



A pathway towards understanding Māori aspirations for land transport in Aotearoa New Zealand

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M Sweeney, Tonkin + Taylor, Wellington
T Breitenmoser, Tonkin + Taylor, Wellington
I Dickson, Tonkin + Taylor, Wellington

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Waka Kotahi NZ Transport Agency
Private Bag 6995, Wellington 6141, New Zealand
Telephone 64 4 894 5400; facsimile 64 4 894 6100
NZTAresearch@nzta.govt.nz
www.nzta.govt.nz

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Abbreviations and acronyms

CAA	Climate Adaptation Act
DSI	Deaths and serious injuries
NBA	Natural and Built Environments Act
RMA	Resource Management Act
SPA	Strategic Planning Act

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Executive summary

The purpose of this research is to provide a high-level understanding of Māori aspirations for the transport sector based on available literature and interview insights. It also gives expression to Te Tiriti o Waitangi partnership between Māori, Waka Kotahi, and the wider transport sector. This research is part of a broader programme undertaken in two parts. Part 1 of that programme is this research report comprising a desk-top exercise to understand the available literature and the gaps that exist on this kaupapa (subject). Phase 2, the most critical component, is research and engagement with iwi Māori to explore this kaupapa in depth, and to identify aspirations and experiences of Māori for the transport sector.

The objectives of this research are to:

1. identify impacts transport has had on Māori traditions, aspirations, and wellbeing, and how these have changed over time and are still changing
2. understand Māori articulation of the transport sector and Māori aspirations for the future.

Literature review

The literature review explores documented iwi Māori understandings of the transport system (with a particular focus on the roading network). To do this, seven key research questions have been used:

- What past interactions between Māori and the transport sector are important when considering Māori articulation of the transport ecosystem (including Māori histories and traditions related to transport)?
- What are the impacts on Māori from the development of the transport sector?
- What inequities and trade-offs do Māori currently face in the transport sector?
- What is the importance of inclusive access to transport for Māori?
- What are current Māori expectations of Māori–Crown partnership in the transport sector (and how has this changed over time)?
- What aspirations do Māori now have for the further development of the transport system?
- What are Māori expectations for how aspirations could be achieved?

This research aligns with the key outcome of providing inclusive access to the transport sector. The Ministry of Transport has developed an outcomes framework that outlines the goal to achieve a transport system that improves wellbeing and liveability.

Understanding the past interactions between Māori and the transport sector is important when considering Māori articulation of the transport ecosystem. Not only does the past provide context for the present, but in a te ao Māori worldview, the past, present and future are inseparable. This relationship is critical in underpinning Phase 2 engagement on this kaupapa. Māori histories related to transport are articulated in oral histories and are not necessarily well captured by literature. However, key traditions that influence modern-day associations include waka travel, trading, and exploration.

The development of the transport sector is historically something that has been inflicted upon Māori. The impacts of both historic and recent infrastructure changes are ongoing, with consequences for safety and physical, cultural, and emotional wellbeing.

A key interaction between the transport sector and Māori was land confiscation. In the decades following the signing of Te Tiriti, Māori were systematically dispossessed of all but a fraction of their land. There was little consideration for Māori ties to the land, as this was largely considered to be of secondary importance to the need for infrastructure. Even when roads were built through Māori land, there was no requirement to consult

with Māori on the need for the road or the route it should take. Some roads were constructed for military purposes during the New Zealand Wars or even constructed by imprisoned Māori.

Urbanisation of Māori has furthered transport disadvantages for Māori, resulting in dislocated communities and increased Māori reliance on transport. Māori were encouraged into cities to provide labour in a booming economy, but they were forced to settle in industrial and low socio-economic areas.

As a result of historical transport and urban policy, Māori do not currently have equitable access to transport. Loss of land, urbanisation and gentrification have all resulted in Māori homes being located further from whānau, cultural sites and other social requirements. Māori are more likely to experience transport-related social exclusion, missing out on opportunities or engagement due to lack of access to transport. Māori are also significantly more likely than non-Māori to be injured or killed in transport-related accidents.

Providing inclusive access for Māori to the transport sector is key to a wider strategy to address economic, social, and health inequities experienced by Māori. Lack of access to the transport sector is the result of existing inequities, and also furthers social exclusion and lack of opportunities.

Māori expectations of Māori–Crown partnership in the transport sector has changed significantly over time. Early engagement with Māori was limited at best. The introduction of the Resource Management Act and the Treaty Settlements process have enabled Māori participation in the planning and management of natural and physical resources. Some believe that the Act has had the effect of freezing engagement for the past 30 years, and engagement can be seen as disingenuous. There is increasingly a desire for higher levels of engagement from iwi. Three recent examples of this increased partnership between Māori and Waka Kotahi are the Mt Messenger bypass project, Te Ahu a Turanga – Manawatū Tararua Highway, and the Ngā Ūranga ki Pito-One Cycleway. Currently, there are extensive resource management reforms occurring. The government plans to replace the Resource Management Act 1991 with three new pieces of legislation – the Natural and Built Environments Act (NBA), the Strategic Planning Act (SPA) and the Climate Adaptation Act (CAA). With these reforms, the Crown intends to give further effect to the principles of Te Tiriti.

Based on the limited available literature, we know that Māori aspire to a transport system that is holistic, with considerations for the wider implications of transport policy and planning decisions. Transport planning should be viewed in a historical context, identifying possibilities for connection between whānau and their communities, with particular focus on how the transport system can promote wellbeing, and empowering whānau to be socially and economically successful. Such an approach aligns with the Ministry of Transport objective to develop a transport system that improves wellbeing and liveability.

To achieve Māori aspirations for the transport sector, policymakers will need to empower communities to develop their own transport solutions. A model that could be used to achieve this comes from the 2019 Hauora Report. The principles of this framework are:

- tino rangatiratanga: empowering Māori to develop their own solutions
- equity: committing to achieving inclusive access to the transport sector for Māori
- active protection: caring for communities, the people, and the environment
- partnership: enabling co-design of the system
- options: allowing Māori to make informed decisions that work best for their whānau.

Targeted interviews

The second phase of research involved targeted interviews with Waka Kotahi representatives, to understand their learnings from previous partnerships with Māori. A semi-structured interview approach was adopted for interviews and information was analysed using a thematic analysis. The key themes identified were:

- access and connection

- creating levers to realise opportunities
- focused education on the transport ecosystem
- increasing the economic interest of Māori
- increasing cultural competency
- capacity and capability
- the evolving nature of partnership.

The theme of access and connection was explored by every interview participant. The insights on this theme highlighted how the transport sector can magnify negative impacts on the health and wellbeing of Māori, with urban and rural communities having discrete and independent challenges. Interviews also noted the importance of safe, physical access to marae, which has changed over time.

Numerous opportunities for those working within the industry to achieve better outcomes for Māori were identified by interviewees. Examples include incorporating an approach to projects based on whānau, funding iwi and hapū groups, and considering Māori outcomes in procurement. Respondents also reflected on the ability for Crown agencies to consolidate their approach to obligations under Te Tiriti o Waitangi to form strong Māori–Crown relationships within the sector.

Respondents also identified a need for focused education to improve outcomes for Māori in the transport sector. Specific areas identified included safety ratings of vehicles, electric vehicle options, licensing requirements and driving under the influence.

Many respondents had noticed the trend in Māori aspirations from being environment focused to increasingly promoting Māori economic interests. A noticeable shift to a longer-term view of the transport sector has been observed. This has been articulated as upskilling iwi, hapū and whānau to fill project roles, bringing economic prosperity back to their iwi.

For these aspirations to be achieved, interviews identified a need to increase cultural competency of those working within the industry. It was noted that there has been significant work in this space already, but there is opportunity for further education.

Interviewees identified that Māori lack internal resourcing and funding to engage with the transport sector. The organisational maturity of different iwi across the region also presents a challenge. Additional challenges exist in some regions such as Auckland, where the number of projects that require engagement with a particular iwi far outweigh the capacity of that iwi. Often iwi representatives engaging with the sector do so alongside full-time work or other commitments.

The concept of partnership uncovered multiple discussions with interview participants. Respondents identified that the practical issues of knowing who to engage with on transport matters can be off-putting and daunting. All respondents identified that their engagement experience with Māori was constantly underpinned by the grievance and ingrained mistrust that Māori have towards Crown agencies, and the way that transport had affected their iwi, hapū, whānau and communities. The aspirations for partnership that the interviewees noted was the transitioning from thinking of Māori as kaitiaki (guardian) stakeholders to equal partners in decision-making. Māori interests in engagement extend beyond environmental considerations.

Pathway for Phase 2 and next steps

Phase 2 of this project will involve engagement with iwi Māori on aspirations in the transport sector to inform the gaps that exist within the literature and subsequent understandings of this research. Two key themes are suggested for further exploration: equity and partnership, and capacity and capability. Engagement is

suggested at two levels, national and regional, leveraging established transport affiliated groups across the sector, as well as iwi Māori more broadly, given the significance of this kaupapa to Māori wellbeing.

Abstract

Aotearoa New Zealand's transport sector connects people to their communities, providing access to work, education, and a myriad of opportunities. However, the nature in which this transport system has developed, and is able to provide for and respond to different populations and communities, is varied. This is particularly pertinent for Māori. This research explores existing information to provide an understanding of Māori interactions with, and aspirations for, the transport sector. In this report we bring together a literature review and interviews with representatives from Waka Kotahi NZ Transport Agency. We find evidence that there are inequities faced by Māori in accessing and participating in the transport sector. This is compounded by distrust and trauma between some Māori and the sector, developed through a history of infrastructural development that has largely been exclusionary in nature. Interview insights posit a wealth of opportunity to improve this situation, such as integrating te ao Māori into the transport sector and transport planning, improving capability and capacity, and enabling a more holistic approach to be taken in transport decisions. There is also increasing interest by Māori to explore Māori economic opportunities as a sustainable method of participating across the sector.

This report also highlights the gaps in the literature, particularly the need for more comprehensive Māori perspectives, and the need for further research in this space, including engagement with iwi Māori on this kaupapa (topic) (proposed as Phase 2 of this research programme).

1 Introduction

1.1 Purpose and objectives

The purpose of this research is to provide a high-level understanding of Māori aspirations for the transport sector based on available literature and interview insights. It also gives expression to Te Tiriti o Waitangi (herein referred to as Te Tiriti) partnership between Māori, Waka Kotahi NZ Transport Agency, and the wider transport sector. This research is part of a broader programme undertaken in two parts. Phase 1 of that programme is this research report, comprising a desk-top exercise to understand the available literature and the gaps that exist on this kaupapa (subject). Phase 2, the most critical component, is research and engagement with iwi Māori to explore this kaupapa in depth, and to identify aspirations and experiences of Māori, for the transport sector.

The objectives of this research are to:

1. identify impacts the transport sector has had on Māori traditions, aspirations, and wellbeing, and how these have changed and are changing over time
2. understand Māori articulation of the transport sector and Māori aspirations for the future.

1.2 Research outcomes

The research made clear that there are still gaps in the limited available literature. This presents significant opportunities, and additional aspirational outcomes for this research, including:

- building iwi organisation, hapū and whānau understanding on how to leverage the transport system to improve opportunities for Māori, understanding of the interconnection of the network, and helping clarify aspirations
- providing the transport sector with an understanding of the gaps relating to this kaupapa to inform transport investment for future research to close the gap, and to inform the development of inclusive access in the future
- providing transport agencies (such as Waka Kotahi NZ Transport Agency) with key themes to refine the kaupapa, and ensure Phase 2 of the research programme effectively improves understanding across the sector in working with, and for, Māori.

1.3 Approach

The researchers acknowledge that there is no 'one' Māori viewpoint, nor 'one' viewpoint of those that operate within the transport sector. Different individuals, whānau, organisations, and communities have a range of experiences of, and aspirations for, the sector. Many of these experiences and aspirations interface with other sectors (such as health and education). As a consequence, the approach for this research sought to:

- review a broad range of literature
- gain interview insights and identify common themes
- synthesise these findings into a recommended pathway forward for Phase 2 of the programme.

The approach taken in this report is also underpinned by te ao Māori, adopting the principles outlined in *Te Ara Kotahi* (Waka Kotahi NZ Transport Agency, 2020b). The objectives of *Te Ara Kotahi* are to connect Māori to the work of Waka Kotahi (and the transport sector), fulfil statutory requirements under Te Tiriti, and empower Waka Kotahi to respond to, and partner with, Māori, to achieve Māori aspirations and mutually beneficial outcomes.

To achieve these objectives, Waka Kotahi recognises the importance of ngā uara (shared values) and mātāpono (principles). Ngā uara identified in Table 1.1 have provided a useful frame for this research report, as they enable consideration of Māori aspirations from a kaupapa Māori perspective. These values can then be drawn across literature from other relevant sectors.

Table 1.1 Te Ara Kotahi – values and principles of the Waka Kotahi Māori Strategy (Waka Kotahi NZ Transport Agency, 2020b).

Ngā Uara – Values
Rangatiratanga – We recognise and respect the individual autonomy and authority of Māori. We respect each other as partners and therefore value each other’s aspirations, positions, roles, and expertise.
Manaakitanga – We exercise care, and the work we do should be mana enhancing and supportive.
Kaitiakitanga – We recognise that the environment is a taonga that must be managed carefully. We also recognise that Māori have a responsibility and obligation of care over their communities and environments.
Whanaungatanga – We foster meaningful and enduring relationships based on good faith, mutual respect, understanding and trust.
Te Tiriti o Waitangi – We recognise, respect, and uphold the principles of Te Tiriti o Waitangi.
Mana o Te Reo Māori – Te reo Māori is highly valued by Māori and Waka Kotahi. We will actively promote te reo Māori within our organisation and in the work that we do.

1.4 Method

1.4.1 Literature review

For the literature review, we followed a general inductive approach to guide data collection and analysis. This involved drawing from a wide range of sources, including local government documentation, submissions, consent publications, and publicly available documents. This approach enabled the authors to consider the interlinkages that exist within the transport sector, and identify connections to other sectors. Waka Kotahi had also previously identified gaps in research and knowledge in this area. This literature review was therefore intentionally broad, drawing on other sectors and topics of relevance, such as health, wellbeing, and urban planning, where a greater level of research exists in terms of the impacts of these areas on Māori.

To interrogate the objectives above, the literature review explored the following:

- current iwi Māori understandings of the transport system (with a particular focus on roading)
- Māori traditions related to transport, to provide context for present day interactions and understanding
- the relation of inclusive access and the transport system for Māori
- the importance or otherwise of transport for Māori to access opportunities.

1.4.2 Interview insights

A limited set of interviews was undertaken with representatives from Waka Kotahi and associated consultants. These interviews were undertaken to validate the literature review only and were not of a quantum to provide comprehensive insights. Phase 2 of this research programme is intended to be centred on broader engagement and interviews to inform the gaps identified in this research. Interview participants were selected from different business units within Waka Kotahi, who have had experience working with Māori within the transport sector. It is acknowledged that while some interviewees identified as Māori themselves, respondents were not representing the views of any particular iwi, hapū or whānau. Instead, the

interviews of Waka Kotahi staff were intended to capture current experience of that particular transport organisation, and gain insights for Phase 2 of the research.

A semi-structured interview approach was adopted for interviews. Given the broad nature and nuances of Māori aspirations and articulation of these in the transport sector, semi-structured interviews were preferred as a way to consider broad holistic factors, while gaining a systematic understanding and anecdotal evidence from interview participants (Botha et al., 2020; Michelsen & de Boer, 2009). The questions were used as a starting point in the discussion to unpack the complexity of the kaupapa (topics) and provide qualitative data for analysis. Literature supports the use of semi-structured interviews as an enabler for discussion on key information relating to the main objectives of a research project, and that provides flexibility to go in-depth as needed (Harrell & Bradley, 2009).

On completion of the interviews, data was analysed using a thematic analysis, to explore the differences and similarities between discussions. It is noted that the majority of interview participants drew on their project implementation experience of working with Māori to respond to questions. This has resulted in the insights being particularly focused on this area of Waka Kotahi work.

A summary of the interview structure and questions is presented as **Appendix A** of this report.

1.5 Structure of the report

The remainder of this research report is structured as follows:

Section 2: Literature review

This section outlines the current research on Māori aspirations for the transport sector under the framing of research questions that relate to the research objectives. Presently, there is a lack of research specific to Māori experiences in the transport sector. This literature review has therefore explored related fields such as health and education.

Section 3: Key informant interviews

This section provides insights from Waka Kotahi staff on transport sector aspirations for working with Māori in the transport sector, and their reflections on outcomes sought by Māori through projects and policy development. Key themes identified from the interviews include access and connection, enablers of opportunity, education, Māori economic interests, cultural competency, capacity and capability, and partnership.

Section 4: Engagement recommendations

Drawing on the outcomes of Sections 2 and 3 above, this section presents a pathway for Phase 2 of this research programme. This includes guidance for engagement with Māori in the transport sector as part of this research, and suggestions for further research.

2 Literature review

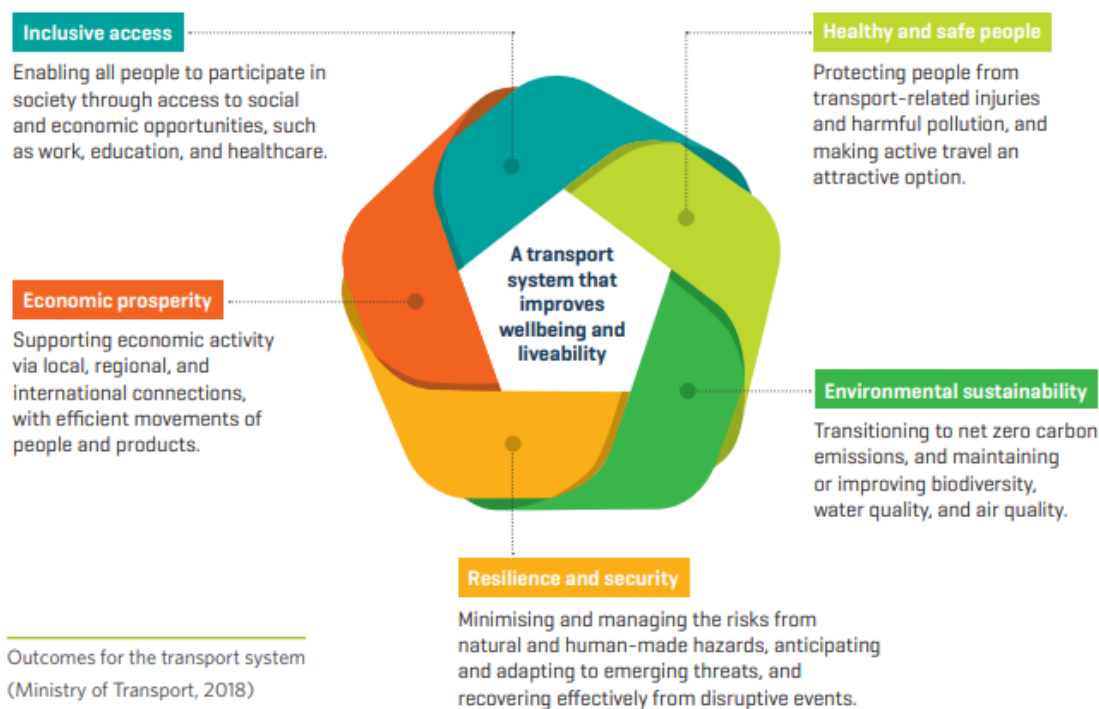
2.1 Overview

This literature review explores current iwi Māori understandings of the transport system, with a particular focus on the roading network. To do this, the authors recognise that Māori traditions associated with transport provide important context for present day interactions and understanding. Underpinned by this context is the relation between inclusive access and the transport system for Māori, and how this shapes access to opportunities.

In 2018, the Ministry of Transport developed an outcomes framework focused on achieving ‘a transport system that improves wellbeing and liveability’ (Ministry of Transport, 2018, p. 3). The Transport Outcomes Framework identified five key outcomes of a transport system that improves wellbeing and liveability. These are shown in Figure 2.1 below.

One of the key outcomes identified by Ministry of Transport is that of inclusive access – enabling all people to participate in society through access to social and economic opportunities, such as work, education, and healthcare (Ministry of Transport, 2018). There are direct links between provision of transport and the ability of people to fully participate in society (NZ Transport Agency, 2018). Transport-related social exclusion occurs when people are not able to participate in society’s basic activities because of a lack of access to transport options (Raerino et al., 2013).

Figure 2.1 Transport Outcomes Framework (Ministry of Transport, 2018)



2.2 Past interactions of Māori and transport

2.2.1 Importance of understanding the past

To fully understand Māori future aspirations, both for the transport sector and more generally, it is important to first understand traditions, including oral traditions, related to transport. In te ao Māori, the past, present, and future are intertwined and inseparable (Rameka, 2016) – to understand the future, one must first look to the past. Oral histories provide both narratives of the past and frameworks within which to interpret the present (Keenan, 2005). This worldview is articulated by the whakataukī ‘Kia whakatōmuri te haere whakamua’ meaning ‘I walk backwards into the future with my eyes fixed on the past’. As such, the first step to acknowledging future aspirations is to identify past interactions between the transport sector and Māori.

Māori record the past through oral traditions – whakapapa (genealogies), whakataukī (sayings), kōrero (narratives), and waiata (songs) (McRae, 2017). Capturing Māori history from a Māori perspective through a literature review therefore has its limitations, as Māori oral traditions do not sit easily within the constraints of academic research (Taonui, 1994). Historically, there has been a problematic division between supposedly irreconcilable differences between Māori oral narratives and Pākehā written texts (Binney, 1987). This differentiation is significant in its ‘othering’ of Māori historical knowledge, which has displaced Māori perceptions of history, reducing them to less reliable myths, superstitions, and traditions (Mahuika, 2017).

2.2.2 Voyagers of the sea

Māori are descended from people who have always seen the value of travel and exploration. As King explains, Polynesians were voyaging around half the globe, at a time when Europeans had not yet ventured beyond the coast of their own continent (King, 2003). Most iwi of Aotearoa place special significance on their waka descent traditions (Keenan, 2005). Different iwi and hapū trace their whakapapa to various waka, which were used on subsequent and deliberate voyages of colonisation (King, 2003). While recorded narratives date from the earliest occupation of Hawaiki, it is from the waka that primary descent histories are sourced (Keenan, 2005). This significance is also captured in the myriad understandings, pūrakau (stories), waiata (songs) and whakataukī (proverbs) that Māori have referring to travel by waka (Philips & Mita, 2016). These oral histories provide both narratives of the past and frameworks within which to interpret the present (Keenan, 2005).

Archaeological evidence reveals that Māori people are descended from Eastern Polynesians who travelled to Aotearoa New Zealand over 700 years ago (Evans, 2011). Aotearoa New Zealand was the last significant land mass to be discovered (Anderson, 1991). It was likely located in a voyage of discovery (King, 2003) that marked the final stage of Polynesian migration, and is now regarded as among the greatest acts of travel in world history (O'Malley, 2015). Today, these stories of transport to Aotearoa form a key part of Māori identity.

2.2.3 Discovery of Aotearoa

Arrival in Aotearoa presented a new chapter for Māori in many ways, including in terms of transport. From voyagers of Te-Moana-nui-a-Kiwa (Pacific Ocean), Māori became explorers of the land, though without formal roads as we understand them today (Walrond, 2021). Māori were a mobile people long before the arrival of and settlement of Europeans (King, 2003).

Aotearoa was vast and abundant with life. In the first century after settlement, the main emphasis of mobility and transport was on locating resources, with travel routes formed around mahinga kai (food sources) (England, 2014). Settlements were often built on water- and track-based transport routes, to allow access to resources (Law, 2008; Pollock, 2011). There was also significant trade between hapū, due to the different resources available in different geographic areas (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2007).

With the knowledge and ships brought from Hawaiki, Māori tended to travel on the water, around the coast by waka (Belich, 1996). Due to the preference for travel by waka, connection between coastal areas was far less of a barrier than inland routes (Belich, 1996). Transport along rivers was also particularly important as it enabled access to settlements and mahinga kai (Waitangi Tribunal, 2008). Only where access was not possible by river, Māori ventured by foot (England, 2014).

Travel patterns varied significantly between areas of the country, depending on available resources and the climate. Coastal iwi relied heavily on fishing, while inland tribes relied more on forest products (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2007). There was also a marked difference between the travel patterns of iwi in the North and South Islands (Stevens, 2006). This was largely driven by climate. For example, in Te Waipounamu (the South Island), the cooler climate limited the ability to plant and manage large-scale gardens, therefore Māori lived a more nomadic lifestyle based around seasonal hunting (Lenihan, 2013).

2.3 Impacts on Māori from development of the transport sector

When Pākehā arrived, they brought with them a completely different way of conceptualising space, a different way of understanding the relationship between resources and people, and a different political order: all incongruent with those of Māori (Christensen, 2013). Early settlers relied heavily on Māori knowledge for access to the inland of Aotearoa (Christensen, 2013) and the routes of many early roads were based on historic Māori routes (Cleaver, 2012). The literature also suggests that inland Māori communities were further connected by the introduction of Pākehā transport networks (Belich, 1996).

Development of the transport network more broadly has been criticised as something that has been inflicted upon Māori (Meher et al., 2021), with the Crown not always accounting for the broader impacts of transport decisions on society, and in particular how these impact Māori (Randal et al., 2020). Historical infrastructural decisions have had ongoing intergenerational and inequitable consequences on the wellbeing of Māori (Ameratunga et al., 2019). Historical trauma and disparities arising from this now involve a complex mix of socio-economic and lifestyle factors (Waka Kotahi NZ Transport Agency, 2021). The legacy of historic and recent infrastructure changes is seen by some Māori as disruptive and damaging, with ongoing consequences on safety, as well as on physical, cultural, and emotional wellbeing (Ameratunga et al., 2019).

For many Māori, construction of roading infrastructure is symptomatic of a wider story of displacement, dislocation, and disenfranchisement from their land (Matunga, 2000). New Zealand Government transport policy, consistent with that of many OECD countries, has largely focused on the achievement of economic growth and efficiency above community development and wellbeing (Randal et al., 2020).

2.3.1 Rural communities

As diverse as the experiences of Māori were during early European colonisation, so too were the interactions between Māori and development of transport routes. Some Māori recognised the important role that roading played in economic growth and expansion and were keen to participate (Marr, 1997). Others already had their own traditional routes and did not always welcome the creation of new roads, especially when these roads were seen to benefit settlers more than Māori (Cleaver, 2004).

Te Tiriti guaranteed to Māori tino rangatiratanga, or the unqualified exercise of chieftainship, over their lands, resources and taonga (New Zealand History, 2021). The English version recognised Māori property rights, guaranteeing 'full, exclusive and undisturbed possession of their lands' (New Zealand History, 2021). However, for generations, both Māori property rights and cultural ties to the land were considered of secondary importance to the construction of infrastructure required for the creation of a new Crown land (Marr, 1997).

From the mid-1860s through to 1927, land was acquired for roading (and later rail) projects through the ‘five percent rule’. The rule arose out of a need for infrastructure development to support the growing needs of the new colony (Cleaver, 2004). While Māori land was originally exempt, the Native Lands Act 1862 included a provision that enabled the government to take, and lay off, up to five percent of land purchased from Māori without compensation or time limit (Cleaver, 2004). These roads were generally provided to assist settlers, and were welcomed by Pākehā as they increased land values.

Crown acquisition of land has been a major source of grievance for Māori (Cleaver, 2012). For Māori, who have deep cultural and whakapapa (genealogical) connections to the land, loss of land left many culturally, materially, and spiritually impoverished (Wynyard, 2019). In principle, the provision of roading infrastructure could have been used to help Māori develop their land. However, it was primarily used to meet Pākehā settlement needs, whether Māori wanted the roads or not (Cleaver, 2004). In many cases, the construction of roading led to further alienation for Māori from their land, as it made it more desirable to settlers (Cleaver, 2004).

Even when roads were built through Māori land, there was no requirement to consult with Māori on the need for the road or the route it should take (Cleaver, 2004). There was protection for land occupied by Māori pa, villages, and cultivation, but little consideration was given for the wider cultural significance for Māori (Matunga, 2000), leading to further disenfranchisement within the existing transport system. For example, protections for wāhi tapu, including urupā, were non-existent or often ineffective and were commonly given a lower priority than other concerns, including the need for roading and other infrastructure (Marr, 1997).

In some cases, early roads were constructed at the direct expense of Māori through using Māori who were already within the prison system. Prison labour was a major tool in the transformation of Dunedin and especially in the development of roads (Reeves, 1989). In November 1869, 74 Parihaka men arrived in Port Chalmers. Road boards around the Otago Harbour used prison labour extensively at this time, both to improve old roads and build new ones (Reeves, 1989). These Māori prisoners are best remembered in Dunedin for their work on the Otago Harbour walls and the formation of Māori Road (Petchev & Brosnahan, 2016).

2.3.2 Urbanisation

A key period in the shaping of modern Māori communities occurred mid-20th century, when urban policy resulted in mass migration from rural to urban areas (Taonui, 2012). There was huge economic growth in Aotearoa New Zealand following World War I, alongside a need for a labour force to support it. Māori were actively encouraged to move away from ancestral lands to cities. This led to a rapid transformation in Māori demographics, from predominantly rural to urban (Greaves et al., 2017). In 1926, 84% of Māori were living in rural areas, with many still connected to the land of their iwi and marae. However, by 1966, 62% of Māori were living in urban areas (Ryks et al., 2014).

Initially, Māori who migrated to cities predominantly settled in more industrial and cheaper inner-city suburbs (Rowland, 1972). To encourage integration into Pākehā society, Māori households were dispersed throughout cities, amongst Pākehā streets, through a social housing policy referred to as ‘pepper-potting’ (Hill, 2012). Dispersion between Māori communities has only been exacerbated by gentrification, whereby Māori communities have been forced to move from one location to more affordable suburbs, cities, or regions (Raerino et al., 2013).

Within an urban setting, Māori represent a diverse group of iwi with different experiences, interests, and aspirations (Wikitera, 2011). Urbanisation led to further disenfranchisement from traditional lands, exacerbating transport disadvantages for Māori by restricting movement (Raerino et al., 2013). This resulted in socially dislocated communities, and increased Māori reliance on roading and transport.

Often in these urban areas, the development of infrastructure has been prioritised over the wellbeing of Māori communities. In many cases, infrastructure has been developed that completely disrupted opportunities for mobility and social participation of Māori communities. One case study that exemplifies this is in Māngere, where a motorway was built between housing and the local marae (Meher et al., 2021).

2.4 Inequities within the transport sector

2.4.1 Lack of access

Transport and urban policy have increased the reliance on cars and roading infrastructure in New Zealand, and particularly for Māori. The loss of land, urbanisation and gentrification have all resulted in Māori homes being located further from whānau, cultural sites and other social requirements (Raerino et al., 2013). Many Māori people live and work in areas that are not well served by public transport (Ministry of Transport, 2021). As vehicle drivers and public transport users, Māori travel fewer kilometres on average than non-Māori, a similar amount to non-Māori as pedestrians and cyclists, and more than non-Māori as vehicle passengers (Waka Kotahi NZ Transport Agency, 2021).

For many Māori, whānau are an important source of transport. Particularly for those with less social power, greater financial constraints, and language and technological barriers, whānau are often the only option for access to transport (Ameratunga et al., 2019). As a result, Māori are often required to drive further than non-Māori, to pick up whānau or get to cultural sites (Rees et al., 2020). One of the greatest determinants of road safety risk is exposure based on vehicle kilometres travelled. Driving longer distances increases cost to Māori and the risk of accidents occurring. Particularly in rural areas, roads in Māori communities are more likely to be of poor quality, increasing the toll on both vehicles and, by extension, finances (Haerewa et al., 2018).

Māori tend to experience more transport inequities than other New Zealanders because they have lower incomes on average (Ministry of Transport, 2021). As a result, Māori are more likely to be involuntarily car-free, or in a situation of 'forced car ownership'. Forced car ownership describes low-income households with high car ownership, resulting in a high proportion of their income going to their cars (Raerino et al., 2013). Rates of driver licensing are significantly lower among Māori than non-Māori (Curl et al., 2020) and Māori are less likely to gain their full licence (Langley et al., 2012). These issues are particularly prevalent for Māori living rurally (Raerino et al., 2013).

2.4.2 Safety

Social deprivation is known to be a key determinant of road safety outcomes for all New Zealanders. However, Māori are disproportionately affected because they make up a far larger proportion of the population living in areas of greater social deprivation (Waka Kotahi NZ Transport Agency, 2021b).

Māori are significantly more likely than non-Māori to be injured in transport-related accidents. It is recognised that there is limited research on road safety outcomes for Māori, but the evidence available indicates that Māori are at greater risk than the rest of the population when travelling on our roads (Ministry of Transport, 2019a). It has widely been concluded that Māori are two and a half times more likely to be injured (Ministry of Transport, 2011) and more than three times more likely than non-Māori to die as a result of a motor-vehicle traffic crash (Ministry of Social Development, 2016).

To better understand road safety outcomes for Māori, a detailed research report was commissioned in 2021 (Waka Kotahi NZ Transport Agency, 2021). The key conclusions of this research were that Māori continue to experience poorer road safety outcomes than non-Māori. Areas of particular concern include a range of road user issues, such as the over-representation in death and serious injury (DSI) crashes of young Māori men, under-licensed driving, lack of use of seatbelts, and driving while impaired.

Māori tend to travel in vehicles with more occupants, so when accidents occur, often more people are affected (Waka Kotahi NZ Transport Agency, 2021). While 1- and 2-star safety rated vehicles are implicated in similar proportions for Māori and non-Māori, accidents involving Māori are more likely to occur in lower safety rated vehicles (Waka Kotahi NZ Transport Agency, 2021).

For 2013–2017 the average rate of DSIs per 100,000 population for all Māori men was 87.0, much higher than the average rate of 61.5 for all men. For non-Māori men the DSI rate is about average from 30 years onwards but for Māori men the DSI rate remains above average through to 64 years. For all Māori women the rate was 40.5; much higher than the average rate of 29.0 for all women. For Māori women the DSI rate remains above average through to 59 years (Waka Kotahi NZ Transport Agency, 2021).

2.4.3 Inclusive access for Māori

Transport is not an enabler in and of itself – it is an enabler of outcomes (Ministry of Transport, 2019b). Lack of access to the transport sector is the result of existing inequities, but also furthers social exclusion and lack of opportunities. Transport connects people with the community, providing access to services and opportunities (Rees et al., 2020). People who have barriers to access take fewer trips, or take longer or less convenient trips, with both immediate and long-term effects on their mental and physical health and wellbeing (Burdett, 2018).

Forced car ownership and usage causes several social harms in low-income and Māori communities, including worsening financial hardship and debt (Raerino et al., 2013). Transport is required to access key amenities, including vital services for health. More than 6% of Māori could not visit a GP due to lacking transport during the 2019/2020 period (Environmental Health Intelligence New Zealand, 2021).

Inclusive transport access for Māori promotes wellbeing. Reliable transport options provide access and connection to the wider community (Tyler, 2014). Increased travel distance has caused disconnectedness from whānau, cultural sites and other social requirements. This can result in isolation and harm to Māori identity (Rees et al., 2020) and have serious implications on wellbeing (Raerino et al., 2013).

Lack of access to transport perpetuates existing inequalities faced by Māori. A good example of a cyclical effect that access to transport has on opportunities is seen in driver licensing. The most common reason Māori do not get a driver's licence are financial barriers (McDowell et al., 2009). Not having a driver's licence has implications on employment and further limits wider financial opportunities, perpetuating the original issue. Lack of driver licences can also have wider social implications, as young Māori are more likely to have driven illegally prior to receiving a licence (McDowell et al., 2009). A common entry into the criminal justice system, particularly for young Māori men, is driving illegally (Raerino et al., 2013).

2.5 Expectations of Crown–Māori partnership in transport

2.5.1 Treaty settlements and legislative change

The Treaty settlements process has transformed the model of engagement between Crown and Māori. Māori claims against the Crown for breaches of Te Tiriti are longstanding. However, only in recent history has the Crown commenced engaging on these claims meaningfully and comprehensively (Summerfield, 2015). Rather than simply requiring consultation with iwi, many settlements require active and ongoing collaboration (Holm & Enright, 2013). These agreements are sometimes made with iwi or rūnanga, but may fail to acknowledge the differing views, opinions, and aspirations within an iwi (Te Pūtahitanga o Te Waipounamu, 2019). Therefore, not all agree that the settlement process has been useful. Some posit that while settlement agreements might provide a voice to Māori, they do so within a paradigm that pits kin groups (iwi, hapū, whānau) against one another, unjustly limits redress, and fails to resolve tension (Taiapa et al., 2021).

The complexities of the different texts in Māori and English of Te Tiriti continue to play out in different ways, and in different contexts with various interpretations on meaning. These differences, coupled with the need to apply Te Tiriti in contemporary circumstances, led Parliament to refer to the Treaty principles in legislation, rather than to the specific texts of either version. The well-established Treaty framework of engagement – the principles of partnership, participation and protection – emerged out of the Royal Commission on Social Policy in 1986. These were a step towards integrating Te Tiriti into various planning and legislative documents.

Despite the roading network being built through Māori land since Europeans arrived, Māori voices were largely silent in transport and planning until the 1980s (Miller, 2017). However, the introduction of the Resource Management Act ((RMA 1991) herein referred to as ‘the Act’) formally enabled Māori participation in the planning and management of natural and physical resources. The Act recognised Māori through a number of provisions, including ‘the relationship of Māori and their culture and traditions with their ancestral lands, water, sites, wāhi tapu and other taonga’. It also required consideration of kaitiakitanga (guardianship) and Treaty principles. The Act, and its consideration and empowerment of Māori voices in decision-making, was considered world leading and innovative (Hayward, 2003), with development and implementation of the Act often recognised as the first genuine attempt to import tikanga (customs and lore) in a holistic way into any category of New Zealand law (Williams, 2013).

2.5.2 Modern-day engagement

Since the 1980s, engagement with Māori on roading and infrastructure projects has increased dramatically. However, there is still significant room for improving the participation of Māori in transport decision-making (Ball et al., 2009). There are a great number of barriers to be crossed before the provisions of shared decision-making with Māori is fully embraced (McCrossin, 2010). This includes a need for transport planners to pay more attention to the impact of their work on Māori (and Pasifika) communities (Tyler, 2014).

The same legislation and policy that first provided for Māori voices has been criticised by some as now restricting progress. For example, the Act, with genuine intentions to enable a more participatory framework and give legislative weight to Māori values (McCrossin, 2010) has failed to deliver on the opportunities provided in the legislation (Resource Management Review Panel, 2020). Some feel that in the 30 years since the development of the RMA, there has been little progress in increasing Māori participation in decision-making (Ryks et al., 2014). Furthermore, while the settlements process has been beneficial for many iwi, it has also had an effect of freezing Māori social structures for legal purposes (Ryks et al., 2014).

From a Māori perspective, historically, there can be a feeling of selective engagement by the Crown (Hill, 2015). Engagement with mana whenua is encouraged at the start and end of a project, but there is an expectation from the government that mana whenua partners will compromise as and when required (Bisseker, 2021). For example, following the November 2016 earthquake, the Kaikōura rebuild project involved the re-establishment of the road and rail network. During the project, mana whenua partners felt they were pressured to compromise at critical decision points of projects (Bisseker, 2021). There is also sometimes a fear of engaging wrongly, for example by perpetuating Māori cultural tokenism, which often prevents Pākehā from engaging at all (Hotere-Barnes, 2015).

Engagement with Māori has also been seen by some as disingenuous, in that the Crown takes aspects of indigenous cultures and moulds them to conform to the ideals of the colonising culture (Bennett, 2020). It has been reported that some Māori are tired of replaying the same fight (Bisseker, 2021). In 2019, the Waitangi Tribunal described the Treaty principles of partnership, participation, and protection as outdated, and conceded that reform was required. The Crown accepted that they reflect a ‘reductionist view’ of Te Tiriti (Health Services and Outcomes Inquiry, 2019).

The nature of Te Tiriti partnership is evolving as increasing numbers of grievances are settled, and the Crown and Māori move into new post-settlement relationships (Legislation Design and Advisory Committee, 2021). A theme running through the Treaty settlements process is that Māori want not only to have an 'equal say' in natural resource management, but also to influence the way decisions are reached (Holm & Enright, 2013).

Contemporary examples from the transport sector where partnership relationships have been sought by iwi include Waka Kotahi Mt Messenger Bypass, Manawatū Gorge, and Ngā Ūranga ki Peto-One Cycleway Projects. As part of the Mt Messenger Bypass project, Waka Kotahi opted to reach an agreement with Ngāti Tama to avoid the need to acquire land under the Public Works Act. The land required for the bypass was vested as 'cultural redress land', meaning it is recognised as land that the iwi have a particularly strong cultural and historical association with (Mt Messenger Alliance, 2017). Through engagement and partnership, an agreement was reached between the rūnanga of Ngāti Tama and Waka Kotahi. The cultural mitigation agreement of the project included recognition of the cultural ties of Ngāti Tama to the land, a payment of \$7.7 million to help address the project's cultural impacts, and opportunities for ongoing engagement for the iwi (Ngāti Tama ki Taranaki, 2017). Another example of partnership is described in the Assessment of Effects on the Environment Report, where Waka Kotahi is working in partnership with mana whenua to deliver Te Ahu a Turanga – Manawatū Tararua Highway (Waka Kotahi, 2020a). This model of partnership has been informed by the Transport Agency's commitment to Te Tiriti and by ongoing engagement. Five iwi groups have been brought in as project partners.

2.5.3 Current legislative changes

At the time of writing, extensive resource management reforms are underway for the resource management system. The primary objective of these reforms is to improve environmental outcomes (Resource Management Review Panel, 2020). This includes giving proper recognition to the principles of Te Tiriti, and providing greater recognition of te ao Māori, including mātauranga Māori (Resource Management Review Panel, 2020). The reforms involve replacing the Act with three new pieces of legislation: the Natural and Built Environments Act (NBA), the Strategic Planning Act, and the Climate Adaptation Act.

In particular, the NBA seeks to improve recognition of te ao Māori and Te Tiriti. This includes reference to Te Oranga o te Taiao (the health of the environment) in the Act's purpose (New Zealand Government, 2020). This concept is intended to encapsulate the intergenerational importance of the health and wellbeing of the natural environment. Decision-makers would be required 'to give effect to the principles of Te Tiriti', replacing the current Act requirement to 'take into account' those principles (Blattner-de Vries, 2021). These reforms signal a continuing shift to improve integration with te ao Māori and recognise expectations of Māori across those sectors in which the Act governs.

2.6 Māori aspirations for the transport sector

2.6.1 Vision for the transport sector

Māori emphasise the need for holistic decision-making processes to reflect a te ao Māori viewpoint (Resource Management Review Panel, 2020). Congruent with this, Māori are advocating for a more holistic approach to the development of the transport sector (Raukura Consultants, 2020). Transport projects are likely to be most valuable to Māori when they are designed in ways that enable Māori to maintain a cultural and spiritual connection to environment and a sense of place (Raerino et al., 2013).

For Māori, their interest in transport and urban planning is not solely, or even largely, economic, but includes other dimensions of wellbeing (Ryks et al., 2014). There are clearly links between community transport provision and subjective indices of wellbeing (Burdett, 2018) and Māori are increasingly demanding that

these wider implications of the transport sector are considered by planners and policymakers. For example, in their formative vision to 2025 report, Ngāi Tahu articulated a desire for the development of integrated policy linking natural resource management with health, social and economic outcomes (Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu, 2001). Te Ātiawa also take a holistic view of the transport sector, requesting that individual projects are viewed in the broadest context (Raukura Consultants, 2020). Meher et al. (2021) concurrently advocate that transport planning should be considered in its historical context, identifying possibilities for connection between whānau and their communities.

These views align with the approach increasingly being taken by Waka Kotahi and the Ministry of Transport to develop a transport system that improves wellbeing and liveability. In a te ao Māori framework, it is imperative to seek to understand the transport sector as the total system, not just parts of it (Ministry of Transport, 2021). This means developing a transport system that is caring and nurturing, and provides support, inclusive mobility, and wellbeing for the people that it serves (Meher et al., 2021). Developing a holistic transport system in this way is considered as removing barriers to healthy whānau, such as cost, transport, and lack of opportunity (Meher et al., 2021). Removal of such barriers is identified as a key priority for Ngāi Tahu (Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu, 2001). Historically, the Crown has failed to consider the wider impacts of the transport system, the way in which these are distributed across society, and how the transport system interacts with the natural world (Randal et al., 2020).

2.6.2 Wellbeing and hauora

The accessibility and availability of transport options that contribute to health and wellbeing is reliant on good transport policy and design (Raerino et al., 2013). Transport planning decisions can amplify or mitigate social and health inequalities, and these equity effects are of public health concern (Ball et al., 2009). If improving safety and wellbeing outcomes for Māori is to be effectively pursued as a policy goal, the meaning of wellbeing for diverse social groups needs to be understood, and the roles that transport infrastructure and planning decisions play in enhancing or undermining it identified (Meher et al., 2021).

Within a Māori worldview, the health and wellbeing of the individual is located within the collective wellbeing of their whānau and the environment they are connected to (Willing et al., 2020). A culturally grounded, holistic approach to providing transport solutions is therefore needed, through considering the wellbeing of whānau as a group (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2016). Specific iwi, such as Ngāi Tahu, articulate their holistic understanding of wellbeing as including health, wealth, education, and community (Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu, 2021).

For Māori, modes of transport have always been shared. This practice is underpinned by, and supports, cultural practices. Sharing mobility provides an opportunity to strengthen social bonds and an opportunity to retain cultural practices that benefit the collective. Furthermore, shared mobility practices reduce the cost and complications of vehicle maintenance, as well as the cost of fuel (Haerewa et al., 2018).

Providing access to transport helps to build whānau capability to support whānau self-management, independence, and autonomy, all characteristics of a whānau ora model of wellbeing (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2016). For many iwi, their key goals are linked to access to transport. For Ngāi Tahu, the removal of legislative and institutional barriers is a key goal (Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu, 2001). For some iwi, such as Waikato Tainui, positive health and social wellbeing outcomes are key priorities (Waikato Tainui, 2015).

2.6.3 Environmental improvements

Kaitiakitanga is a key value for many Māori, and is equally important for both rural and urban Māori (Stats NZ, 2020). Historically, the position of iwi has been that transport projects do not negatively affect the environment. More recently, there has been a shift as Māori increasingly advocate that transport and roading projects better the environment, not just maintain the status quo. On individual roading projects, such as the

East West Link (East West Link Alliance Project Team, 2017) and MacKays to Peka Peka Expressway (Mackays to Peka Peka Expressway Alliance Team, 2012), mana whenua have sought for a positive net impact on mauri (life force and essence). This same aspiration is seen to be reflected in all levels of transport policy.

2.6.4 Cultural considerations for individual projects

At a project level, aspirations depend on many factors, including geographical constraints, the whakapapa (genealogy) of an area, as well as the nature of the transport project itself. However, some of the key priorities identified (F. McKenzie, 2016) are:

- protection and maintenance of wāhi tapu and other heritage sites
- protection of taonga
- sustainable management of resources through the placing of rāhui (temporary ritual protection) to allow replenishment of resources
- restoration of damaged ecosystems
- protection of sensitive environments
- directing development in ways that are in keeping with the environment
- ensuring the sustainable uses of resources
- observation of the tikanga associated with traditional activities
- promotion for the integration of te reo Māori in transport projects
- provision for the needs of present and future generations.

To achieve the aspiration of a transport system that promotes wellbeing for Māori, policymakers will need to empower communities to develop their own transport systems (Raerino et al., 2013). Waikato Tainui, for example, advocates that an outcome for the transport sector should be the promotion of wellbeing, empowering people to be socially and economically successful (Waikato Tainui, 2015).

2.7 Pathways to achieve aspirations

While there is limited research available for solutions developed in the context of the transport sector to achieve the aspirations explored above, the authors have applied a framework with origins in the health sector.

Te Whare Tapa Whā is a framework developed by Sir Mason Durie to communicate to non-Māori health professionals the Māori conceptualisation of hauora (Ministry of Health, 2017). The four pillars of the hauora model are:

- taha tinana (physical wellbeing)
- taha hinengaro (mental and emotional wellbeing)
- taha whānau (social wellbeing)
- taha wairua (spiritual wellbeing).

While it was developed in the health sector, the framework is increasingly being used and adapted to conceptualise the wider Māori understanding of wellbeing in other areas of society. Transport can affect all four aspects of hauora (Tyler, 2014); examples are shown in Table 2.1 (Rees et al., 2020).

Table 2.1 Transport and hauora

Aspect of wellbeing	Interaction between transport and aspect of wellbeing
Taha tinana (physical wellbeing)	Transport enables people to move around their communities. An element of taha tinana is the provision of active transport. Transport also provides links to locations important to taha tinana, including jobs, education, food, healthcare, and exercise locations.
Taha hinengaro (mental and emotional wellbeing)	Transport provides better mental health through increased control over one's life and how it is spent.
Taha whānau (social wellbeing)	Transport helps connect people to places and events, increasing connection to friends and whānau, leisure pursuits and recreation.
Taha wairua (spiritual wellbeing)	Transport can increase spiritual wellbeing by increasing access to individual places of identity and beliefs, for example, by improving access to places of cultural significance and religious institutions.

The 2019 Hauora Report (Health Services and Outcomes Inquiry, 2019) builds on the pou (pillars) above by recommending five principles for the incorporation of Te Tiriti into the wider health and disability system. These principles are:

- tino rangatiratanga (Māori self-determination and mana motuhake (self-governance))
- equity
- active protection
- partnership
- options.

These have been explored in regard to the transport sector below.

2.7.1 Tino rangatiratanga

In developing the transport sector, a focus on enabling tino rangatiratanga for Māori in design and implementation is key. At a foundational level, this means that practitioners would understand that in te ao Māori, the reputation of the work and the people that carry it out is the legacy, rather than the physical end result (Bisseker, 2021). It is also important for practitioners to recognise that Māori voices are important not only as mana whenua, but also as an integral part of the local community using the roads and other infrastructure on a daily basis (Raukura Consultants, 2020).

For transport initiatives to positively affect Māori wellbeing, the transport sector needs to design and implement initiatives in close collaboration with the communities in which they will be placed (Rees et al., 2020). Increasingly, the promotion of practices based on Te Tiriti in enabling tino rangatiratanga is seen as a promising pathway to counter institutional racism in Aotearoa New Zealand (Came & McCreanor, 2015). Māori desire enhanced engagement and partnership, and have a widespread desire to articulate their cultural narrative and to tell their stories that reflect self-determination (McKenzie et al., 2008). Reinforcing this is a whānau-led approach, one that is highly participatory and is based on the premise that people at the local level already have the ideas, knowledge, tools, and capabilities required to create their own innovative solutions to the challenges they experience in their communities (Te Pūtahitanga o Te Waipounamu, 2019).

2.7.2 Equity

The principle of equity requires the Crown to commit to achieving inclusive access to the transport sector for Māori. This requires the Crown to acknowledge that in Aotearoa New Zealand, people have differences in access to transport that are not only avoidable but unfair and unjust. In particular, ethnic inequalities are

widened when effects are distributed unevenly by ethnicity. The most direct way to improve community wellbeing is to target investment for those who have the most to gain (Burdett, 2018).

Achieving equity is a social and economic objective of the current government (Schulze & Green, 2017). Equity is being viewed as a minimum requirement for Māori, particularly in the health sector (Ministry of Health, 2021) and in education (Schulze & Green, 2017). To provide equitable solutions, policymakers need to recognise that different people with different levels of advantage require different approaches and resources to get equitable outcomes (Ministry of Health, 2021).

Transport planning therefore needs to consider how different population groups are likely to be differentially affected by a project or policy (Ball et al., 2009). If everybody is to benefit equally from transport investments, then special effort must be made to ensure that services and infrastructure are suitable for and accessible to all disadvantaged groups, including Māori (Ball et al., 2009). This will require transport strategies and policies to be introduced that specifically address access for priority groups, such as for indigenous youth to education and employment opportunities (Raerino et al., 2013).

2.7.3 Active protection

The principle of active protection requires the Crown to act, to the fullest extent practicable, to achieve equitable outcomes for Māori as well as promoting Māori priorities. Under Te Tiriti, effective partnership with Māori must include the active protection of Māori rights and interests by the government (Legislation Design and Advisory Committee, 2021). This requires positive, proactive action from the Crown (Manning, 1998) to consider how development and implementation of the transport network improves Māori aspirations.

The Mt Messenger project is an example of how an individual iwi has seen a roading project as an opportunity to provide active protection for their community. In supporting the project, Ngāti Tama are ‘taking action as mana whenua and kaitiaki for this rohe (area) to create beneficial outcomes for Ngāti Tama, our local communities and wider region’ (Ngāti Tama ki Taranaki, 2017).

Examples of a transport system that provides for tikanga Māori is shown in Table 2.2.

Table 2.2 Examples of tikanga Māori in transport policy

Principle	What does this look like in the transport sector?
Kotahitanga	Roading networks designed by the community, for the community, in unison and harmony with the surrounding environment.
Wairuatanga	Development of networks that encourage connection between people and physical spaces.
Manaakitanga	Building of transport networks that acknowledge and preserve the mauri of the natural environment.
Whanaungatanga	Transport planning and design and construction of transport networks to encourage community participation. Emphasis placed on not isolating or segregating members of the community.
Kaitiakitanga	Sustainable management of natural resources, to preserve mauri.
Rangatiratanga	Recognition and acknowledgement of rangatiratanga in the transport sector such as providing a platform for partnership with Māori, and listening to their values and aspirations.
Recognition of mātauranga Māori	Promotion of community identification of local history and the importance of underlying cultural heritage values that relate to particular areas and resources of significance to local Māori.

2.7.4 Partnership

The principle of partnership requires the Crown and Māori to work together in the governance, design, delivery and monitoring of the transport sector. Te Tiriti requires that the government and Māori act towards each other reasonably and in good faith – akin to a partnership (Legislation Design and Advisory Committee, 2021). Effective partnership with Māori will enable co-design of the system, with external organisations such as Waka Kotahi promoting iwi-led initiatives (Waikato Tainui, 2015) and processes (Raukura Consultants, 2020). To understand and prioritise Māori aspirations, the transport sector needs to partner with Māori throughout. For every project, partnership looks different, but in every situation, it should be based on representation and influence. Furthermore, where there are conflicting priorities, mana whenua partners should not be constantly asked to compromise (Bisseker, 2021).

There is a need for more robust processes that engage with disadvantaged communities to address prevalent structural injustices in transport (Ameratunga et al., 2019). The provision of indigenous voices at all stages of transport decision-making will make it more likely that Māori aspirations are prioritised (Raerino et al., 2013). It is important that transport planners and policymakers provide for Māori aspirations by incorporating tikanga throughout the entire planning process (Waikato Tainui, 2015).

Greater representation of indigenous peoples is required at multiple levels in both the development and implementation of transport strategies (Raerino et al., 2013). Such an approach acknowledges that there are two fundamentally distinct cultures within Aotearoa New Zealand, an indigenous Māori culture and a New Zealand national culture that is based primarily on the values, language, and customs of British settlers (Eketone & Walker, 2015). There is likely to be a shift away from claimant iwi towards collectives that reflect a broader picture of Māori society as it exists today (Ryks et al., 2014). Increasingly, government guidance is empowering Māori in a whānau-centred approach to address social inequities (Davis et al., 2019). For example, Whānau Ora providers have trialled whānau-centred engagement, where specialist practitioners work with families to identify their needs and develop a 'whānau plan' (Turia, Whānau Ora, 2012).

Through meaningful partnerships between the Crown and Māori, Māori potential can be harnessed, celebrating Māori culture and co-designing initiatives for Māori (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2020). For mana whenua partners, there can be a real sense of pride in the navigation of an honest and true iwi–Crown relationship, one with authentic conversations that acknowledge struggles, but ultimately celebrate the connections made (Bisseker, 2021).

2.7.5 Options

A key component of inclusive transport planning is providing options that allow communities to make their own choices. The principle of options requires the Crown to provide for and properly resource a range of Māori-led solutions, enabling the transport system to evolve in a culturally appropriate way (Raerino et al., 2013). Inclusive access is not assuming what Māori want, or providing a single solution for all Māori, but instead providing a range of solutions that allow Māori to approach transport in 'their own way'.

Coupled with appropriate engagement, providing options empowers whānau and provides confidence to make decisions that are best for them (Turia, 2010). For example, it is not as simple as just assuming that Māori would not share transport if they were provided with alternative options. Research has previously recognised that sharing of transport and other resources is in part motivated by a Māori desire to do things 'their own way' (Haerewa et al., 2018). For some Māori, there is enjoyment and value associated with travelling with others; however, for some, shared mobility is not a choice, but forced by the inhibitive cost of car ownership or the lack of a driver licence (Haerewa et al., 2018).

3 Targeted interviews

3.1 Theme 1: Access and connection

Access and connection were themes explored by every interview participant. The insights on this theme highlighted how the transport sector can magnify negative impacts on the health and wellbeing of Māori, with urban and rural communities having discrete and independent challenges.

In rural areas, interviewees noted that the lack of rural public transport means that Māori struggle to access key services such as shops, schools, and community services. Approximately 33% of Māori live in small urban or rural areas compared to 26.3% of the general population (Massey University, 2020b), with roads and public transport services critical to these populations in accessing their needs. It was noted by interviewees that where public transport does exist in rural areas, these services can be infrequent or have low reliability. An example provided was that in many rural areas the only public transport available is the Intercity bus. A respondent also noted that due to the health impacts that can arise from a lack of access and connection (such as access to health services) marae organisations are active in addressing this particular gap for their people. In one locality, it was noted that a papakāinga-run transport service had been established to take kaumātua and kuia (Māori elders) to health services on a monthly basis, as they were unable to drive and there was no public transport service alternative. This initiative had significantly reduced the negative health issues within that community.

Access to/from rural areas was also discussed by respondents as a complex challenge for Māori, both in terms of access and connection to tūrangawaewae (a home-base associated with cultural identity). Tūrangawaewae and marae (meeting houses) are an inherent physical component of whakapapa (genealogy) for Māori. Therefore, the ability to return to this place regularly, or when needed for social occasions (such as tangihanga (funerals)) is a critical aspiration for the wellbeing of an iwi (tribe) and an individual. Interviewee respondents identified that they were aware that rural road conditions (sealed, gravel and dirt) and the cost of fuel (petrol/diesel) were key deterrents for people to travel to/from these areas. Anecdotal stories of families not being able to return for tangihanga unless ride-sharing was possible, was provided as an example. Not being able to return to tūrangawaewae generated feelings of whakamā (shame), disappointment, and disconnection from/to whānau (family).

Interviews also noted the importance of safe, physical access to marae, as one that had changed over time. A marae is a centre piece for every iwi, hapū and whānau. Marae are used for a multitude of activities including celebrations, tangihanga (funeral), hui (meetings), akoranga (teaching/learning) and housing manuhiri (visitors) during events. Observations were made by respondents that many ongoing road network challenges stemmed from issues surrounding marae. Many marae in rural areas are now accessed directly from state highways, and therefore the speed limits adjacent to access points and parking opportunities present significant challenges, particularly during major events such as tangihanga. This was also interlinked with iwi Māori concerns of protection and preservation of papakāinga (collective residential areas), access and connection to wāhi tapu (sacred sites) and wāhi taonga (precious sites), which they saw as slowly being eroded due to the increasing proximity of major roadways. Comments were made by respondents that concern for tamariki (children) and kaumātua/kuia (the elderly) in these areas was constantly expressed on this matter by iwi in various locations. A respondent also identified that a number of urban marae are now constrained by the transport network (such as Te Tatau o te Pō in Petone, Wellington), with modern-day routes following historical routes originally established by Māori to access important places. Maintaining safe access in these instances was noted as being increasingly challenging for whānau.

3.2 Theme 2: Creating levers to realise opportunity

There are multiple opportunities and aspirations that have been identified throughout the interviews, focused on the changes required from those working in the transport sector to realise opportunities for iwi Māori, and to be conscious of various levers that could be pulled, or created, to be more enabling.

Observations were made by interview respondents that there was an increasing number of examples of projects where Māori have participated, engaged and/or partnered in a way that resembled a step-change across the transport sector. Specific examples were given of projects where Te Whare Tapa Whā model of hauora had been adopted during implementation, so that Māori involvement in the project could be done in a way and manner that was founded in kaupapa Māori principles, for example, by taking a whānau-based approach to health and safety, and providing the same level of care and access to health and wellbeing services to a worker's entire family, rather than just the individual. However, it was noted that these successes were heavily reliant on certain individuals, who were able to negotiate and navigate their way around institutional constraints to be able to 'make things happen'. Respondents reflected that if institutional constraints across the sector were interrogated and improved, these types of successes may be more common, and more consistently applied, for example, through better integration between business management processes, and policy and projects, to establish clear pathways for consideration of funding and investment requirements as early as possible. Many local government organisations now have long-term strategies to fund iwi and hapū groups to enable meaningful engagement. An example was given of Auckland Council funding Māori initiatives through the Māori outcomes fund. In the 2020 financial year, the fund had a budget of \$14.3 M (Auckland Council, 2020).

Respondents also noted that the transport sector presents a significant opportunity to make social change to improve Māori outcomes, especially in the way that procurement is undertaken. Opportunities were identified around the ability for non-price attributes of procurement packages to focus on opportunities to deliver on Māori outcomes (such as training and sustainable Māori employment). An interviewee also suggested that a baseline level of cultural competency should be expected by a tenderer. The progressive upskilling of industry tenderers should also be a focus to address identified inequities and improve capacity within the industry.

It was noted that there was a gap in policy direction within the transport sector to assist in realising opportunities for Māori, which resulted in funding still being a significant constraint. More specifically, the investment required to build relationships, and the funding and people resources to do so, were considered to be lacking and/or underestimated during early phases of a project or process (ie during a business case phase).

A number of respondents reflected on the ability for Crown agencies to consolidate their approach to obligations under Te Tiriti o Waitangi to form strong Māori–Crown relationships within the sector. This was not intended to relinquish individual agency responsibilities, more to improve interagency coordination. A respondent noted that there were many Crown agencies that potentially interfaced within the transport sector, such as the Ministry of Transport, Te Puni Kōkiri, Te Arawhiti, KiwiRail (and its entities) and Waka Kotahi, all with varying roles and responsibilities to Māori. It was noted that the relationship of these agencies to Māori was not well understood by Māori or non-Māori. A respondent questioned whether there was a mechanism to share learnings and knowledge about iwi, hapū, and to also improve interagency capability.

3.3 Theme 3: Focused education on the transport ecosystem

The interviews noted that engagement with Māori on the wider transport ecosystem highlighted significant knowledge gaps, particularly when it related to transport safety.

As alluded to in Theme 1 above, a key trade-off identified by respondents exists between affordability, access, and safety for Māori whānau when deciding to buy a vehicle. The interviews revealed that many Māori do not investigate the safety rating before purchasing vehicles, and that many seemed to know very little about what these ratings meant. A principal decision-making factor in vehicle purchase was the upfront cost of a vehicle, and the availability and access to a vehicle. For example, a respondent noted that in both rural and urban areas, an individual may receive a car from someone within their immediate or extended family as a 'hand me down', with reducing vehicle quality over time. Generally, cheaper vehicles are older and therefore have lower safety ratings and require more frequent maintenance. Data shows that iwi Māori as vehicle occupants are almost twice as likely to be hospitalised for a road traffic injury as the rest of the population (97 vs 52 per 100,000 people) (Massey University, 2020a). Suggestions were made by respondents that a targeted education campaign on this matter, and other priority areas, may assist in lifting a broader willingness to engage with the sector. However, it was also noted that this issue was inherently connected to the ability to improve the socio-economic welfare of an individual and family.

When exploring the topic of climate change for Māori, a respondent commented that they considered that electric vehicles were not even on the radar for Māori, as they currently sat at a price point beyond what was affordable. They also noted that whānau based in cities who needed to travel home (to a rural area) had identified that due to the longevity of batteries and the lack of charging stations across the transport network, combined with upfront capital costs in purchasing such vehicles, they were not interested in transitioning to an electric vehicle. In the future, the distance challenges between charging stations may be addressed through advances in technology (ie battery life) combined with increased infrastructure.

The lack of driver licences among Māori was noted by respondents and perceived as exacerbating already existing inequalities. Primary impacts such as monetary fines and criminalisation for an individual driving without a licence reduces access to the road, which then makes it difficult to travel to places of work, school, and shopping areas. This in turn was observed to reduce the ability to earn income, gain education or access key services, perpetuating an individual's inability to gain a licence. Social strategies and targeted campaigns such as incentives to attain a licence or earn a driver's licence in school were suggested as opportunities to reduce these inequalities.

Finally, respondents noted that driving under the influence of drugs and/or alcohol remains a concern. This is a significant issue that has been previously identified by government agencies such as Waka Kotahi and Auckland Transport. Television campaigns such as 'Ghost Chips'¹ and 'Blazed'² have specifically targeted Māori to reduce driving under the influence. Educating rangatahi (youth) at school about the dangers of driving under the influence before they become affected by their environment is a potential strategy identified through the interviews. Rangatahi can then influence parent behaviour. This has been successfully done with seatbelt campaigns like the McDonald's 'Make it click'³ advertisements.

3.4 Theme 4: Growing economic interest of Māori

Many respondents noticed the trend of Māori aspirations moving from an environmental focus to an increasing interest in promoting Māori economic interests. It was said that Māori timescales operate on a much longer time horizon than many transport sector plans (ie annual plans, three-yearly transport programmes). While many current aspirations relate to project-based initiatives, there had been a notable shift observed by respondents to Māori focusing on what might be achievable in the longer term, albeit through short-term projects. In practice this has been articulated as upskilling iwi, hapū and whānau so they

¹ <https://www.nzonscreen.com/title/legend-ghost-chips>

² <https://www.nzonscreen.com/title/blazed-drug-driving-2013>

³ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5ebcXrgfSiY>

can fill project roles (across the full suite of roles required for a project) and bring economic prosperity back to their iwi. It was highlighted that one high paying job within an iwi could have a far greater positive impact on a whānau, hapū and iwi than many lower paid jobs.

Approximately 13% of Māori work in the utilities and construction industry (Ministry of Business, Innovation & Employment, 2021). However, these roles are disproportionately labour based. The proportion of Māori who work in skilled occupations is 56.7% compared with 68.4% for other ethnicities (Ministry of Business, Innovation & Employment, 2021). Interviewees noted that Māori aspirations are now focused on innovative ways to create economic prosperity and uplift mana. Respondents reflected that mana whenua who already have an established cultural interest in an area are now seeing that there is an economic interest in being kaitiaki, beyond just a preservation and protection role. For example, the upskilling of iwi and hapū as ecologists was considered to be a demonstration that iwi could monitor and look after their own rohe (area), while concurrently building highly skilled and qualified labour within their own workforce.

An interview respondent also noted that Māori are becoming increasingly aware that the wealth that sits within iwi as knowledge, oral histories and traditions is economically important. Most recently this has arisen in terms of data sovereignty and data security. Māori are struggling between a willingness and a desire to share important information about a place or location to improve engagement with the transport sector and achieve improved outcomes, while concurrently needing to protect the intellectual property that this knowledge represents. Tension was particularly high in relation to the production (and subsequent protection) of Cultural Impact Assessments. These documents set out the whakapapa and importance of an area to a particular iwi and are considered taonga (treasures). The safeguarding of these documents within institutions such as Waka Kotahi was seen as significantly important for cultural safeguarding, and there was further work underway to ensure that such information was secured in a way that worked for iwi and hapū.

3.5 Theme 5: Increasing cultural competency

The interviews identified that cultural competency within Waka Kotahi had evolved significantly over the past five years, and that there were many opportunities to advance this journey, in some parts of the organisation more than others. Respondents noted that when considering the wider transport ecosystem agencies and organisations, Waka Kotahi was doing particularly well, albeit with much room for improvement in areas such as Te Tiriti o Waitangi, understanding te ao Māori and Māori views, influencing a consultant's (wider industry) mindset, and improving methods of engaging and relationship building.

Most specifically, targeted education of project managers and operations staff on Te Tiriti and the Māori world view was identified as possibly instilling greater confidence in those individuals when engaging with Māori and managing projects. Items such as pronunciation, basic knowledge of relevant kupu (words), and Māori history of an area could be provided as toolbox material prior to any form of engagement to better equip staff across the sector. A participant noted that there is also a misconception that Māori only have a cultural focus. Education for transport sector staff on contemporary Māori interests, including employment, broader outcomes, building capability, increased prosperity, permanence and prominence, land use and economics, will better enable the sector to respond to Māori interests. A respondent noted that Māori put the relationship before the mahi (work).

It was noted that there are a lot of people doing great things for, and with, Māori in the transport sector. However, interviewees believe that organisations such as Waka Kotahi should take responsibility off an individual and create a useable pathway to reach the goals outlined in *Te Ara Kotahi*. More resources and funding were considered necessary to create and nurture a unified organisational approach to uplifting cultural competency.

3.6 Theme 6: Capacity and capability

All respondents highlighted that Māori lack internal resourcing and funding to engage with the transport sector. This often means that it is not prioritised, particularly when transport matters are competing with health and/or wellbeing. This creates friction with the transport sector, which may be making every effort to engage, and also with iwi and hapū who can sometimes face consultation fatigue.

In some regions such as Auckland, the number of projects that require engagement with a particular iwi far outweigh the capacity of that iwi. A respondent noted that it must be comical to an iwi that each project has its own resources and team, and yet for iwi Māori the representatives participating in partnership or engagement discussions are often the same few individuals. This results in iwi often being more informed of a transport ecosystem's working, than the sector itself. This can have negative consequences where different projects may have inconsistent ways of approaching Māori interests and may then be seen to undermine the broader trust that an iwi may have. The positive impacts are that those individuals can become intimately upskilled in matters relating to transport and can be important proponents within their wider iwi organisations.

The organisational maturity of iwi and hapū organisations across Aotearoa is varied. This is reflected in their capacity and capability to participate in transport sector matters. A respondent noted that in some rural areas, Māori aspirations were in their infancy due to their iwi entity only just being formed. This means that some iwi are building a wider view on their iwi aspirations and priorities, while concurrently trying to engage on a particular project. This results in additional time requirements, to enable iwi to work through two processes. An example was provided of where (through a project) organisational and administration support was provided by Waka Kotahi to an iwi organisation that had only recently settled their Treaty settlement, so that they could structure their entity in a way that would provide a commercial entity and a whānau-focused arm. This also resulted in upskilling of iwi members in business processes and was seen as a sustainable outcome of the engagement.

It was observed that many iwi representatives engaging with the sector also have full-time jobs outside their iwi organisational commitments. This creates inequalities in terms of engagement expectations and an individual's availability for hui. Respondents suggested that a broader approach to resourcing and capacity should be taken within the sector. Examples may include a focus on supporting capacity development within an iwi organisation, while simultaneously engaging on a particular topic. This would require an enduring view of the relationship, and a non-transactional approach to relationship investment, in that the realisation of value would be a long-term return and potentially challenging to measure.

3.7 Theme 7: The evolving nature of partnership

The concept of partnership uncovered multiple discussions with interview participants, which are summarised below.

3.7.1 Identifying who to engage with

Respondents identified that the practical issues of knowing who to engage with on transport matters can be off-putting and daunting. In many locations where interviewees had experience working, there were multiple iwi and hapū groups, with overlapping and sometimes competing interests, and mandated and non-mandated groups speaking on behalf of iwi. When engaging, respondents noted that questions often arose along the lines of: 'Is this the right iwi? Is the representative representing all hapū and whānau? What other iwi groups are missing?' This confusion was noted as not helping facilitate strong partnerships. Examples were provided where Waka Kotahi would be in complex situations of working with multiple iwi exerting mana whenua status, in situations where one iwi may be formally recognised through Treaty legislation, and one may not. Due to the complexity of legislation and policy in the transport sector, Waka Kotahi was required to

engage with all those expressing an interest, further complicating matters. It was noted that a partnership relationship was not appropriate or necessary in every instance; however in the scenario provided where mana whenua status of an area was challenged, partnership expectations were greater.

Interviewees also expressed their disappointment that engagement often began on the 'back-foot' and that they were worried about getting things wrong. This stilted the development of the relationship, and suggestions were made that if better processes were in place to understand the geographical nuances of Māori, Waka Kotahi staff may be better equipped in this regard.

3.7.2 Mistrust and grievances

All respondents identified that their engagement experience with Māori was constantly underpinned by the grievance and ingrained mistrust that Māori have towards Crown agencies, and the way that transport had affected their iwi, hapū, whānau and communities. Examples provided related to marae on state highways, previous lack of engagement, or iwi perceptions that commitments had been made in the past and not fulfilled. As a consequence, progressing partnership discussions for some Māori was rooted in past negotiations with the Crown. Respondents observed that many iwi members they had dealt with did not distinguish between different Crown agencies, and so while Waka Kotahi (for example) represented only one aspect of the Crown, it also represented all the complexities of history that underpinned relationships with the Crown across all agencies.

It was noted that a sense of mistrust also existed for non-Māori who operated in the transport sector for substantially different reasons. Interview participants reflected that an ingrained unconscious bias built up over time sometimes devalued Māori input. In some cases, approaches to understanding Māori aspirations at a project level were identified as being underpinned by these biases. An example might be the presumption that Māori only have cultural and/or environmental interests in mind, and that their skills are limited. An unconscious bias towards Māori in this manner, may over time lead to internalised racial inferiority (or oppression). This has been identified as a multi-generational process whereby Māori may progressively believe that they are inferior due to historic social comparisons and measures. If these messages are accepted by a generation, they become part of what is handed down. Interview respondents had observed that in some instances, Māori were not fully confident in succeeding in day-to-day project activities. This highlighted the importance of capacity building and identifying support mechanisms to enable Māori to participate fully.

3.7.3 Partnership aspirations

The aspirations for partnership that the interviewees noted was the transition from thinking of Māori as kaitiaki (guardian) stakeholders to equal partners in decision-making. There was a strong focus in the partnership discussions on early engagement as a critical element in building enduring relationships and establishing strong foundations. In these discussions, it was acknowledged that engaging Māori at the beginning of a project or process takes increased effort, particularly when working with a level of project uncertainty or commercial sensitivity, but that upfront investment (in time and funding) established a solid working relationship from the outset, which endured over time. Partnership in these instances was reflected as one that was able to influence decision-making, with real and authentic input opportunities. One interviewee reflected that involving iwi in governance roles had significant benefits in providing unique insights, and, while challenging for non-Māori, ultimately aided in pathways to outcomes that were different. An interviewee reflected that once a strong enduring partnership had been developed, tough conversations became easier since the principles of engagement had been established and could be tested in a constructive manner.

Respondents also acknowledged that in partnership discussions there was an increasing trend towards the input and validity of mātauranga Māori being applied in the transport sector. It was observed that there is

limited understanding within the transport sector as to the use of mātauranga Māori across different business units. It was also identified that te ao Māori perspectives early in the project can lead to solutions that are optimised for a larger proportion of the population ('what is good for Māori is good for all New Zealanders').

The long-term aspiration for Māori was suggested as one that flourishes into co-governance in key areas of the sector. For partnership to occur, strong relationships need to mature into partnerships that then pave the way for co-governance. A respondent suggested that all parties need to agree on what is expected from each other and hold each other to account.

As identified above, Māori have a range of interests and can offer more than a kaitiaki role for their immediate environments and regions. A respondent noted that being a partner gives Māori the best opportunity to be heard and included in decision-making. It was recognised that co-governance is the next step-up from the role of partner; however, there was still uncertainty around what partnership actually means or looks like at a project level. Interviewees believed that Māori are needed in a variety of positions (particularly those that are decision-making or governance roles) to provide differing opinions and help reveal Māori aspirations. Funding and resourcing can then be directed to these aspirations, so they are set up for success.

3.8 Reflections for Phase 2

Interview respondents were asked for their insights and recommendations on who should be engaged with on this kaupapa for Phase 2. Many interviewees stressed the importance of engaging with a wide network of Māori, at all levels, and across urban and rural settlements. The following table captures preliminary suggestions from respondents.

Table 3.1 Interviewee suggestions for Phase 2.

Iwi/group/organisation suggestions	Opportunities for engagement
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Iwi Chairs forum • Iwi and/or hapū from a representative sample of rural and urban areas • Iwi/hapū from a representative sample of geographic areas (ie north, south, east, west) • Waka Kotahi Regional Relationship Groups • Iwi Māori actively involved in a Waka Kotahi project • Rūnanga groups • Māori rangatahi (youth) • Māori who live outside their rohe (area) and/or Māori who are not connected to their iwi (it was noted that these individuals may be difficult to identify, but could provide useful insights and be captured at large Māori events) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Te Matatini (national kapa haka competition) • Manu Kōrero (Māori speech competition) • Ngāi Tahu Hui-ā-Tau (or other similar large-scale iwi-run events) • Established transport sector forum

4 Phase 2 pathway recommendations

Effective engagement with iwi Māori on aspirations in the transport sector is key to informing the gaps that exist within the literature and subsequent understandings of this research. An effective engagement approach is also aligned to producing better quality future outcomes and realising Crown–Māori partnerships. This section of the report is not intended to be a detailed engagement strategy. Instead, it provides a high-level pathway for engagement and mātauranga (knowledge) gathering. It is recommended that the pathway below is implemented across a timeframe that is no less than 12 months, to enable iwi Māori to participate fully in the process.

4.1 Refining the kaupapa

This research has identified that the interconnected nature of the transport sector touches on multiple facets of hauora (wellbeing) of iwi Māori. For these reasons, refining the kaupapa of this broad topic will be important to generate a pathway forward, as will creating levers to realise opportunity. Based on the literature review and themes deduced from interview insights, we recommend that a starting point for refining the kaupapa could focus on the following two themes:

1. **Equity and partnership:** this report highlights that partnership opportunities can create levers at multiple levels to realise opportunity. This sits across policy, governance, project level works and general transport initiatives. There is anecdotal evidence of step-changes being made to address partnership and equity, including changes that are also fit for purpose for the scale and nature of the work, but significant work is still required. Equity and partnership are among the pillars for a broader hauora approach for Māori, and therefore greater interrogation of this topic in Phase 2 would benefit a deeper understanding of how these could be achieved.
2. **Capacity and capability:** this report highlights the mutually beneficial opportunity to enhance capacity and capability across transport agencies for iwi Māori. Within the transport sector, this may involve establishing foundational understanding and competencies of Te Tiriti and te ao Māori, and identifying what iwi Māori would expect to see as an acceptable level of cultural competency. Within iwi Māori, this may involve gaining clarity on resourcing expectations, funding mechanisms, and capacity opportunities that are sustainable and long-term.

Finally, the authors see benefit in exploring a peripheral theme, aligned with undertaking a holistic and broad approach, which is centred on addressing iwi Māori economic interests and access opportunities. There is limited literature in this area as it relates to the transport sector, and the authors see benefits in exploring this further.

With the themes identified above, we suggest a second-level refinement process with iwi Māori so that the scope of the second phase is co-designed from the outset. This could involve the co-design of questions to explore within each theme, identifying expectations around outcomes, and also how engagement should be shared and redistributed amongst participating and interested parties.

4.2 Approach to engagement

4.2.1 Multi-agency coordination

The authors' recommendation is that a multi-agency approach is considered for engagement, in order to connect sector agencies from health and education with a focus on uplifting Māori. This approach was reinforced by interview participants, who highlighted that aspirations for the transport sector intersect other

government agency responsibilities, such as Te Puni Kōkiri and Te Arawhiti. These agencies also have established relationships within iwi organisations that could be leveraged as part of Phase 2.

At a minimum, the authors consider a multi-agency discussion should happen at the outset of Phase 2, to maximise research and engagement outcomes, minimise impacts on iwi resourcing, and to align on the likely capacity of iwi Māori to participate and respond, in light of other engagement activities that agencies may have planned over the 12-month period proposed.

4.2.2 Principles based

The Waka Kotahi Hononga ki te Iwi Māori Engagement Framework acknowledges that Māori engagement is constantly evolving, and that there is no simple ‘one approach’. In this instance, the authors consider that a principles-based approach is important, and that the values and principles of engagement from this framework should underpin an engagement strategy (summarised in Table 4.1). This approach will guide and motivate attitudes and actions, ensuring that the relationship between the sector and iwi Māori is founded on core values from both te ao Māori and te ao Pākehā.

Table 4.1 Waka Kotahi key values and principles of Māori engagement

Ngā Uara – Values	Mātāpono – Principles
Rangatiratanga – We have recognition and respect for the individual autonomy and authority of Māori. We respect each other as partners, and therefore value each other’s aspirations, positions, roles, and expertise.	Huna Kore – We value a no-surprises approach and information flows in both directions (transparency).
Manaakitanga – We exercise care, through mana-enhancing work.	Auahatanga – We will focus on creativity and innovation to achieve better outcomes.
Kaitiakitanga – We recognise that the environment is a taonga that must be managed carefully. We recognise that Māori have a responsibility and obligation of care for their communities and environments.	Whakapono – We act with integrity and honesty.
Whanaungatanga – We foster meaningful relationships based on good faith, mutual respect, understanding and trust.	Partnership – We will act reasonably, honourably and in good faith.
Te Tiriti o Waitangi – We recognise, respect, and uphold the principles of Te Tiriti o Waitangi.	Participation – We will encourage and make it easier for Māori to participate in our business more actively.
Mana o Te Reo Māori – Te reo Māori is highly valued by Māori and Waka Kotahi. We will actively promote te reo Māori within our organisation and in the work that we do.	Protection – We will take positive steps to ensure that Māori interests are protected as appropriate.
	Recognition of cultural values – We will recognise and provide for Māori perspectives, tikanga (customs), te reo Māori and kawa (protocols) in the work that we do.

4.2.3 Present day challenges

While this section is not intended to provide an engagement strategy, the authors have reflected on the importance of engaging kanohi ki te kanohi (face-to-face), and the challenge of doing so due to pandemic restrictions, alongside the individual choices of iwi, hapū and whānau to keep their communities safe. In this respect, we suggest that novel engagement methods leveraging digital solutions (ie online surveys, digital

workshops, online hui) are considered from the outset, so that Phase 2 can commence without delay. Where there is poor internet connectivity or limited technological literacy then kanohi ki te kanohi meetings should be explored further.

4.3 Who to engage with?

The researchers recognise that the themes identified in 4.1 above are broad and may play out differently across geographic levels (ie local/hapū, regional/iwi, nationally), and will also be influenced by the urban/rural lens that is applied. We also recognise that progress must be made to advance discussions in this space given the gaps of iwi Māori-led mātauranga (knowledge) in this context. For this reason, we recommend that engagement targets two areas:

1. engagement with established groups affiliated with iwi Māori transport
2. iwi Māori networks and/or opportunities outside the transport sector.

4.3.1 Transport affiliated groups

There is significant scope to leverage the national and regional established networks across the transport sector that involve Māori. The authors see this as a first step towards connecting groups to this research and acknowledge that this may then evolve into a stand-alone working research group, depending on the appetite of various iwi representatives to do so. The transport affiliated groups may include (but are not limited to):

- Ministry of Transport Māori representative groups
- Waka Kotahi regional relationship groups
- iwi chairs forum
- iwi regional leadership groups
- transport agencies' major projects iwi representatives.

4.3.2 Māori networks outside the sector

This kaupapa has demonstrated through the literature review and interview insights that it has national, regional, and local reach. It is also multidisciplinary, with strong connections into the health and education sectors, and therefore the authors suggest that engagement incorporates a full range of perspectives from iwi Māori more broadly, to test sentiment and perspectives as they arise, from the groups identified in section 4.3.1.

Recognising that engagement must have boundaries and clear objectives, we recommend that engagement canvasses experiences with the transport system, which can then be analysed against the two key themes above. The Māori networks may include (but are not limited to):

- other agency groups (ie Te Puni Kōkiri or Te Ara Whiti representatives)
- iwi Māori through established Māori forums (ie national kapa haka competition, large-scale iwi events, national Māori speech competitions)
- rangatahi (youth) Māori forums
- university and education groups.

Where possible, opportunities for engagement through health and education sector initiatives should also be explored.

We see broad engagement with Māori networks as also having a secondary benefit, that of uplifting the interest and engagement of Māori with the transport sector, which currently may not be as visible to these groups.

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Appendix A: Interview structure and questions

Semi-structured interview questions

The following six main questions were explored through semi-structured interviews with participants:

1. What past interactions between Māori and the transport sector are important when considering Māori articulation of the transport ecosystem (including Māori histories and traditions related to transport)?
2. How has the development of the transport sector affected Māori?
3. What inequities and trade-offs do Māori currently face in the transport sector?
4. What are current Māori expectations of Crown–Māori partnership in the transport sector (and has this changed over time)?
5. What aspirations do Māori have for transport in the future?
6. What are Māori expectations for how aspirations could be achieved?

Follow-up questions were asked around the following themes:

- Māori articulation of the transport ecosystem
 - What is known of the transport ecosystem by Māori and how is this expressed?
 - What is most important to Māori in the servicing of transport needs (access to needs, opportunities, employment etc)
 - What gaps have you observed in the knowledge relating to the transport system?
- Impacts of the transport system on Māori traditions
 - What institutional structures and arrangements are you aware of that shape the experience of Māori and the transport system? (Have these changed overtime?)
 - What impacts (positive or negative) on Māori have you observed from the transport system?
 - What Māori traditions are most affected by the transport system? (Can you provide examples of these?)
 - How can we think about inequities in transport (needs/expectations/location etc)?
- Māori (transport) aspirations for the future
 - What are some examples of Māori aspirations that you have experienced and how are these expressed? (Have these changed over time?)
 - How is transport an enabler or a barrier to accessing these aspirations?
 - How can we be more inclusive of Māori engagement and views (both aspirations and experiences) in processes and policymaking?
 - What modes are Māori using? (How does climate change or decarbonisation feature in discussions?)