boards therefore face a constitutional question, not a procedural one. Either the binding channels are altered so that mana-based authority can determine, rather than merely advise on, decisions that bind the church, or the claim of three-tikanga partnership remains constitutional language while the operative life of the institution is governed elsewhere.

The second move concerns formation, selection, and ordination. ENT2's strain case in Chapter 4 named ministers who arrived without the spiritual-cultural and ancestral competencies their roles in Māori communities presupposed. CHU3 identified the same gap from within the church: the church had not invested in its own people at the level the work required. This finding identifies a selection-and-formation disconnection in which the institution privileges qualifications it can assess over competencies the community recognises. Taylor and Goold (2024) show that Māori whānau, hapū, and iwi networks have historically carried formation in this church, rather than leaving formation to the institutional apparatus alone (pp. 23–25, 78). The constitutional task is to make those networks formative rather than supplementary. The practical implication is that the church's selection and discernment processes for ordained ministry must answer not only to the bishops and committees that confirm appointments but also to the whānau, hapū, and iwi communities to whom ministers' authority is accountable in practice.

The third move concerns property, trust, and the long temporal horizon. ENT3's 100-year analytical horizon, although raised in an enterprise context, names a structural condition that also applies to the church. Church buildings, land, endowments, and trust instruments carry inheritances and obligations that exceed the term of any current synod or board. When these holdings sit within trust structures designed through settler legal forms, trustees owe fiduciary obligations to instruments that were not designed to carry mana whenua authority and intergenerational accountability. The practical implication is a trust-by-trust review of how Te Hāhi Mihinare holds property, asking whether each trust instrument can carry the obligations Te Pouhere now claims for the church and what redesign would be required where it cannot. That undertaking would be substantial, but the findings indicate that without it the constitutional claim cannot operate where binding decisions about land, capital, and intergenerational holdings are made.

The fourth move concerns common life, discipline, and conciliar order. Avis (2013) and Atta-Baffoe (2016) describe Anglican unity as *koinonia* carried through synodical and conciliar life rather than through centralised authority. The findings show that conciliar life inside Te Hāhi Mihinare can carry mana-based authority when those who participate in council remain accountable to whakapapa-grounded relationships beyond the synod chamber. Where they do not, conciliar process becomes the channel through which mana-based authority is converted into advisory, procedural, or representational form before it can act. The church's processes of discernment, discipline, and synodical decision therefore settle the constitutional question in practice. CHU1 and CHU2 show what it costs ordained Māori leaders to carry mana-based authority within those processes when the institution requires them to translate that authority before it can reach binding decisions. This thesis names the cost of that translation, the structural conditions that produce it, and the internal constitutional commitment through which Te Pouhere gives the church grounds to redesign those conditions.

These four moves—governance and binding decision channels, formation and selection, property and trust, and conciliar life—do not exhaust the structural agenda Te Pouhere implies. They identify the points at which the findings of this thesis bear most directly on what the church can do next, and where the difference between recognition and reception becomes operative.

6.4 Implications for Māori Organisations

There are implications that concern Māori organisations. This thesis developed the distinction between recognition and reception by examining institutions organised on non-Māori terms, but the same diagnostic also applies to organisations that Māori design, govern, and run. Māori organisations are not exempt from the three mechanisms; they encounter them differently. When Māori organisations build tikanga language into their design, they must test whether the obligations that language carries have accountability mechanisms inside the organisation, not only in the wider whānau, hapū, or iwi reference community. When they build decision channels around mana-based authority, they must test whether those channels can withstand pressure from funders, regulators, settlement co-governance partners, audit standards, and statutory reporting frameworks that judge performance through different evaluative grammars. When they tie selection and formation to whakapapa and community recognition, they must test whether intergenerational succession can be sustained as the organisation scales, professionalises, or enters joint ventures with mainstream entities.

Henry and Poyser (2024) show that Māori asset holding institutions are shaped by tikanga, mātauranga Māori, intergenerational horizons, and historically grounded understandings of land, reciprocity, and collective wellbeing, rather than by conventional Western investment logics alone. They also show that Māori organisations need real control over institutional design if those commitments are to govern practice. Nicholson et al. (2019) make a related argument through ambicultural governance: Māori organisations can hold wealth creation and collective wellbeing together only when they retain authority over the performance systems, decision criteria, and strategic objectives through which value is judged. Rout et al. (2025) name the structural pressure directly. Māori economies of wellbeing still have to operate within the contemporary capitalist economy and the settler state's institutional framework, even where wellbeing-economy strategies align with Māori economic kaupapa.

The practical implication is that Māori organisations face the recognition-and-reception diagnostic at the seams where they encounter institutions organised on other terms. The primary risk is not that Māori organisations fail internally to recognise mana-based authority. The risk is that external pressure, exerted through funding contracts, audit regimes, joint venture agreements, settlement reporting obligations, and corporate trustee fiduciary duties, can gradually route binding decisions through evaluative grammars that Māori organisations did not design and cannot govern. GOV2's account of an iwi entity carrying cultural and commercial obligations through a single governance channel illustrates the risk that one set of obligations will be translated into the terms of the other. CHU3's account of a church social service whose Māori-grounded mission was tested by funder reporting requirements shows the same mechanism in another sector. Māori organisations therefore need to map the seams through which external institutional pressure enters, identify which binding decisions are made through grammars they can govern and which are made through grammars they cannot, and test whether they have the structural capacity to refuse, renegotiate, or insulate external evaluative frames where those frames cannot carry mana-based authority.

6.5 Implications for Māori and Western Leadership

There are also implications about how organisations evaluate, develop, and support Māori leaders when they rely on leadership frameworks drawn from Western leadership theory. Chapter 2 identified two positions in the literature. Katene (2010, 2013), Ruwhiu and Elkin (2016), and Haar et al. (2019) interpret Māori leadership through Western typologies such as transactional, charismatic, transformational, servant, ethical, and relational leadership. In that approach, Western theory supplies the categories and Māori leadership appears as a culturally inflected instance of them. Henry and Wolfgramm (2018), Spiller et al. (2020), and Salmon et al. (2023) resist that approach. They argue that whakapapa, place, ancestors, and more-than-human worlds constitute Māori leadership in ways that comparative typologies can erode.

The findings of this thesis support the second position, while recognising why comparative accounts have had practical appeal inside organisations that already use Western leadership vocabularies. Participants did not describe their leadership as a Māori variant of a Western category. They described mana-based authority as constituted before appointment, sustained through karakia, attentiveness to tohu, custodial discipline, relational presence, and intergenerational accountability, and assessed through obligations that exceed organisational role. Organisations that draw leadership development, performance review, succession planning, and executive coaching from Western leadership theory therefore risk evaluating Māori leaders through categories that cannot register the authority those leaders carry or the work they actually do.

That risk has three practical consequences. Leadership development programmes built around individual competencies, personal style assessments, or psychometric profiling cannot adequately account for what Spiller et al. (2020) describe as the activation of a knowledge code, the cultivation of ties of affection, and the working of tensions across generations and relationships. Those practices depend on a relational ecosystem that such programmes usually do not address. Performance review systems built around individual achievement, measurable deliverables, and personal contribution cannot adequately account for what Henry and Wolfgramm (2018) describe as leadership enacted as a way of being in relation to others rather than as a discrete role. In such cases, achievement is distributed across the relational field through which the leader acts. Succession planning that identifies individual “high-potential” candidates cannot adequately account for what Wolfgramm et al. (2022) call pūmahara, the generative collective memory through which leadership identity is enacted. The institution alone does not produce the successor; whakapapa, formation, and community recognition also produce and authorise that person.

Organisations that seek to support Māori leadership must therefore distinguish between developing Māori leaders inside Western frames and recognising mana-based authority on its own terms. The first approach remains incomplete and may become harmful when it requires Māori leaders to translate relationally constituted authority into categories that flatten it. The second requires organisations to recognise non-institutional indicators of authority, develop evaluative frames that can register relational and intergenerational practice, and work with whānau, hapū, and iwi as participants in formation rather than treating them as background context. Salmon et al. (2023) identify the risk clearly: Indigenous leadership can be eroded when leaders internalise Western styles and forms. The practical safeguard is not to add Māori

content to existing leadership frameworks, but to ensure that the categories through which organisations read leadership can carry mana-based authority.

6.6 Implications for the Wellbeing of Leaders

Finally, there are implications for the wellbeing of those who carry mana-based authority inside institutions that recognise but do not receive it. Section 6.2 argued that institutions often shift the cost of incomplete reception onto Māori leaders. That cost affects whānau, hapū, iwi, institutional employers, governance partners, and the leaders themselves, but it cannot be reduced to occupational stress, burnout, or individual resilience. When institutions recognise tikanga without receiving it into their operative structures, Māori leaders carry the gap. When institutions consult Māori leaders without conferring decision authority, Māori leaders carry the gap. When institutions appoint people through qualification-based processes that do not recognise the authority the role requires, Māori leaders carry the gap.

Spiller et al. (2020) describe Māori collective leadership as involving the work of “working the tensions” (p. 517). In the cases examined here, institutions required leaders to carry that work individually because the institutional environment did not support the relational ecosystem on which the practice depends. HLT1 carried karakia privately for 26 years inside a hospital that had no formal channel through which spiritual practice could reach clinical governance. CHU2 exercised strategic patience for years before her standing permitted movement on tikanga-grounded convictions. CHU6 was overridden at the decisive point after years in an organisation whose formal values used tikanga language. Across these accounts, the cost did not arise primarily from the work itself, which leaders accepted as part of their calling. It arose because leaders carried work the institution should have carried, in conditions where the institution neither acknowledged that work nor reorganised itself to make compensatory labour unnecessary.

Four practical implications follow. Institutional employers that benefit from mana-based authority should treat translation, compensation, and relational repair as work the institution receives, not as the leader’s personal contribution. They should resource that work explicitly through time, budget, and accountability rather than rely on it as unpaid scaffolding. Where existing structures cannot receive that work, the institution should alter the structures rather than fortify the leader. Resilience training, executive coaching, and individual wellbeing programmes do not address the source of the cost, and may cause moral injury when they imply that Māori leaders lack personal capacity rather than institutional support. Whānau, hapū, and iwi who recognise the authority a leader carries also have an interest in the relational and spiritual conditions that sustain it, including karakia, attentiveness to tohu, custodial discipline, and intergenerational obligation. Institutional employers cannot supply those conditions, but they can refrain from organising work in ways that erode the time, presence, and connection through which they are sustained.

Leaders themselves should not be made the site where the gap is resolved. Those who carry mana-based authority have the right to refuse, to wait, to limit translation, and to remain answerable first to the relational order through which their authority was constituted, rather than to an institutional order that has not learned to receive it. Salmon et al. (2023) identify the long-term risk: when institutional environments do not support the relations on which Indigenous leadership depends, they can erode the form of authority itself.

Leaders' wellbeing therefore cannot be separated from institutional design. It provides one test of whether an institution has received mana-based authority or merely recognised it.

Across the four strands, this thesis does not shift responsibility from institutions onto individuals. It clarifies the conditions under which Māori leaders in this study worked and names the costs institutions imposed when they misrecognised those conditions. Without the distinction between recognition and reception, symbolic acknowledgement can be mistaken for structural change. Without the three mechanisms, institutional constraint can be misread as interpersonal difficulty or insufficient resilience. Compensatory labour, translation, waiting, repair, and relationship-holding are real forms of leadership, but they are also signs of incomplete reception. They should not be romanticised as the natural expression of Māori endurance.

6.7 Limits and Future Research

This study has seven principal limits. First, it offers an interpretive account rather than a representative one. The study drew on 21 participants across five sectors to generate analytical depth, not demographic coverage. Its claims rest on transferability from a purposefully composed sample, not on statistical inference from a probability sample. The thesis does not describe every Māori leadership experience or every institutional setting in Aotearoa New Zealand. It identifies a recurring structural pattern through a bounded comparative design. The strength of that pattern lies in its internal consistency across sectors whose institutional assumptions differ substantially, not in the number of accounts collected within any one sector. Readers seeking distributional claims about Māori leadership in Aotearoa will not find them here. The warrant is abductive. Timmermans and Tavory (2022) argue that abductive analysis identifies the theoretical case that data offer through systematic movement between observation and theory, and leaves the resulting account open to testing by readers and subsequent research (pp. 32, 156).

Second, the data come from single interviews rather than longitudinal observation. Authority, strain, and institutional adaptation unfold over time. This thesis identifies how participants understood the constitution, sustaining, and institutional realisation of mana-based authority at the moment of interview. It cannot fully trace how those dynamics deepen, shift, or resolve over longer periods. Nor can it show whether an institution identified here as recognising but not receiving mana-based authority has since moved towards reception or regressed from it.

Third, the denominational case receives disproportionate attention. That imbalance is intentional because the research problem centres on Te Hāhi Mihinare, but it remains a limit. The cross-sector comparison serves the church inquiry. It does not provide equal depth for each sector and does not claim to do so. The thesis reads governance, enterprise, education, and health at the depth required to establish that the pattern is not peculiar to ecclesial form. It does not read those sectors at the depth required to sustain a primary diagnosis of any one of them.

Fourth, within religion, the thesis works through Te Hāhi Mihinare and does not extend to other settings in which Māori Christianity is organised. Rātana, Ringatū, Catholic Māori ministry, Methodist Te Taha Māori, Presbyterian Māori structures, and independent Māori churches each constitute mana-based

authority within their own institutional forms and would offer distinctive material on the question this thesis takes up. This thesis does not attempt that breadth, and the Anglican case should not be taken as standing in for Māori Christianity as a whole. The thesis selects the Anglican case strategically rather than arbitrarily. Te Pouhere, the Constitution/Te Pouhere of 1992, makes the gap between constitutional recognition and operative reception legible in a way that polities without an equivalent constitutional instrument may not. Te Hāhi Mihinare has committed itself, in writing and at the highest constitutional level, to a three-Tikanga order in which Māori authority is named as integral to the church's common life. That commitment creates a documentary and institutional record against which the gap can be read. Denominations whose recognition of mana-based authority is less formally constituted would require a different analytical apparatus to disclose a comparable pattern. The case therefore maximises analytical traction rather than representing the field.

Fifth, the accounts generated here are Māori leaders' accounts. The research question asks how Māori leaders describe the exercise of mana-based authority within institutional forms organised on other terms, and the sampling strategy and kaupapa follow that question. The thesis does not include accounts from non-Māori institutional decision-makers whose decisions shape whether institutions receive mana-based authority. Nor does it include Māori participants who have disaffiliated from the institutions examined here, or those who remain within them but have chosen not to speak publicly about the costs they carry. Each position would yield different data and test different questions. Their absence does not weaken the claim this thesis makes, because the claim concerns how institutional forms appear from the position of the authority required to operate inside them. It does mean that the thesis does not address how those institutional forms are experienced, justified, or contested by those who operate them or by those who have left.

Sixth, my proximity as researcher to Te Hāhi Mihinare and to the wider relational worlds examined here is both a resource and a risk. Kaupapa Māori and whakapapa methodology make that location analytically necessary rather than incidental, but proximity does not remove interpretive danger. Reflexive discipline reduces that risk; it cannot abolish it. Kaupapa Māori research also requires the study to return value to the communities and participants whose kōrero make it possible. The thesis can name that obligation, but the reciprocity it entails extends beyond the document and continues after examination. Readers who judge the study on Kaupapa Māori terms may therefore read the thesis as one stage in a longer obligation, not as its completion.

Seventh, the thesis establishes mechanisms of institutional constraint, but it cannot settle whether those mechanisms are historically contingent or structurally endemic to the encounter between mana-based authority and inherited institutional forms. The evidence shows that the mechanisms recur, distribute cost unevenly onto those who carry mana-based authority, and operate across sectors whose institutional assumptions differ substantially. The evidence does not, by itself, determine whether different institutional arrangements, in other times or places, would reproduce the same pattern or open different possibilities. The thesis frames that question rather than closes it.

One further distinction belongs with these limits. The thesis's analytical claim and its normative reading are related but not identical. Analytically, the thesis argues that institutions recognise mana-based authority without consistently receiving it, that three mechanisms constrain that authority, and that the cost

falls on those who carry it. That claim rests on the evidence and interpretive method set out in the thesis. Normatively, the thesis argues that institutions in general, and Te Hāhi Mihinare in particular, ought to reorganise their operative life so that recognition and reception align. The evidence supports that position, but it does not compel every reader to accept the prescription. A reader may accept the analysis without accepting the institutional remedy. Marking that distinction allows examiners and readers to judge each claim on its own terms.

These limits open specific directions for further research. Longitudinal studies could trace whether and how a single institution becomes more or less able to receive mana-based authority over time, particularly across leadership transition, constitutional amendment, or financial restructuring. Sector-specific studies could take governance, enterprise, education, or health as primary cases rather than as comparative grounds for the denominational inquiry, with sampling and depth calibrated to each sector's internal dynamics rather than to the cross-sector pattern. Empirical studies of institutional redesign could examine what happens when institutions deliberately alter governance, appointment, resource, or accountability structures in response to mana-based authority. Such work would extend this account and test whether the three mechanisms persist, weaken, or reconfigure under changed institutional conditions.

Further research could examine whether, and under what conditions, the kukume associated with Te Ringa Kaha becomes generative, and whether relational engagement, embodied practice, and inclusion can change institutional arrangements rather than leave Māori leaders to carry the costs of accommodation.

A second direction is denominational. Further work within Te Hāhi Mihinare could test more precisely how the church's operative channels of finance, appointment, canonical discipline, and ordained formation mediate the authority Te Pouhere names, and whether particular hui amorangi, pastorates, or trust structures have moved further towards reception than others. Comparative denominational research across Rātana, Ringatū, Catholic Māori ministry, Methodist Te Taha Māori, Presbyterian Māori structures, and independent Māori churches could test whether the recognition/reception distinction holds across Māori Christian polities whose constitutional instruments differ from the Anglican case. It could also identify whether the three mechanisms take forms specific to different institutional inheritances, and clarify what belongs to Anglican constitutional form and what belongs more broadly to Māori Christianity inside settler-colonial institutional frames.

A third direction concerns comparison beyond Aotearoa. This thesis develops the mana *tuku iho* to mana *motuhake* axis and the three mechanisms from Māori conceptual resources and Aotearoa data, so their scope remains bounded by that setting. Indigenous scholars in other settings would need to decide whether analogous work can be undertaken where Indigenous authority traditions encounter institutional forms organised on other terms. This thesis offers an analytical vocabulary that others may find useful, test, adapt, or reject. It does not propose a universal framework. Its claims remain bounded to the setting in which the evidence was generated, and any extension belongs to those whose *whakapapa*, *tikanga*, or equivalent resources authorise them to make it.

The thesis identifies the structural problem and specifies its mechanisms. It does not exhaust the institutional futures that may follow from that diagnosis, the denominational comparisons that may deepen it, or the Indigenous analytical traditions that may take it further.

6.8 Final Thoughts

This thesis began with a puzzle within Te Hāhi Mihinare. The question was whether an institution that names tikanga as integral to its own identity has reorganised its operative life so that mana-based authority can move through it as authority, rather than as a presence it honours while leaving the institution's deeper order intact. Read through the cross-sector comparison, the answer is no longer confined to the church. Mana-based authority persists across institutional settings because it is constituted through whakapapa before those settings are encountered. Institutions do not determine whether that authority exists. They shape how it is realised. They recognise, translate, constrain, or only partially receive the authority that enters them, and they distribute the cost of their incompleteness onto those who carry it.

The denominational case matters because the church cannot plausibly treat mana-based authority as external to its original design. Te Hāhi Mihinare constitutionally names Māori beginnings, Treaty partnership, tikanga differentiation, and the common ground as part of its own identity, while also recording that the 1857 constitutional settlement was agreed without direct Māori participation or the inclusion of tikanga Māori (Anglican Church in Aotearoa, New Zealand and Polynesia, 2020). That contradiction is written into the constitutional narrative and carried forward into the operative order. The problem disclosed in this case is not absence of recognition. Recognition is present, constitutionally and symbolically, in ways that matter. The problem is that recognition has not been matched consistently by operative reorganisation, and the church continues to depend on mana-based authority that its ordinary structures do not yet reliably carry.

This is where the argument connects to the question of church decline. Rahmani et al. (2024) report that between 2006 and 2018, the proportion of Māori identifying as Christian fell from 46.2% to 29.9%. Māori who had left Christianity often associated the church with cultural suppression and the weakening of Māori forms of belief and healing. Their study does not attribute that decline to institutional design, and this thesis makes no such causal claim. The three mechanisms identified here nevertheless help explain how institutions may reproduce the conditions of cultural suppression and exclusion described by Rahmani et al. When institutions use tikanga language without tikanga accountability, prevent mana-based authority from reaching binding decisions, or appoint leaders without regard to whakapapa-grounded formation, they recognise Māori authority without allowing it to govern. The failure lies in the institution's inability to give practical effect to the authority it claims to recognise.

The findings suggest that institutional organisation also warrants examination when interpreting the conditions of ministry and participation. Renewal therefore requires institutional forms capable of carrying the authority on which the church's ministry depends, not only better programmes or greater effort from the same people. The thesis does not argue that every instance of church decline can be reduced to constitutional form, and the data gathered here do not test such a claim. The analysis supports a more limited argument:

where a church names mana-based authority as constitutive of its life yet leaves that authority structurally dependent on exceptional labour, it weakens the conditions on which trust, participation, leadership continuity, and long-term mission depend.

When mana-based authority enters institutions built on other assumptions about power, legitimacy, and decision-making, the decisive issue is not whether those institutions can acknowledge it, but whether they can alter their operative life so that the authority they claim to honour can become self-determining. Where they do not, recognition remains visible and reception remains incomplete, and the cost of holding the institution together is carried by those whose authority the institution has not yet learned to receive. That is the condition this thesis identifies as a recurring structural problem across sectors, and it is the condition that, in Te Hāhi Mihinare, bears directly on the church's capacity to sustain the ministry to which it believes itself called.

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Glossary

This glossary provides working definitions of te reo Māori, Anglican, ecclesial, and analytical terms as they are used in this thesis. Where a term carries a specific meaning within the study, the gloss reflects that usage rather than offering a general dictionary definition.

Term	Gloss
Anglican Church in Aotearoa, New Zealand and Polynesia	The Anglican province within which Te Hāhi Mihinare is constitutionally located. The church is ordered through Te Pouhere and through three tikanga: Tikanga Māori, Tikanga Pākehā, and Tikanga Polynesia.
Anglican Communion	A worldwide fellowship of autonomous Anglican churches in communion with the See of Canterbury. These churches share historic Anglican faith and order, but they are not governed by one central legislative, executive, or judicial authority.
Anglican Consultative Council	One of the Instruments of Communion. It includes bishops, clergy, and lay representatives from Anglican provinces and supports consultation, mission, and common Anglican life across the communion.
Anglican ecclesiology	The Anglican understanding of the church: its nature, ministry, authority, unity, worship, and forms of governance. In this thesis, Anglican ecclesiology matters because Te Hāhi Mihinare carries both Anglican claims to apostolic continuity and Māori claims to mana-based authority.
Apostolicity	The church's claim to continuity with the faith, teaching, worship, ministry, and mission of the apostles. In Anglican usage, apostolicity is carried through scripture, creeds, episcopal order, common prayer, authorised ministry, and the church's received forms of doctrine and governance.
Archbishop of Canterbury	The bishop of the See of Canterbury and a focus of unity within the Anglican Communion. The archbishop does not govern the communion as a central authority but exercises a ministry of relationship, counsel, and service among autonomous Anglican churches.
Atua	God, gods, spiritual beings; the source from which mana is delegated within te ao Māori cosmology.
Authorised ministry	Ministry recognised and permitted by the church through its own procedures, offices, licences, ordination, or appointments. In this thesis, authorised ministry matters because institutional authorisation does not necessarily exhaust mana-based authority.
Canon	A formal rule of the church. Canons regulate matters such as office, ministry, governance, discipline, worship, property, and procedure.
Canon law	The internal law of the church. It governs matters such as authority, office, synods, ministry, discipline, appointment, property, finance, and procedure. In this thesis, canon law matters because it helps determine whether recognised authority has binding institutional force.

Canonical	Relating to the church's formal law, rules, or authorised procedures.
Conciliar life	The church's practice of ordering common life through councils, consultation, deliberation, and shared discernment. In Anglicanism, conciliar life is closely related to synodical government and resists the idea that the church is ruled by one central authority.
Ecclesial authority	Authority recognised within the life, order, and governance of the church. In this thesis, ecclesial authority includes Anglican offices and procedures, but it does not exhaust the mana-based authority that Māori leaders may already carry through whakapapa.
Episcopal jurisdiction	The governing authority attached to episcopal office. In this thesis, the distinction between episcopal status and episcopal jurisdiction matters because a bishop may be recognised as a bishop while lacking the full channels through which episcopal authority governs territory, ministry, property, or institutional decision-making.
Episcopal order	The ordering of the church through bishops, especially in relation to oversight, continuity, ministry, discipline, and sacramental life.
Episcopal status	Recognition that a person holds episcopal office as a bishop. Episcopal status does not necessarily carry ordinary jurisdiction unless the church's constitution and canons give that office governing authority.
General Synod / te Hīnota Whānui	The highest governing synod of the Anglican Church in Aotearoa, New Zealand and Polynesia. It makes decisions for the province through representative processes involving bishops, clergy, and lay representatives.
Hapū	Subtribe; the kinship grouping between whānau and iwi through which collective obligations and authority are organised.
Hau	The spiritual force that remains with its source even when the object or taonga through which it moves circulates elsewhere. This thesis discusses hau through Hēnare's (2018) reading of Ranapiri's letters, which corrects Best's earlier interpretation.
Hui	Gathering, assembly, meeting; the tikanga-governed occasion on which collective discussion and decisions are carried.
Hui Amorangi	The regional bodies through which Tikanga Māori organises its internal governance within Te Hāhi Mihinare.
Instruments of Communion	The international Anglican offices and bodies through which Anglican churches maintain relationship: the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Lambeth Conference, the Anglican Consultative Council, and the Primates' Meeting. They support consultation, common counsel, and mutual accountability, but they bind a church only where that church's own law gives them force.
Iwi	Tribe; the largest kinship grouping, united by descent from a common ancestor.

Jurisdiction	The authority to govern, decide, or act within a defined area, office, or institutional field. In the church, jurisdiction matters because recognised office does not always carry the same governing authority as office with jurisdiction.
Kaitiakitanga	Guardianship, stewardship; the obligation to protect and transmit what has been inherited.
Karakia	Prayer, incantation; in this thesis, a spiritual practice described by participants as sustaining authority and ordering encounter.
Katallage	Reconciliation. In Anglican theological usage, katallage is sometimes named alongside koinonia, oikonomia, and oikodome as part of the church's life in action.
Kaumātua	Elder; a person whose standing is recognised through sustained relational and genealogical seniority.
Kaupapa	Purpose, principle, agenda; the ground on which collective action is organised.
Kaupapa Māori	A research methodology that centres Māori knowledge, values, and relational accountability as constitutive of the research process.
Koha	A gift offered in recognition of relationship, obligation, or contribution; in this thesis, offered to each participant as an enactment of manaakitanga.
Kōhanga reo	Māori-medium early childhood education, operating under Kaupapa Māori philosophy; the earliest stage of the Kaupapa Māori education pathway.
Koinonia	Communion, fellowship, or shared church life. In Anglican usage, koinonia names embodied participation in a common life through faith, worship, mutual responsibility, and sacramental belonging. In this thesis, koinonia is relevant because Anglican communion and whanaungatanga both carry relational claims, but they do not necessarily reach the same institutional channels of authority.
Kōrero	Speech, conversation, account; the term used in this thesis for participant interviews conducted within a relational and tikanga-based frame.
Kura kaupapa	Māori-medium primary school operating under Kaupapa Māori philosophy; one of the educational settings discussed in this thesis.
Lambeth Conference	A periodic gathering of Anglican bishops from across the communion, convened by the Archbishop of Canterbury. It offers counsel and expresses episcopal collegiality, but it is not a legislature for the Anglican Communion.
Mana	Spiritual authority, prestige, standing; delegated from atua, transmitted through whakapapa, and sustained through relational conduct. In this thesis, mana is an economy of obligations rather than a personal attribute.
Mana atua	The dimension of authority delegated from spiritual sources; one of the four mana dimensions through which participants described the ground of their leadership.

Mana motuhake	The self-determining condition in which mana-based authority is realised on its own terms within institutional settings, rather than remaining contingent on terms set elsewhere. The analytical destination of the mana tuku iho → mana motuhake axis developed in Chapter 5.
Mana tangata	The dimension of authority constituted through relationships with people; relational standing built through sustained conduct and recognised by others over time.
Mana tuku iho	Inherited authority; in this thesis, authority already constituted through whakapapa before institutional appointment.
Mana tūpuna	The dimension of authority inherited from ancestors; obligations and standing transmitted across generations through whakapapa.
Mana whenua	The dimension of authority grounded in relationship with land; territorial authority held through generations of occupation, care, and obligation to place.
Manaakitanga	Hospitality, care, the obligation to uplift the mana of others; a relational practice that sustains collective wellbeing.
Marae	The communal meeting ground where tikanga governs encounter; a site of cultural, spiritual, and political life.
Mātauranga	Knowledge, wisdom; Māori knowledge systems carried through whakapapa and treated as a source of theory rather than as content to be translated into Western frameworks.
Mauri	Life force, vitality; the essential energy that sustains the wellbeing of people, places, and communities.
Mihimihi	The opening exchange of identity and relational location through which a kōrero is entered; establishes the relational context within which what follows can be rightly heard.
Mokopuna	Grandchild, grandchildren; in this thesis, used by participants to describe the generational obligations that mana-based authority carries forward.
Oikodome	Building up or edification. In Anglican theological usage, oikodome can describe the work of strengthening the church's common life.
Oikonomia	Stewardship or ordering of household/common life. In Anglican theological usage, oikonomia can refer to the church's responsibility to order resources, relationships, and ministry for the sake of shared life.
Operative authority	Authority that can determine what the institution actually does. In this thesis, operative authority is tested through decisions about money, property, appointment, discipline, formation, procedure, and institutional direction.
Operative form	The place where institutional life actually happens: where people exercise authority, make binding decisions, allocate resources, appoint leaders, enforce accountability, and order common life. The distinction matters because institutions often affirm Māori authority in language while preserving inherited arrangements in practice.

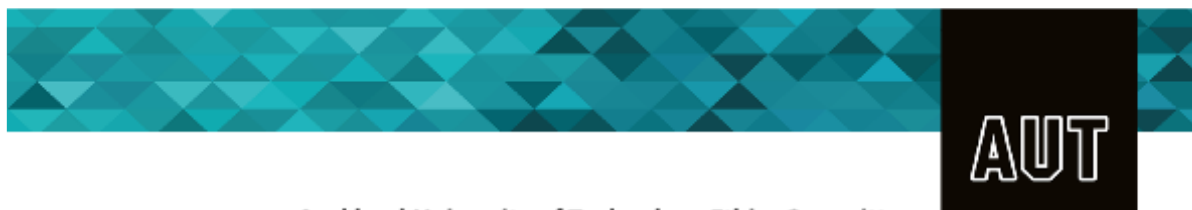
Ordinary jurisdiction	The ordinary governing authority attached to a church office, especially episcopal office. In this thesis, ordinary jurisdiction matters because the Bishop of Aotearoa was historically recognised as bishop without receiving the same governing jurisdiction as other bishops.
Pākehā	New Zealanders of European descent, particularly those of British colonial-settler lineage; a relational term whose meaning is constituted in relation to Māori rather than as a standalone ethnic descriptor.
Papakāinga	Ancestral village, kin-based settlement; a place of whakapapa-grounded residence in which relational obligations are lived rather than recalled; appears in this thesis in ENT4's account of return and reconnection.
Pepeha	A formal statement of identity locating a person within their whakapapa, naming mountain, river, waka, iwi, hapū, and tūpuna.
Pīhopatanga	Bishopric; Te Pīhopatanga o Aotearoa is the episcopal unit through which Tikanga Māori exercises its ministry.
Pono	Truth, integrity, faithfulness; in this thesis, used in its Te Ara Tika sense of interpretive restraint grounded in fidelity to participant kōrero.
Pōwhiri	The formal ceremony of welcome conducted on the marae; a tikanga process through which relationships are established and obligations acknowledged.
Primates' Meeting	One of the Instruments of Communion. It gathers the senior bishops or primates of Anglican provinces for consultation, common counsel, and pastoral leadership across the communion.
Province	A self-governing region within the wider Anglican Communion. The Anglican Church in Aotearoa, New Zealand and Polynesia is a province.
Provincial autonomy	The capacity of an Anglican province to govern its own life through its own constitution, canons, and procedures. In this thesis, provincial autonomy matters because wider Anglican bodies may guide or counsel, but they do not automatically bind a province unless the province's own law gives them force.
Pūmahara	Generative collective memory code; the mechanism through which Māori knowledge, identity, and authority are transmitted across generations via whakapapa (Wolfgramm et al., 2022).
Rangatira	Chief, leader; a person whose authority is constituted through whakapapa and recognised by the community through sustained relational conduct.
Rangatiratanga	Chiefly authority, self-determination; the exercise of authority grounded in whakapapa and expressed through the weaving together of people.

Reception	The reorganisation of institutional practice so that mana-based authority can govern on its own terms rather than being accommodated within pre-existing structures. This is the thesis-specific use of reception, not the narrower ecclesiological use in which the church tests whether a development is received over time.
Recognition	Institutional acknowledgement of mana-based authority through language, constitutional principle, symbolic form, ceremonial inclusion, consultation, or representation.
Representative government	A form of church governance in which bishops, clergy, and lay representatives participate in decision-making through synods, councils, boards, or other authorised bodies.
Rohe	Tribal territory; the geographical area over which an iwi or hapū holds mana whenua.
Rūnanga	A council or assembly; in this thesis, used to describe the governance bodies through which iwi and hapū exercise collective decision-making.
See of Canterbury	The episcopal see associated with the Archbishop of Canterbury. Communion with the See of Canterbury has historically functioned as a sign of belonging within the Anglican Communion.
Synod	A formal church assembly in which bishops, clergy, and lay representatives deliberate and make decisions for the church.
Synodical	Relating to governance through synods. In this thesis, synodical procedures are one of the channels through which church authority becomes binding.
Taonga	Treasured possession; that which is held in trust as a carrier of relational, spiritual, and genealogical value. Includes tangible objects, intangible knowledge, language, and places.
Te Hāhi Mihinare	The Māori Anglican Church; in this thesis, the denominational setting through which the encounter between Anglican order and mana-based authority is examined.
Te Pouhere	The constitution of the Anglican Church in Aotearoa, New Zealand and Polynesia. In this thesis, Te Pouhere matters because it recognises the three tikanga structure while the question of reception turns on whether ordinary institutional channels allow mana-based authority to govern.
Three Tikanga structure	The constitutional ordering of the Anglican Church in Aotearoa, New Zealand and Polynesia through Tikanga Māori, Tikanga Pākehā, and Tikanga Pasefika.
Tikanga	Custom, law, correct practice, and the right ordering of relationships. In this thesis, tikanga names the obligations and practices through which mana is protected, conduct is judged, and relationships are made tika.

Tikanga Māori	The Māori cultural stream within the Anglican Church in Aotearoa, New Zealand and Polynesia. In this thesis, Tikanga Māori also refers to Māori forms of authority, obligation, and institutional life carried through Te Pīhopatanga o Aotearoa and the Hui Amorangi.
Tūpuna	Ancestors; those from whom whakapapa, obligation, authority, and memory descend. In this thesis, tūpuna are active within the constitution and judgement of authority, not merely remembered figures from the past.
Whakapapa	Genealogy, relational ordering, and the layering of relationships through which people, atua, tūpuna, whenua, and communities are connected. In this thesis, whakapapa is the ground through which mana-based authority is constituted and the method through which research relations are entered and held.
Whānau	Family, extended family, and kin-based relational group. In this thesis, whānau names one of the primary relational fields through which mana-based authority is recognised, sustained, and made accountable.
Whanaungatanga	Relationship, kinship, and the obligations generated through connection. In this thesis, whanaungatanga names the relational work through which authority is recognised, sustained, and made accountable.
Whenua	Land, place, and placenta; the relational ground through which belonging, obligation, and authority are held. In this thesis, whenua is central to mana whenua and to the territorial obligations through which authority is exercised.
Wairua	Spirit, spiritual dimension, or spiritual life. In this thesis, wairua names a relation and condition of wellbeing that institutions often misrecognise when they reduce care, authority, or leadership to procedural and material terms.

Appendices

A: Ethics Approval



Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee (AUTEC)

29 February 2024

Peter McGhee
Faculty of Business Economics and Law

Dear Peter

Re Ethics Application: **24/5 Tapuae Nuku Tapuae Rangi: Nurturing Christian leadership in Māori Contexts - Exploring new pathways to culturally responsive, sustainable, and resilient Christian Institutions in Aotearoa New Zealand.**

Thank you for your responses to AUTEC's conditions.

Your ethics application has been approved for three years until 28 February 2027.

Non-Standard Conditions of Approval

1. The AUTEC approval number is in the footer of the Information Sheet and does not need to be repeated in the invitation section of this document.
2. Please advise of what type of voucher will be offered as koha.

Non-standard conditions do not need to be submitted to or reviewed by AUTEC unless requested but must be completed before commencing your study.

Standard Conditions of Approval

1. The research is to be undertaken in accordance with the [Auckland University of Technology Code of Conduct for Research](#) and as approved by AUTEC.
2. All public facing documents must have the AUTEC approval number and be of a high standard of spelling and grammar. Dates on the Information Sheet(s) and Consent Form(s) must be consistent.
3. Any amendments to the project must be approved by AUTEC prior to being implemented.
4. A progress report is due annually on the anniversary of the approval date.
5. A final report is due at the expiration of the approval period, or, upon completion of project.
6. Any serious or adverse events must be reported to AUTEC, this includes unforeseen issues that might affect continued ethical acceptability of the project.
7. AUTEC grants ethical approval only. You are responsible for obtaining management permission for access from any institution or organisation at which your research is being conducted and you need to meet all ethical, legal, public health, and locality obligations or requirements for the jurisdictions in which the research is being undertaken.

The application number and title need to be referenced on all correspondence related to this project.

All forms are available online <http://www.aut.ac.nz/research/researchethics>

For any enquiries, please contact ethics@aut.ac.nz
(This is a computer-generated letter for which no signature is required)

The AUTEC Secretariat

Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee

Cc: hsd0167@autuni.ac.nz; ella.henry@aut.ac.nz

B: Participant Information Sheet



Participant Information Sheet

Date Information Sheet Produced:

05 March 2025

Project Title

Tapuae Nuku Tapuae Rangi: Nurturing Christian leadership in Māori Contexts – Exploring new pathways to culturally responsive, sustainable, and resilient Christian institutions.

An Invitation

Tēnā koe,

E mihi ana ki a koe me ngā mōhioranga ka tukua mai e koe ki tēnei mahi rangahau. Tēnā anō e mihi ana ki ngā tini mate e kawea nei i te wā nei, kia mihia, kia tangihia, kia poroporoakitia e tāua. Ka nui taku mihi ki a koe mo tō whai wāhi atu ki tēnei kaupapa.

Your knowledge and insights are invaluable to this research, and your contribution is deeply appreciated. I also acknowledge and mourn those who have passed, honouring their journey to te wāhi ngāro. I extend my sincere thanks to you for considering participation in this important project. Your engagement is of great significance.

The primary researcher, Katene Eruera, is an AUT doctoral candidate and a Minister of Religion within Te Hāahi Mihinare. He hails from Te Aupouri, Ngāti Kuri, Te Rarawa, Te Paatu, Ngāti Kahu, and Ngāpuhi. His research delves into Indigenous and Māori leadership in Māori enterprises, aiming to enhance cultural responsiveness, sustainability, and resilience within Christian institutions, particularly the Anglican Church in Aotearoa, New Zealand, and Polynesia. This mahi seeks to bridge traditional Māori leadership models with those of Māori Christian leadership in contemporary settings.

Your perspective and involvement will significantly enrich this study, providing deeper insights into these leadership models and their transformative potential.

Kia haumaru te noho,

Katene Eruera

What is the purpose of this research?

There are several aspects to the purpose of this research which is grounded in the intersection of Indigenous and Māori enterprise leadership with Christian leadership frameworks. The main objectives can be summarised as follows:

1. **Comparative Analysis and Redefinition of Leadership Models:** The research aims to undertake a critical comparative analysis between Indigenous and Māori enterprise leadership models and Christian leadership frameworks. It seeks to redefine Western leadership paradigms by incorporating Indigenous perspectives and values, thus offering new insights into leadership practices.
2. **Focus on Māori Enterprise Leadership:** A key aspect is examining how Māori enterprise leadership, emerging from Kaupapa Māori Research (KMR), can transform the leadership and operational aspects of various sectors. The study looks to embed Māori ways of being into these sectors, particularly focusing on how these principles can inform and improve Christian leadership models.
3. **Gap Identification and Transformation in Christian Leadership:** The research strives to fill the existing gap in understanding how Māori enterprise leadership principles can enrich Christian leadership, especially within Māori Christian contexts. The goal is to apply critical analysis to Māori Christian leadership, examining the potential transformative impact of KMR.
4. **Methodological Approach and Practical Application:** Employing a qualitative methodology, the study involves interviewing leaders from Māori enterprises and Christian institutions. It aims to identify gaps in leadership training and practices, emphasizing cultural responsiveness, sustainability, and resilience, and seeks transferable principles that could benefit Christian institutions.

C: Consent Form



Consent Form

For use when interviews are involved.

Project title: Tapuae Nuku Tapuae Rangi: Nurturing Christian Leadership in Māori Contexts – Exploring New Pathways to Culturally Responsive, sustainable, and Resilient Christian Institutions in Aotearoa New Zealand

Project Supervisor: Associate Professor Peter McGhee

Secondary Supervisor: Professor Ella Henry

Researcher: Katene Eruera

- ☐ I have read and understood the Information provided about this research project in the Information Sheet dated 05 March 2025.
- ☐ I have had an opportunity to ask questions and to have them answered.
- ☐ I understand that notes will be taken during the interviews and that they will also be audio-taped and transcribed.
- ☐ I understand that taking part in this study is voluntary (my choice) and that I may withdraw from the study at any time without being disadvantaged in any way.
- ☐ I understand that if I withdraw from the study then I will be offered the choice between having any data that is identifiable as belonging to me removed or allowing it to continue to be used. However, once the findings have been produced, removal of my data may not be possible.
- ☐ I agree to take part in this research.
- ☐ I wish to receive a summary of the research findings (please tick one): Yes ☐ No ☐

Participant's signature:

Participant's name:

Participant's Contact Details (if appropriate):

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.....

Date:

Approved by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee on 16 February 2024 AUTEK Reference number 24/5

Note: The Participant should retain a copy of this form.

D: Sector Interview Guide

Interview Preamble

Tapuae Nuku, Tapuae Rangi: Nurturing Christian Leadership in Mihinaretanga

Tēnā koe,

Thank you for taking the time to participate in this research. My study explores Mihinaretanga and leadership, focusing on how relational leadership, resilience, and cultural sustainability operate within our faith communities.

I will ask a series of open-ended questions about your leadership experiences, and you are welcome to take the discussion in directions that feel most relevant. There are no right or wrong answers, your insights and reflections will provide valuable contributions to this kaupapa.

Key Concepts in This Study

This research draws on tikanga Māori to understand leadership in Mihinaretanga, using key concepts that shape governance, relational accountability, and resilience. You may have your own interpretations of these terms, which I welcome in your responses.

Mana: The spiritual authority, leadership responsibility, and integrity of a leader.

Whanaungatanga: The relationships that sustain leadership, collective accountability, and intergenerational ties.

Manaakitanga: Leadership through care, hospitality, and upholding the mana of others.

Rangatiratanga: Self-determination and governance, balancing tikanga and ecclesiastical authority.

Kaitiakitanga: Stewardship and responsibility for the wellbeing of people, resources, and traditions.

Mauri Ora: Leadership that fosters spiritual, emotional, and cultural wellbeing.

Tū Rangatira: The stance of a leader, embodying integrity, humility, and service.

Kotahitanga: Unity and collective decision-making, ensuring cohesion in leadership structures.

Te Whakawhanaungatanga: The active process of building relationships that sustain leadership.

Ngākau Tapatahi: Leading with sincerity, fairness, and balance in decision-making.

These concepts will be explored in the interview. If anything needs clarification during our kōrero, please feel free to ask.

Exploring Leadership Across Contexts

While this research is grounded in Mihinare contexts, it also recognises the deep interconnection between Māori leadership in business, iwi, and community settings. It seeks to understand how your leadership practices and values may offer transferable insights that could strengthen Māori leadership in Christian institutions.

Relational Leadership: This study understands leadership as shaped by relationships, collective accountability, and ethical responsibility, rather than solely by hierarchy or formal position.

Leadership Resilience: We're interested in how Māori leaders sustain their practice, navigate institutional expectations, and remain grounded in tikanga Māori.

Consent & Process

Your participation is voluntary, and you may choose not to answer any question or withdraw at any time.

Your insights will be anonymised in the research findings.

If you have any questions before we begin, feel free to ask.

Interview Questions

1. Introduction to Leadership

Can you briefly describe your current leadership role and responsibilities?

How do Māori values, such as manaakitanga, whanaungatanga, and whakapapa, shape your leadership approach in business contexts?

2. Māori Leadership Principles and Business Sustainability

Rangatiratanga is central to Māori leadership and governance. How does rangatiratanga influence decision-making in your organisation?

Can you provide specific examples where whakawhanaungatanga (relational leadership) or kotahitanga (collective leadership) has strengthened resilience in your enterprise?

3. Relational Leadership in Practice

How does your organisation uphold manaakitanga (relational accountability) and kaitiakitanga (ethical responsibility) in decision-making?

Could you describe a time when leading through relationships helped navigate business challenges or opportunities?

4. Leadership Development and Succession

How are future Māori business leaders identified and developed in your organisation, particularly within the context of Māori values?

How do you balance the expectations of whanaungatanga and Māori relational leadership with business demands, such as competition, investment, or commercial growth?

5. Business Resilience and Long-Term Vitality

Mauri ora (wellbeing and sustainability) is crucial in Māori enterprises. What factors do you consider essential for the long-term sustainability of your organisation?

How do you maintain cultural integrity while pursuing commercial or financial objectives?

6. Comparative Insights for Mihinaretanga Leadership

Mihinare leaders face institutional constraints within the Anglican Church, just as Māori business leaders face constraints in a commercial environment. How do you navigate tensions between tikanga Māori and external business structures? Are there lessons here for faith-based leadership?

What successful governance strategies from Māori business leadership could be transferable to Mihinaretanga leadership?

7. Challenges and Opportunities for Transformation

Do you feel Māori leadership principles, such as manaakitanga, whanaungatanga, and rangatiratanga, are fully recognised and integrated into wider business practices? Why or why not?

(If not already discussed) Are there any structural or cultural changes you think could further support Māori leadership models in business?

8. Reflection and Closing

From your experience, what insights from Māori enterprise leadership could be valuable for Mihinaretanga leaders navigating governance and institutional challenges?

Is there anything else you'd like to share regarding Māori leadership that could inform this research?

Note: The interview guides are reproduced in the form approved for fieldwork. The thesis title and final analytical vocabulary were developed through analysis.

E: Church Interview Guide

Interview Preamble

Tapuae Nuku, Tapuae Rangi: Nurturing Christian Leadership in Mihinaretanga

Tēnā koe,

Thank you for taking the time to participate in this research. My study explores Mihinaretanga and leadership, focusing on how relational leadership, resilience, and cultural sustainability operate within our faith communities.

I will ask a series of open-ended questions about your leadership experiences, and you are welcome to take the discussion in directions that feel most relevant. There are no right or wrong answers, your insights and reflections will provide valuable contributions to this kaupapa.

Key Concepts in This Study

This research draws on tikanga Māori to understand leadership in Mihinaretanga, using key concepts that shape governance, relational accountability, and resilience. You may have your own interpretations of these terms, which I welcome in your responses.

Mana: The spiritual authority, leadership responsibility, and integrity of a leader.

Whanaungatanga: The relationships that sustain leadership, collective accountability, and intergenerational ties.

Manaakitanga: Leadership through care, hospitality, and upholding the mana of others.

Rangatiratanga: Self-determination and governance, balancing tikanga and ecclesiastical authority.

Kaitiakitanga: Stewardship and responsibility for the wellbeing of people, resources, and traditions.

Mauri Ora: Leadership that fosters spiritual, emotional, and cultural wellbeing.

Tū Rangatira: The stance of a leader, embodying integrity, humility, and service.

Kotahitanga: Unity and collective decision-making, ensuring cohesion in leadership structures.

Te Whakawhanaungatanga: The active process of building relationships that sustain leadership.

Ngākau Tapatahi: Leading with sincerity, fairness, and balance in decision-making.

These concepts will be explored in the interview. If anything needs clarification during our kōrero, please feel free to ask.

Navigating Leadership in Mihinaretanga

Leadership within Mihinaretanga operates within both tikanga Māori and the Anglican Church's governance structures. Some leaders see this as a partnership, while others experience tensions between the two. This research seeks to understand how leaders navigate these dynamics in practice.

Relational Leadership: This study understands leadership as shaped by relationships, collective accountability, and ethical responsibility rather than solely by hierarchy or position.

Leadership Succession: Leadership in Mihinaretanga is often recognised through whakapapa and community endorsement, while in Anglicanism, it follows ordination and appointment processes. This study seeks to understand how future leaders are identified and supported within Mihinaretanga.

Consent & Process

Your participation is voluntary, and you may choose not to answer any question or withdraw at any time.

Your insights will be anonymised in the research findings.

If you have any questions before we begin, feel free to ask.

Interview Questions

1. Introduction to Leadership

Can you describe your current leadership role and responsibilities?

How do Mihinare leadership values, such as manaakitanga, whanaungatanga, and whakapapa, shape your approach to leadership?

2. Mihinaretanga and Organisational Resilience

Rangatiratanga is often associated with leadership, self-determination, and governance. How does rangatiratanga manifest in your leadership role?

How do relational leadership principles, such as whanaungatanga and manaakitanga, strengthen resilience in your Mihinare community?

3. Navigating Church Governance Structures

How do Mihinare leadership values interact with the governance structures of the Anglican Church?

In your leadership role, how do you navigate the relationship between tikanga Māori and Anglican ecclesiastical authority?

4. Relational Leadership in Practice

Can you share an example where leading through whakawhanaungatanga (relationship-building) helped resolve tensions or strengthened your organisation?

How does your Mihinare community support manaakitanga (relational accountability) and kotahitanga (collective decision-making) within an Anglican framework?

5. Leadership Development and Succession

Tū Rangatira emphasises leadership as standing with integrity and service. How are new leaders identified and nurtured in Mihinaretanga?

How do Māori expectations of whakapapa and kaitiakitanga shape or challenge the Anglican ordination and appointment processes?

6. Sustaining Leadership and Cultural Integrity

Mauri ora speaks to holistic wellbeing. What factors do you believe most influence the long-term vitality of Mihinare leadership?

How do you balance maintaining cultural integrity while working within Anglican Church governance?

7. Challenges and Opportunities for Transformation

Do you feel Mihinare leadership principles, such as rangatiratanga and whanaungatanga, are fully recognised in Anglican governance, or do constraints exist?

What structural or cultural changes within the Anglican Church would better support Mihinaretanga?

8. Reflection and Closing

What insights or advice would you offer to Christian institutions, Mihinare and beyond, seeking to integrate Māori leadership principles into their governance?

Are there any further comments or experiences you'd like to share that could inform this study?

Note: The interview guides are reproduced in the form approved for fieldwork. The thesis title and final analytical vocabulary were developed through analysis.

F: Analytic Procedure

The abductive analysis described in Chapter 3 moved from immersion in participant kōrero to first-level coding, analytic memo writing, within-sector analysis, and cross-sector testing. No distinction identified in one sector carried analytical weight until cross-sector review sustained or complicated it. The threshold was consistency across institutional contexts. A pattern that dissolved when tested against accounts from other sectors, or that required constant qualification outside its originating case, was not carried forward.

The three instances below show that process. Each instance records the participant account, the first-level coding decision, the analytic memo written at that point, and the cross-sector test used to decide whether the pattern met the threshold for articulation. These examples are representative of the procedure across the corpus. They were selected because they show the procedure clearly, not because they tidy the data. The full memo record remains in the research archive and is available for examination. Timestamps such as (CHU4, 00:03:00) and (ENT3, 00:03:30) identify the audio files for those kōrero.

Instance 1: Custodial Authority and the Distinction from Institutional Appointment

Participant account

CHU4 described the moment that shaped his understanding of the authority carried by his episcopal role. At his consecration, a rangatira placed a home communion set in his hands and said:

All I want to say to you is to make sure you're there at Waitangi in 2040.

Over the following decades, CHU4 came to understand that the rangatira had received a similar charge at a similar age and had given everything to it. He described what the commission required:

That would be 39 years he's asking me to project ... he's challenging me to deepen my responsibility within the framework of Waitangi. I had to live a life and live out a ministry that was rooted in place and people.

He also described the accountability the commission carried:

It's beyond church. It's beyond even the iwi. It's totally nationally facing. And for that I count it a privilege, but also it is a responsibility that keeps me accountable to our whakapapa, our history.

First-level coding decision

I coded this account at mana tūpuna as the primary code and mana whenua as the secondary code. CHU4 received the commission through whakapapa transmission rather than through institutional appointment. The commission gave his ministry a specific intergenerational horizon, from consecration to the Treaty bicentennial, and made him accountable to place and people at a national scale before and beyond his ecclesial office.

Analytic memo note

Authority appears here as custodial obligation received through whakapapa. A senior whakapapa-connected figure transmits the charge through a relational act. CHU4 does not acquire the authority as an individual possession, nor does the institution create it through episcopal appointment. The commission predates and exceeds what the institutional role itself requires. Hold this as provisional: the distinction has appeared once, within the denominational sector. Test whether the same distinction appears in other institutional contexts, using different vocabulary, before moving from observation to articulation.

Cross-sector test and threshold

ENT1's kōrero in the enterprise sector supplied the first cross-sector test. ENT1 described his authority over mātauranga Māori as:

A fundamental responsibility for the fidelity and the clarity and accuracy of the kōrero. For the provenance, where it's come from, because it didn't come from me, most of it, and how it gets passed on.

The comparison showed the same structure in a different sector. CHU4 spoke from an ecclesial commission; ENT1 spoke from mātauranga stewardship. Both described authority as received through whakapapa, held in trust, and oriented towards transmission across time. Neither treated authority as individually owned or institutionally conferred.

The threshold was met. The distinction between authority constituted through whakapapa and authority acquired through institutional appointment appeared independently in two sectors and survived cross-sector comparison. That warranted movement from provisional descriptive coding to articulation. This distinction later contributed directly to the formulation of mana tuku iho in Chapter 5.

Instance 2: Structural Channel Exclusion and the Distinction from Personal or Cultural Limitation

Participant account

ENT3 described the governance of the commercial entity she chaired and the repeated requests she received from hapū representatives seeking board positions. Her recurrent question was:

What would mana whenua have done 200 years ago?

That question exposed a structural problem. The commercial board carried fiduciary obligations to shareholders within a defined commercial and temporal frame. The hapū representatives carried a territorial mandate grounded in whakapapa, land, and intergenerational responsibility. ENT3 told the five marae seeking board representation that the two obligations answered to different logics and could not be held by the same instrument.

First-level coding decision

I coded this account at mana whenua as the primary code. ENT3 described territorial and relational authority grounded in whakapapa entering a decision channel that had no aperture for that form of claim. The limit did not arise from personal unwillingness or cultural misunderstanding on either side. The institutional form itself created the limit.

Analytic memo note

The board's constituting obligations structurally close the decision channel to mana-based territorial claims. The board cannot receive what the hapū representatives carry without breaching the fiduciary framework that makes it a functioning commercial board. ENT3's question, "what would mana whenua have done two hundred years ago?" locates the problem in the institutional form. The form contains no answer because it was not designed to hold that question. Hold this as provisional: test whether the same structural feature appears in ecclesial and governance accounts before treating it as a cross-sector condition rather than a commercial-governance feature.

Cross-sector test and threshold

CHU1's kōrero supplied the first cross-sector test. CHU1 described financial control within church governance as sitting in a register that tikanga structures could not redirect. Money governed what was actually possible, while tikanga authority, although present in the institution, could not determine how those financial levers were pulled.

The comparison showed the same structural feature in a different form. ENT3 described a commercial board foreclosed to mana-based territorial claims by its constituting obligations. CHU1 described a financial-governance channel foreclosed to tikanga authority by institutional design. The surface forms differed, but the mechanism was the same: the institution had created a decision channel with no aperture for mana-based claims, regardless of the authority present in adjacent governance spaces. This was not a commercial-governance problem alone.

GOV1's COVID-19 decision supplied the confirmatory contrast. GOV1 described routing a major decision through marae rather than through the commissioner's administrative channel. That emergency delegation temporarily created a channel through which mana-based authority could govern.

The contrast clarified the pattern. Where a channel exists through which mana-based authority can govern, that authority can determine the decision. Where no such channel exists, relational authority has to work around the institutional form rather than through it. The structural exclusion lies in the absence of the channel, not in the absence of authority.

The threshold was met. The pattern appeared across enterprise, ecclesial, and governance sectors and was confirmed by contrast. Structural exclusion of mana-based claims from decision channels was therefore

treated as a feature of institutional design across sectors. That warranted movement from provisional descriptive coding to articulation as the second mechanism.

Instance 3: Temporal Incommensurability and the Distinction from Cultural Preference

Participant account

ENT3 described the capital markets work she led for the National Iwi Chairs Forum. She named its temporal horizon directly:

In 1840, we were better off than we are today. So in 2040, we want to be better off than we are today. The work has got a 15-year time horizon for now with a hundred years as part of the analysis.

She described the difficulty of achieving kotahitanga across iwi operating at different points on the settlement and development continuum. The temporal and relational ground required for collective movement could not be sustained through the institutional cycles available. Intergenerational thinking was the only frame adequate to the authority at stake because that authority required iwi to protect and grow the asset base across a century. The institutional channels through which collective strategy had to move operated on political and commercial cycles that could not hold that frame.

She described the decision logic her commercial governance role required:

All of our enterprise should be here for a hundred years plus. We have to plan and think that way. Not short duration gratification.

First-level coding decision

I coded this account at mana tūpuna as the primary code and mana whenua as the secondary code. ENT3 carried authority within an intergenerational temporal logic: obligations ran from ancestors through the present to those not yet born. The institutional forms through which collective strategy had to move operated on a shorter timeframe. This was not a preference about time. It was a structural mismatch between the ground of the authority and the temporal logic of the institutional instrument.

Analytic memo note

The authority requires an intergenerational horizon. The institutional framework through which collective strategy must move does not. This is more than a governance problem about planning cycles. It is a temporal incommensurability between what mana tuku iho requires and what the institutional form can hold. The authority answers to ancestors and descendants; the institutional cycle answers to a term, a budget, or a fiscal year. Hold this as provisional: test whether the temporal dimension of constraint appears in other sectors before treating it as structural rather than sector-specific.

Cross-sector test and threshold

Cross-sector review of governance, ecclesial, and health kōrero showed the temporal dimension appearing independently across sectors. GOV3's governance structure followed kaumātua instruction and worked from intergenerational decision horizons that the adjacent commercial governance structure could not sustain. CHU4's Waitangi commission ran 40 years forward. EDU2's account asked whether the next five carriers of the kura's lineage would be formed with sufficient care. Each account located authority in obligations that exceeded ordinary institutional cycles.

Institutional data supplied the confirmatory test. Taylor and Goold (2024) found that 88% of Tikanga Māori projects within the church's New Initiatives Fund required three-year funding cycles, while 61% of Tikanga Pākehā projects were funded for one year (pp. 118–119). They attributed the difference to the distinct temporal logic on which Tikanga Māori initiatives operated.

The institutional data confirmed the temporal mismatch identified across participant accounts. The pattern was not a cultural preference about time or a participant interpretation of institutional constraint. The provincial record documented a structural difference in the timeframes Tikanga Māori initiatives required to reach sustainability.

The threshold was met. The pattern appeared across governance, enterprise, ecclesial, and health accounts and was confirmed by institutional data. Temporal incommensurability between intergenerational authority and institutional planning cycles was therefore treated as a structural condition across sectors. This dimension was carried into the Chapter 5 analysis of the contested field and the recognition–reception distinction.

Note

The memo record contains more examples than the three presented here. These examples show the procedure's governing logic: provisional codes remained tentative until cross-sector review sustained, complicated, or dissolved them; the memo recorded the grounds for each threshold decision at the time; and Chapter 5 carried forward only those findings that survived cross-sector interrogation. Memos recording distinctions that dissolved under cross-sector review remain in the research archive alongside those that met the threshold.