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BUILDING BASELINE DATA ON MAORI, WHANAU DEVELOPMENT AND MAORI REALISING THEIR POTENTIAL

LITERATURE REVIEW: INNOVATION AND ENTERPRISE

FINAL REPORT

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Prepared for: **Prepared by:**

Te Puni Kokiri   Dr Leonie Pihama and Ms Mera Penehira
Date: August 23, 2005   International Research Institute
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E papaki nei te tai o mihi ki nga kaitaunaki i tenei kaupapa nui whakaharahara.Ki te hunga na ratau i para i te huarahi, nga kuia, nga koroua, mei kore ake koutou, kua papatoiake rawa atu a matau mahi. Kaati, ki nga kaiwhakaropiropi, kaituhituhi i enei korero, he mihi mutunga kore ki a koutou katoa.

INTRODUCTION

1.1   The Proposal

This research project was developed in response to the Request for Proposals from Te Puni Kokiri for three literature review documents related to policy development for the Maori Potential Framework.

As noted in the Request for Proposals (RFP), Te Puni Kokiri wishes "*to build its information data-bases related to whanau development, to Maori reaching their potential and to Maori succeeding as Maori, and is requesting the submission of proposals to undertake research*".[1] The projects are to contribute to the development of a database that will provide Te Puni Kokiri with *"baseline data on enhancing whanau well-being, on whanau leadership and engagement, and on innovation and enterprise which facilitate whanau development and the realisation of Maori potential, both to inform policy advice and to contribute to the outcome of Maori succeeding as Maori."*[2]

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[1] Te Puni Kokiri May 2005 'Building Baseline Data on Maori Whanau Development and Maori Realising Their Potential' Request for Proposals: 1

[2] ibid.

1.2 Contact Details

The contact people for the research team are Dr Leonie Pihama and Sandie Gusscott. Their contact details follow.

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2. ASSIGNED PERSONNEL

2.1 Capability of the Team

The Project Team brings together a range of diverse skills and experiences within the Maori Education, Social Policy, Kaupapa Maori, Maori Innovation and Economic Development and Research areas.

IRI is based in the Rehutai Complex, Waipapa Marae at the University of Auckland. IRI has strong Iwi networks and as an entity have the ability and network to draw expertise from a wide and diverse peer network.

The involvement of Professor Linda Tuhiwai Smith as peer reviewer also brings it a vast network of researchers across Aotearoa through her co-directorship of Nga Pae

o Te Maramatanga (The Maori Centre of Research Excellence). The implementation and financial audit of the project will be supported by Auckland UniServices Limited (UniServices) and managed with proactive project management methodologies.

2.2 Core Team

The Core Team consists of Dr Leonie Pihama, Ms Mera Penehira, Ms Donna Gardiner and Ms Ella Henry as the Principal Investigators. It is noted that the Core Team is a highly skilled group of Maori researchers/academics who have the skills and knowledge to provide Te Puni Kokiri with a substantial research report in the defined areas.

Project Leadership of each area will be as follows:

Overall Project Leader – Dr Leonie Pihama
Facilitating Engagement – Ms Mera Penehira
Developing Leaders – Ms Donna Gardiner
Innovation, Enterprise and Economic Opportunities – Ms Ella Henry

Dr Leonie Pihama (Te Atiawa, Ngati Mahanga), BA, MA (Hons), PhD

Dr Leonie Pihama is the Director of IRI. She is experienced in evaluation research and teaches policy. Dr Pihama has had extensive involvement in Maori Education and is actively involved with Te Wharekura o Hoani Waititi. Her Masters thesis examined the Parenting programme 'Parents as First Teachers' and the relevance of the programme to Maori whanau. Dr Pihama has been involved in the evaluation of the Framework for Measuring the Effectiveness of Corrections Programmes for Maori for the Department of Corrections as well as being part of the research teams for Meeting the Needs of Maori Victims of Crime and the Evaluation of Programmes for the Protected of Maori Adult Persons under the Domestic Violence Act 1995. She has recently completed a major literature review on Maori pedagogies for ITPNZ which is being utilised as a framework for exploring Maori e-learning pedagogies. Dr Pihama is the overall Project Leader and Co-Investigator for this research.

Ms Mera Penehira (Ngati Raukawa) M.Ed (Ed.Psych), Dip. Early Intervention, Higher Diploma Tchng (ACE), Tohu Mohiotanga, Dip Tchng (ECE)

Ms Penehira is currently a Project Manager and Researcher for Nga Pae o Te Maramatanga. Ms Penehira has extensive knowledge and experience in Maori Education and in particular in the areas of Te Kohanga Reo, Early Childhood Education and Special Education. She has worked as a contract researcher with the International Research Institute for Indigenous Education and similarly with Paewhenua Hou Partnership. Ms Penehira has worked as Service Manager and Early Intervention Teacher with Ohomairangi Early Intervention Service, a Kaupapa Maori special education provider. She is a trained teacher and has completed her Masters in Educational Psychology at the University of Auckland and has experience and skills in qualitative and evaluative research and indigenous methodologies. Ms Penehira is Co-Investigator for this research

Ms Donna Ngaronoa Gardiner (Ngai Te Rangi Ngati Ranginui)

Ms Gardiner brings to the team, a background in Community Development, the Public Service, Whanau and Hapu Development, and a lifelong commitment to Indigenous and Women's Development. Prior to joining Nga o Te Maramatanga Donna was employed as a senior Lecturer at Te Ara Poutama AUT and was the programme leader for the degree and undergraduate programmes for four years. Before that Donna was employed as the Outpost Manager Manukau for Te Whare Wananga o Awanuiarangi, for three years. Ms Gardiner is is Co-Investigator for this research

Ms Ella Henry (Ngati Kahu ki Whangaroa, Ngati Kuri, Te Rarawa)
Ella Henry has a diverse background in management, education and Maori development, politics, and iwi, hapu and whanau development, including sitting as a member for Nga Aho Whakaari, or the Maori in Film, Video and Television Incorporated Society since 1996. She has been involved with Maori moving image industries since becoming a member of Te Manu Aute (the Maori Communicators Network) in 1988. Ella has taught Maori Management and Business courses at The University of Auckland and was the Head of Pukenga at Unitech. She is currently a Maori Health Manager for the Plunket Society and is also currently undertaking her

doctoral studies in the area of Maori business development. Ms Henry is Co-Investigator for this research.

2.3 The International Research Institute for Maori and Indigenous Education (IRI), University of Auckland

The International Research Institute for Maori and Indigenous Education (IRI) was established in 1997 and is situated in The Faculty of Arts at The University of Auckland. The Institute consists of a multi-disciplinary team of mainly Maori academics with a proven research record.

The kaupapa of IRI is to conduct and disseminate research, scholarship and debate, which will make a positive difference to the lives of Maori, and other Indigenous peoples, by drawing together a group of highly skilled and respected scholars who are dedicated to quality outcomes for Maori and Indigenous Peoples. As such IRI is well placed to work on this project and within a collaborative team that will bring diverse cultural knowledge and research expertise together for this project.

2.4 Auckland UniServices Limited

UniServices is the contract arm of the University and it provides professional project management support to Senior Academic Staff engaged in leading new initiatives with external clients. It has a highly developed contract support infrastructure – which includes dedicated human resources and purchasing services, accounting, reporting, and audit.

3 KAUPAPA MAORI RESEARCH

This research is based within a Kaupapa Maori approach. According to Tuakana Nepe[3] Kaupapa Maori derives from distinctive cultural epistemological and metaphysical foundations. This is further argued by Dr Linda Tuhiwai Smith[4] who states;

> *The concept of kaupapa implies a way of framing and structuring how we think about those ideas and practices.*

Contemporary expressions of Kaupapa Maori are seen within the education system. Their development and ongoing survival has been driven by Maori. Te Kohanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa Maori are two well known examples. Te Kohanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa Maori developed as resistance to a mainstream Pakeha centered system that failed to address key needs of Maori. As a founding member of Kura Kaupapa Maori in Tamaki Makaurau, Dr Graham Hingangaroa Smith has argued that Kura Kaupapa Maori is a successful intervention for Maori. One of the key elements is that the development originated from and is driven by Maori. Within Kura Kaupapa Maori key features are consistently evident.

Expressions of Kaupapa Maori theory have been summarised by Graham Hingangaroa Smith[5] in the following way:

> ➢ *A Kaupapa Maori base (Maori philosophy and principles) i.e. local theoretical positioning related to being Maori, such a position presupposes that:*
>
> ➢ *the validity and legitimacy of Maori is taken for granted*
>
> ➢ *the survival and revival of Maori language and culture is imperative*
>
> ➢ *the struggle for autonomy over our own cultural well-being, and over our own lives is vital to Maori survival.*

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3 Nepe, T.M. 1991. E hao nei e tenei reanga: Te Toi Huarewa Tipuna;Kaupapa Maori , An educational Intervention system, M.A. Thesis, University of Auckland.
4 Smith, L.T. 1996. Kaupapa Maori Health Research. In Hui Whakapiripiri: A Hui to Discuss Strategic Directions for Maori Health Research. Wellington School of Medicine: Te Roopu Rangahau Hauora a Eru Pomare. p.204.
5 Smith, G.H. 1990. Taha Maori: Pakeha Capture. In J. Codd, R. Harker & R. Nash (Eds.), Political Issues in New Zealand Education. Palmerston North: Dunmore Press. p.100.

These features speak not to content per se, but to Maori aspirations, philosophies, processes and pedagogies, which are consistently found within successful Maori initiatives.

Where much existing material related to Kaupapa Maori initiatives is located within the Maori education field, Kaupapa Maori is not limited to any one sector. Graham Smith notes that Kaupapa Maori is relevant to all aspects of society. The success elements that are evident in Te Kohanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa Maori derive from wider Maori knowledges, they are inherently a part of tikanga Maori. Kaupapa Maori can not be seen to be bound to any one sector (for example education or justice) as Kaupapa Maori does not know the parameters that are a part of defining those sectors.

There is a growing body of literature regarding Kaupapa Maori theories and practices that assert a need for Maori to develop initiatives for change that are located within distinctly Maori frameworks.[6] Kaupapa Maori in research is concerned with both the methodological developments and the forms of research method utilised. The distinction between methodology and method is very important and can be summarised thus:

Methodology: a process of enquiry that determines the method(s) used.

Method: tools that can be used to produce and analyse data.

In this sense Kaupapa Maori is *"a theory and an analysis of the context of research which involves Maori and of the approaches to research with, by and/or for Maori"* (Smith, 1996).

A Kaupapa Maori approach does not exclude the use of a wide range of methods but signals the interrogation of methods in relation to tikanga Maori.[7] Furthermore, Kaupapa Maori enables an analysis of issues with Aotearoa from an approach that is distinctively by and of Aotearoa. As such Kaupapa Maori is a 'home grown' theoretical and research approach that interogates and investigates issues as they are contextualised within Aotearoa. This is a key element of Kaupapa Maori. It enables a critical approach from a Maori base. It also enables a process of analysis in regards to the colonial experiences of Aotearoa, as such Kaupapa Maori has a

6 for example, Smith L.T. & Cram, F. 1997. An Evaluation of the Community Panel Diversion Pilot Programme. Commissioned report for the Crime Prevention Unit. Cram, F., Kempton, M. & Armstrong, S. 1998. Evaluation Report: Te Whare Tirohanga Maori, Hawkes Bay Regional Prison. Wellington: Department of Corrections.

decolonising agenda that is also a key element of analysis. Such an agenda is explicit in the phrase Kaupapa Maori theory.[8] The centrality of te reo and tikanga Maori does not mean that researchers and academics working from a Kaupapa Maori base do not draw upon wider national and International frameworks as that is not the case. A Kaupapa Maori approach is both open to and inclusive of a range of methods however those methods are firstly interogated for their relevance and appropriateness to the issues at hand. This is not new. Maori people have for the past 200 years shown a flexibility and adaptability in regards to new approaches. Kaupapa Maori provides the foundation from which this project will operate, it also determines the framework of thought in regards to the areas of development that are proposed here.

4 Background

4.1   Project Aim

The aim of this research project is undertake a literature review which provides insight and understanding into three key area (i) Facilitating Engagement; (ii) Developing Leadership and (iii) Fostering Innovation, Enterprise and Economic Opportunities. This research will be viewed alongside the literature review being undertaken by Professor Mason Durie regarding Whanau and Well-being. The reviews will include the key research objectives as noted by Te Puni Kokiri. These being;

Review One: Developing Leadership

- To undertake a literature review and analysis of the means and strategies used to assist Maori to grow leaders both for business and cultural purposes.
- To determine the effect of these means and strategies upon realising the social, cultural, educational and economic potential of Maori.
- To outline the nature of the programme/s, means, strategies offered.

7 Smith, L.T. & Cram, F. 1997. An evaluation of the Community Panel Diversion Pilot Project. Commissioned by the Crime Prevention Unit, Office of the Prime Minister and Cabinet, Wellington.
[8] Refer Pihama, L., 1993 *Tungia te Ururua, Kia Tupu Whakaritorito Te Tupu o te Harakeke: A Critical Analysis of Parents as First Teachers*, RUME Masters Theses Series Number 3, University of Auckland, Auckland

- To determine how the programmes contribute to whanau development and Maori succeeding as Maori.

- What constitutes Maori/whanau leadership, how is it expressed and what forms does it take.

- How does quality Maori leadership influence the realisation of whanau potential and success.

- What mechanisms are employed to ensure the transmission of leadership across generations.

- How has Maori leadership evolved over time to meet changing needs and demands.

- What are the dimensions of leadership by gender, age, purpose and succession.

- How best are leaders grown.

Review Two: Facilitating Engagement

- To investigate the concept of whanau engagement and its various dimensions.

- To identify processes, practices and contributing factors to effective inter and intra whanau engagement.

- To explore past, present and potential mechanisms for connecting whanau members with each other.

- To identify means whereby strong whanau engage effectively with other Maori collectives to mutual benefit.

- To identify success states of engagement and investigate the development of models for wider whanau use.

Review Three: Innovation, Enterprise and Economic Opportunities

- To undertake a literature review and analysis of available studies into Maori innovation, enterprise and economic opportunities and studies which suggest how Maori could engage such opportunities.

- To identify what are the causative or environmental factors which contribute to the development of an innovative, enterprising approach to economic opportunities.

- To identify exemplars of Maori enterprise and innovation at work in the economy.

- To describe those strategies that appear to contribute to raising Maori creativity, enterprise and innovation in regard to Maori and other business endeavours.

- To investigate the present or potential use of mentoring, business incubators and seed funding for Maori business.

- To identify the personality type or antecedent factors that contribute to Maori entrepreneurship both business and cultural.

As noted in the Kaupapa Maori section of this proposal it is intention of Kaupapa Maori to outline intervention and transformative elements that support Maori initiatives and developments. Those elements have been in practice within a range of Kaupapa Maori initiatives over the past twenty years. The Maori Providers project undertaken by IRI with Te Puni Kokiri identified a range of key elements.[9] Other research projects led by IRI[10], and Maori researchers associated with IRI[11], have also outlined critical elements which enhance Maori wellbeing.

4.2 Defining Whanau

A depth discussion of whanau in relation to the notion of the 'pa harakeke' is provided in the Ministry of Health report (2003) *'Te Rito Action Area 13 Literature Review'.* The report states;

> *"The imagery of the harakeke is utilised in the programme 'Atawhainga Te Pa Harakeke' operated by the Early Childhood Development Unit.[12]   The Pa Harakeke refers to the flax plant which is recognised within Maori society as a symbol of whanau and protection. According to the Huhana Rokx the saying 'Kua tupu te pa harakeke: The flax plant is growing' is an indication that a whanau is secure and protected and therefore able to grow. The metaphor of the flax bush is prevalent in Maori whakatauki in any discussion regarding the Maori whanau. It is a broad and encompassing term, which includes a direct*

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[9] The International Research Institute for Maori and Indigenous Education in collaboration with Te Roopu Rangahau Hauora a Eru Pomare 2002 *Iwi and Maori Provider Success*, Te Puni Kokiri, Wellington

[10] Pihama, L., Jenkins, K. & Middleton, A., *Te Rito Action Area 13, Family Violence Prevention for Maori Research Report*, Ministry of Health, Auckland (102pp) 2003; Pihama, L., Jenkins,K. & Middleton, A., Philip-Barbara, G.,*Tiakina Te Pa Harakeke, A Narrative Report on Family Violence Prevention for Maori*, Ministry of Health, Auckland (30pp) 2003; Cram, F., Pihama, L., Jenkins, K., Philip-Barbara, G. *Evaluation of Programmes for Protected Persons operating under the Domestic Violence Act* Report to Ministry of Justice, Family Court, Wellington, (150pp) 2001

[11] Smith, Graham Hingangaroa 1997 *The Development of Kaupapa Maori Theory and Praxis.* Unpublished PhD thesis, School of Education, University of Auckland, Auckland

[12] Kingi, Pauline, July 1999 *The Impact of Violence on Children: Vulnerability and Resilence.*, Presentation to 'Children and Family Violence Effective Interventions Now' Conference. www.justice.govt.nz/pubs/reports/1999/family_conference/author_11.html

link to gods, ancestors and universe. Maori Marsden[13] says that pivotal to the sustenance of the Pa Harakeke (the flax bush) is the centre shoot or 'te rito' which is used to symbolise the central importance of the child. It is a deeply stratified human relationship complex. It is a total environment in which, Maori assert, the past stands as a resource to sustain the current and future generations." (pg 30)

The report draws on the weaving analogy and refers to the writing of Joan Metge[14] that indicates that the analogies draw with harakeke provides a visual representation of "the significance of parents and elders as protectors and re-generators". (Ministry of Health 2003: pg). Joan Metge develops the view that:

"Maori use the flax bush (te pa harakeke) as a favourite metaphor for the family group they call the whanau. They identify the rito in each fan as a child (tamaiti), emerging from and protected by its parents (matua) on either side. [This also symbolises that two whakapapa or genealogical lines of descent arise from the two parents]. Like fans in the flax bush, parent-child families in the whanau share common roots and derives strength and stability as part of a larger collective. Like rito, children are the hope of continuity…" they represent life's yearning for itself – the future. Like the flax bush the familial systems of whanau, hapu and iwi enter cycles of birth, death and regeneration. In this sense new life is made possible by the old."[15]

In a comprehensive discussion of Maori concepts titled 'He Hinatore Ki Te Ao Maori: A Glimpse Into The Maori World'[16] whanau is described as:

"The basic unit of Maori society into which an individual was born and socialised. The whanau was the cluster of families and individuals descended from a fairly recent ancestor. Whanau derived from the word whanau (to give birth). On a purely descriptive level the whanau could consist of up to three or four generations living together in a group of houses." (ibid:30)

The report further notes that whanau had social roles and acted as

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[13] Marsden, Maori (1977) 'God, Man and Universe: A Maori View'. King, M. (ed), Wellington 1977.
[14] Metge, J. 1995 op.cit
[15] ibid.
[16] He Hinatore ki te Ao Maori: A Glimpse Into the Maori World, Ministry of Justice, Wellington, March 2001:30

> *"… a unit for ordinary social and economic affairs, and making basic day to day decisions. Its members had close personal, familial and reciprocal contacts and decision-making relationships with each other."[17]*

Whanau has been defined in general terms as `extended family' consisting of up to three or four generations and was the basic social unit "under the direction of kaumatua and kuia".[18] The role of kuia and koroua was clearly noted and discussion of kaumatua in providing guidance and support was emphasised by both informants and literature drawn on in the report. The following comment from a kaumatua emphasises this point;

> *"Our kaumatua, kuia, grandparents, or even granduncles or whoever was around made it easier for a parent because it wasn't just the parents focusing on each other. The responsibility in fact was shared, it was shared by your extended whanau, shared by your hapu and the community that you lived in." (ibid:31)*

Reflecting on her childhood Rangimarie Rose Pere writes;

> *"Every adult from my childhood community was involved with parenting as part of our social control and if I had difficulty communicating with my natural parents or grandparents, there were numerous others I could turn to for help." (Pere 1979: 25)*

The central role of whanau in wider Maori structures is clearly articulated by the authors of the 'Te Hinatore' report.

> *"Politically the whanau would meet to decide important matters, and the kaumatua would act as the spokespeople in the wider forum of hapu. Economically, the whanau provided its own workforce for subsistence activities and would work together to produce or gather food, hunt and fish. The whanau shared their wealth and resources, holding their houses, tools, stored food and effects in common... Therefore in most matters the whanau was self-sufficient." (ibid:32)*

Rangimarie Rose Pere also highlights the key position of kaumatua within whanau and as a Maori educationalist she notes that it was kaumatua that took responsibility

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[17] ibid.:30
[18] Henare,M., 1988. *Nga tikanga me nga ritenga o te ao Mäori: Standards and Foundations of Maori Society in The Royal Commission on Social Policy*, April, Gov-erenement Printer, Wellington

for the education of their mokopuna and provided the initial introduction to a wealth of knowledge and the skills that pertained to their development. [19]

Until relatively recent time in our history Maori children were collectively nurtured, raised and educated in this manner. This ensured the child had access to a range of adults and siblings whom all contributed to their accumulation of knowledge, language, values, and belief systems essential to the maintenance and continuance of Maori societal structures.[20]   Te Rangihiroa states that for the Maori child the earliest "personal instruction" was received from their tipuna.   This was made possible due to the whanau living arrangements.   The child lived within an environment that embraced at least three generations and was exposed to a lifestyle that allowed for their nurturing and education from their elders. Makereti[21] describes how children were taught all aspects of life through living and sleeping with their parents, grandparents, granduncles through whom they would learn of folk-lore, traditions, legends, whakapapa, karakia and of their relationship to the land, sea, rivers, mountains, forests, birds and all aspects of nature.

The 'Te Rito' report indicates that the definition of whanau in historical literature has been problematic.

> *Margaret Orbell[22] has reviewed the works of Elsdon Best[23], Percy Smith[24], Raymond Firth,[25] and Peter Buck[26], who is also known as Te Rangi Hiroa concluding their definition of a 'traditional' Maori whanau is mis-named. Orbell[27] noted that the definition of whanau constructed by these anthropologists was better understood using the historical marker 'classical'. It is noted that Metge[28] was also critical of the term 'traditional' Maori family, with Metge viewing the term 'classical' as more appropriate in term of western*

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[19] Pere, R 1986
[20] ibid.
[21] Papakura, Makereti 1938 *The old-time Maori*. V. Gollancz, London
[22] Margaret Orbell (1978) *The Traditional Maori Family,* in Peggy Koopman-Boyden (ed.), Families in New Zealand Society, Wellington, Methuen (N.Z.) 1978:104-119.
[23] Elsdon Best 1924 *The Maori As He Was.* Polynesian Society, Wellington
[24] S. Percy Smith (1913-1915) *The Lore Of The Whare-Wananga.* 2 volumes. New Plymouth, Polynesian Society (Memoirs 3 and 4).
Percy Smith (1910) *The Maoris Of The West Coast.* New Plymouth: Polynesian Society, 1910.
[25] Raymond Firth (1929-1959) *Economics of the New Zealand Maori.* 2nd Edition. Wellington: Government Printer, 1959.
[26] Sir Peter Buck (Te Rangi Hiroa). 1950 *The Coming of the Maori.* Second Edition. Wellington, Maori Purposes Fund Board.
[27] Orbell, M.1978 op.cit.

anthropological constructions (Ministry of Health, 2003)

The Report authors further state that there are general typologies that provide elements of whanau;

> *"a typology for whanau using anthropological ordering suggested that a whanau is:*
>
> *a family group usually comprising three to four generations: an older man and his wife, some or all of their descendants and in-married spouses, or some variant (such as several brothers with their wives and families) representing a stage in a domestic cycle*
>
> *a domestic group occupying a common set of buildings (sleeping houses or houses, cookhouse and storage stages) standing alone or occupying a defined subdivision of a village*
>
> *a social and economic unit responsible for the management of daily domestic life, production and consumption*
>
> *the lowest tier in a three-tiered system of socio-political groups defined by descent from common ancestors traced through links of both sexes, the middle tier consisting of hapu and the highest of iwi"* (ibid:27-28)

Definitions of whanau have also tended to entrench western notions of gender relations, with authors such a Raymond Firth[29] placing the decision-making for whanau directly with senior 'male' members. However there is little evidence to support the notion that whanau were 'headed' solely by males. Rangimarie Pere states that within her whanau, hapu and iwi experiences of whanau, both women and men worked together for the well-being of all.[30] It would be appropriate therefore to read such assertions in the context of the social and cultural imposition of nuclear family structures and dominant western gender ideologies. This may also be said in relation to the reconstruction of nurturing roles of Maori men and women within whanau where the role for raising children is on the whole positioned with Maori women, however documentation by Anne Salmond highlights the contributions of

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[28] Joan Metge 1995 *New Growth From Old: The Whanau in the Modern World.* Victoria University Press, Wellington. (N.Z.)

[29] Firth Raymond 1959 *Economics of the New Zealand Maori.* Second edition. Wellington, Government Printer.

[30] Pere, Rangimarie Rose 1988 *Te Wheke: Whaia Te Maramatanga me te Aroha* in Middleton, S. Women and Education in Aotearoa, Allen &Unwin New Zealand Ltd., Wellington pp 6-19

both Maori women and Maori men in the raising of tamariki.[31] The notion of balance in regards to Maori women and men is articulated clearly by Ani Mikaere[32]

> *"The roles of men and women in traditional Maori society can be understood only in the context of the Maori world view, which acknowledged the natural order of the universe, the interrelationship or Whanaungatanga of all living things to one another and to the environment, and the over-arching principle of balance."*

Whilst Elsdon Best[33] also reproduced such beliefs when discussing the roles of women and men within whanau, he also stressed that whanau acted as a collective body in ensuring their survival and as such he notes that the concept of 'whanau tahi' is a reflection of the importance of the whanau as a kin group and in working collectively. He states that;

> *"Particular stress must be laid on the power of public opinion in the Maori commune. It was a peculiarly strong force in the preservation of order, in the attitude of a person towards his neighbours, and in the upholding of a strong sense of duty. The effect of a communal life was such that it was impossible for a person to ignore this force".* [34]

Northern elder Pa Tate (1993)[35] has developed a preferred framework for Maori working within whanau, hapu and iwi systems, esteemed focused on fundamental principles which might assist the restoration of healthy relationships within whanau. Whanaungatanga, he stated, is able to provide a restorative framework and as such is a clear site of intervention. Tate (ibid:1)[36] develops his view of whanaungatanga in line with the notion of whanaungatanga as being the birth place of the collective;

Whanau	-	to birth
Nga	-	the
Tanga	-	collective.

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[31] Salmond, A. 1991 Two Worlds: First Meetings Between Maori and Europeans 1642-1772, Viking, Penguin Books, Auckland
[32] Mikaere, Ani 1994 *Maori Women: Caught in the contradictions of a colonised reality.* Waikato University Law Review, 2, 125-149:1
[33] Best 1924 ibid.: 339
[34] ibid: 356
[35] Pa Tate (1993) Unpublished paper titled presented to a Maori Community Workshop.   *The Dynamics of Whanaungatanga.* This training workshop targetted Maori, in the first instance, working with whanau, hapu and iwi.
[36] Tate (ibid: 1)

The link of notions of whanau, hapu and iwi to our wider physical and spiritual environment and whakapapa structures is important to understanding the multiple connections that we have as Maori. For example Tate (ibid:1) underlines that; *"…whanaungatanga, relates to the Tapu of Being. Te Tapu o Te Tangata".*

New developments culturally, socially and politically have meant that whanau is now viewed differently from how our tupuna viewed whanau. New formations of whanau have taken place to provide for the needs of Maori people within the social, political and economic contexts they find themselves in.

Maori development over the past 15 years has focused primarily upon Iwi development. For example, treaty settlement processes have, most often, operated at an Iwi level. In some instances this has meant the marginalisation of whanau. This may be an outcome of early colonial structures which effectively reduced the position of whanau through the introduction of western notions of individualism, the nuclear heterosexual family and capitalism. For example, Linda Tuhiwai Smith[37] refers to the Native Schools system as a form of ideological 'Trojan horse'. Native Schools were built inside Maori communities as a means of ensuring certain forms of domestication occurred. A key element of the domestication process was the modelling of the nuclear family structure and its associated gender roles. Whanau was directly targeted as a site for colonisation and now 200 years later it is a site that is targeted by both the government and Maori as a means by which to transform existing disparities between Maori and non-Maori.

The position of whanau in the promotion of wellbeing for Maori has been increasingly articulated over the past 10 years on both a formal and informal basis. A growing body of literature indicates that Maori have, as a necessity, constructed a range of models of whanau[38] . Margie Hohepa[39] describes the various ways in which whanau can be regarded. Whanau, she states, has both traditional and more 'evolved' meanings. Traditional in the extent that the construct of whanau through whakapapa

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[37] Smith, L. T., 1986 "Is 'Taha Maori' in Schools the Answer to Maori School Failure?", in G.H. Smith (ed.) *Nga Kete Waananga: Maori Perspectives of Taha Maori*, Auckland College of Education, Auckland

[38] Durie, M. 2001 *Mauri Ora: The Dynamics of Maori Health*, Oxford University Press, Auckland; Cram, F. & Pitama, S. 1998 'Ko toku whanau, ko toku mana' in Adair, V. & Dixon, R. (eds) *The Family In Aotearoa New Zealand*, Addison Wesley Longman New Zealand Ltd., Auckland pp130-157

connections remains as a key definition, and more recently the cooption of the term whanau in the linking of groups of common interest, or common kaupapa. She describes these groupings as *"Whanau based on unity of purpose rather then whakapapa line"*.

Mason Durie[40] also emphasises the diversity of whanau in contemporary Maori society. He notes that the term whanau has undergone changes in line with changes that have occurred in Maori society more generally, noting that there now exists a spectrum of whanau types that range from whakapapa whanau to kaupapa whanau.

Durie identifies the following whanau types;

 ➢ whanau as kin: who descend from a common ancestor
 ➢ whanau as shareholders-in-common: who are shareholders in land;
 ➢ whanau as friends: who share a common purpose
 ➢ whanau as a model of interaction: for example in a school environment
 ➢ whanau as neighbours: with shared location of residence
 ➢ whanau as households: urban dwellers
 ➢ the virtual whanau: that meets in cyberspace due to geographical separation[41]

Durie utilises the terms 'kaupapa whanau' as a means of describing those whanau that are not based within whakapapa relations.[42] They are constituted and maintained through a particular purpose or set of circumstances, and therefore have diverse roles and obligations to their members. The 'kaupapa whanau' reflects that discussed by Graham Hingangaroa Smith in regards to Kura Kaupapa Maori[43]. Not only do such whanau provide general support on a day to day level because of their connectedness through the kaupapa but according to Smith these whanau enable forms of intervention in economic and social disparities.

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[39] Hohepa, Margie 1999 '*Hei Tautoko I Te Reo*': *Maori Language Regeneration and Whanau Bookreading Practices*, Unpublished Doctor of Philosophy thesis, University of Auckland, Auckland
[40] Durie, M. 2001 op.cit.
[41] ibid.
[42] This is also discussed in Cram, F. & Pitama, S. 1998 'Ko toku whanau, ko toku mana' in Adair, V. & Dixon, R. (eds) *The Family In Aotearoa New Zealand*, Addison Wesley Longman New Zealand Ltd., Auckland pp130-157
[43] Smith, Graham Hingangaroa. 1997 *The Development of Kaupapa Maori Theory and Praxis.* Unpublished PhD thesis, School of Education, University of Auckland, Auckland :19

The role of whanau as a vehicle for intervention is outlined in the '*Te Rito*' report. Although the report is focused on whanau violence it provides insight into the nature of whanau in regards to our obligations and accountabilities to each other.

4.3 Understanding Deficit Theory

Given the emphasis by Te Puni Kokiri on the need to move beyond deficit thinking and understandings of whanau Maori, the research team also proposes including an analysis of deficit theories and how they are articulated in regards to Maori. Deficit theory has been dominant within understandings of social service sectors for many years. Deficit theory is articulated within notions of 'the cycle of poverty' which was advanced most strongly in the 1960's by the Kennedy government in the United States. Deficit theory has had a particularly strong position within the social service sectors in that it provides an understanding of such things as underachievement, unemployment and crime as being based within the family unit.

Within education deficit theory has been expressed through terms such as 'cultural deprivation' and 'cultural difference' and has located the family environment and culture as lacking or deprived. Such understandings have had, and continue to have, a major impact on families in New Zealand. Much social policy of the past 40 years has remained grounded upon deficit theory. As such many families have been under considerable pressure to conform to a defined notion of what constitutes family and more critically what constitutes 'good parenting'. Within deficit theorising the home environment and family background became the focus by which to explain differences in school achievement and underachievement, providing the framework through which to categorise children's achievement levels. The categorising of children in such a way allowed for the development of the conceptualisation of those groups of children designated as "underachievers" as being "culturally disadvantaged" or "culturally deprived". An example of this was seen in the cultural deprivation theory advanced by John Forster and Peter Ramsay. In their article "The Maori population 1936-1966" they proclaimed

> *It is generally agreed that his [Maori] low attainment is the result of a combination of other factors. Poor Socio-economic conditions, including such factors as*

occupancy rates, social attitudes, poor living conditions, and a different cultural upbringing impose severe limitations on the Maori scholar. [44]

Leonie Pihama[45] (1991) identified the foundations of deficit theory within the environmental theories of the 1960's and 70's. She notes that environmental theories have developed as a response to a biological determinism (ibid). The basis of deficit theories is founded upon the assumption that educational achievement is most influenced by the home environment and as such any 'deficiencies' in the child's knowledge can then be located within the home environment. The articulation of deficit theory was highlighted in the statement by educationalist D.G. Ball when he stated that 'the Maoriness' of Maori children was considered their greatest handicap.

The implications of such theories in Aotearoa have been significant for Maori, to the extent to which deficit theories have been entrenched in the every day language of many New Zealanders. More recently the work by Russell Bishop et.al[46] indicates that deficit theories continue to have a major impact on the ways in which many teachers provide explanations for underachievement of certain groups of children within our schools. Added to such research is the more daily articulation of deficit theory such as that expressed in the current Police recruitment campaign that targets families and 'poor parenting' as the reason for youth crime. Such campaigns provide examples of how deficit thinking continues to influence existing views in regards to what is required to bring about a change in whanau circumstances, and thus maintains limited understandings of the complexities of whanau experiences.

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[44] Forster,J., & Ramsay,P., 1969. Migration, Education and Occupation: The Maori population 1936-66 in *Social Process in New Zealand,* Longman Paul, Auckland: 211

[45] Pihama, L. (1991) Tungia Te Ururua, Kia Tupu Whakaritorito Te Tupu O Te Harakeke: A Critcal Analysis Of Parents As First Teachers, Unpublished Master of Arts Thesis, The University of Auckland, Auckland

[46] R. Bishop, M. Berryman, S. Tiakiwai and C. Richardson 2004 *Te Kotahitanga - The Experiences of Year 9 and 10 Maori Students in Mainstream Classrooms,* Maori Education Research Institute (MERI), School of Education, University of Waikato, Hamilton and Poutama Pounamu Research and Development Centre, Tauranga

5.   MAORI INNOVATION, ENTERPRISE AND ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITIES: A LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

This report offers a review and analysis of literature relating to indigenous and Maori innovation, enterprise and economic opportunities and a range of studies which suggest how Maori could engage in such opportunities.

The literature included in this review is drawn primarily from the field of Management Studies, because that is where the majority of analyses of innovation, enterprise and economic opportunities have been developed. Within the field, the majority of the literature is drawn from Western research, primarily from the United States and Western Europe over much of the last one hundred years. Maori material specific to the questions engaged in this review remains limited but is however a developing area of academic pursuit and research engagement, as such we expect this review to contribute to a growing body of literature.

The first step is to define the key terms. According to Dana (2004) "Entrepreneurship and enterprise development take on different forms, and are motivated by a variety of factors. Some generalizations have been made for entrepreneurs in the Industrialized West; yet these are not necessarily applicable to Indigenous Peoples'. Thus, the first task of this paper is to draw on mainstream sources to define innovation, enterprise and entrepreneurship, before looking at specific indigenous and Maori literature relating to these terms.

Innovation has been defined as, "the introduction of new ideas, goods, services, and practices which are intended to be useful (though a number of unsuccessful innovations can be found throughout history). An essential element for innovation is its application in a commercially successful way" (Wikipedia, 2005). Given that much of the innovation literature emanates from US, their government definition is also useful. According to their website, innovation is defined as the, "Introduction of a new idea into the marketplace in the form of a new product or service or an improvement in organization or process".

This website goes on to define enterprise as the,

> *"Aggregation of all establishments owned by a parent company. An*

enterprise can consist of a single, independent establishment or it can include subsidiaries or other branch establishments under the same ownership and control".

Finally, this definition of entrepreneur is offered,

"One who assumes the financial risk of the initiation, operation, and management of a given business or undertaking".

According to these definitions, the links between the terms is clear. Enterprise is the business activity, created out of the innovation, driven by the entrepreneur who has assumed the risk and initiated the opportunities, out of which are delivered economic development and wealth creation, presumably for the individual entrepreneur or enterprise owner(s).

The NZ GEM Report (2002:12) acknowledged that *"entrepreneurship is a vital determinant of economic growth".* However, as previously stated by Dana, the existing generalizations about the terms and activities do not necessarily take account of the indigenous experience. Whilst this is a relatively new field of research and academic endeavour, there has been an increasing focus on these issues both nationally and internationally over the last ten to fifteen years.

This report is derived primarily from research on indigenous entrepreneurship in general and Maori entrepreneurship in particular, conducted by Howard Frederick and Ella Henry over the past four years. The most recent output of the collaborative research was a chapter (Frederick & Henry, 2003) that explored the topics highlighted by this research project.

ORIGINS OF MAORI ENTREPRENEURSHIP

It is generally accepted that Polynesians settled Aotearoa about the 10th century. Though Aotearoa was visited briefly by the Dutch navigator Abel Tasman in 1642, it was not until 1769 that James Cook and his crew became the first Europeans to explore New Zealand's coastline thoroughly. Maori culture had developed in isolation from other cultural influences for Maori hundreds of years before the arrival of Europeans.

Very little has been written about Maori entrepreneurship or about the Maori dimension of the knowledge economy[47]. Even outside of New Zealand, the field of "indigenous entrepreneurship" is in its infancy. Native American Indians and Canadian Inuit[48] are among those studied, and there are an increasing number of studies of Australian aboriginal entrepreneurship[49]. Despite the relative paucity of literature, Maori have a history of entrepreneurship and enterprise upon which to draw. The Maori Wars, often referred to as the Musket Wars (Crosby, 1999), began in the pre-Treaty era and can be seen as a reflection of tribal aspirations for economic sovereignty. Those Chiefs that secured muskets first were able to dominate other tribes and there are numerous records of the unprecedented numbers of 'slaves' that were being captured. One must assume these slaves would have been ideal to fuel the growth of the economic empires of such warlords as Hone Heke in Ngapuhi and Waharoa of Ngati Haua. There is ample evidence that Heke was able to dominate trade in the North because of his favoured relationship with the early Missionaries, who were also his primary links to the outside world. His trip to Sydney in 1813 and to England in 1820 further cemented his military and trading exploits. Who can tell how far Ngapuhi enterprise might have come to dominate New Zealand trade if he had not died in 1828. By 1831 trade to Sydney to from New Zealand amounted to £34,000, whilst imports into New Zealand came to £31,000[50]. This occurred during a period in New Zealand history when Maori totally dominated the cultural and economic landscape. Thus, the manufactured goods such as tree nails, Kauri spars, flax goods, must have been produced by Maori communities, presumably for the primary benefit of those tribal communities.

We know that Maori ¨were involved with export of produce to Australia[51], and to some degree Maori entrepreneurial abilities were the subject of envy by Pakeha. New Zealand's most distinguished anthropologist, Sir Raymond Firth (1929, 1972), in his early work on Maori economics, confirms that Maori had an entrepreneurial streak. He notes, *"they return cunning with respect as this may increase one's mana. Maori dignify labour and reprove idleness"* (Firth, 1929: 54).

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[47] See Frederick and McIlroy (2000), Frederick and Carswell (2001), Frederick et al. (2002), James (1995), Tapsell (1997), and Zepalska et al. (2002), Brown (1995) and Fox (1999)
[48] See Chiste (1996), Dana (1995), Davis-Bird (1997), Guly (1998, 1999), Humphreys and McClung (1982), Jenkins (1977, 1992), and Mangelsdorf (1988)
[49] See Daly (1993, 1994) and Hunter (1999)
[50] See Henry, 1999
[51] See Sutch, 1964

Work and industry were acknowledged in whakatauki and waiata. Maori were enthusiastic adopters of new technology[52]. One of the better known adoptions is that of the musket, to lethal effect. Maori also adapted agriculture techniques and shipping methods and embraced books and publishing[53]. The trench warfare developed in Ngapuhi was another lethal innovation[54] One whakatauki that embraced the notion of adopted innovation is "*Ka pu te ruha, ka hao te rangatahi*" (the old net is exhausted, the new net is favoured).

One other example of the way that Maori embraced notions of innovation and entrepreneurialism is embedded in the mythology surrounding Maui. This ancestor, known throughout Polynesia, and his exploits are equally important in Maori history. Through the theft of his grandmother's fingernails he was able to bring fire to humankind; he captured and beat the sun to slow it down so that the seasons would be more favourable; Maui snuck aboard his brother's fishing canoe and fished up the North Island, Te Ika a Maui (the fish of Maui). Despite the rigid protocols that governed so much of pre-European Maori society, embodied in tikanga, rāhui and tapu, the ancient Maori also venerated risk-taking, innovative adventurers. We can then assume that these characteristics form the foundations of Maori entrepreneurship.

ENTREPRENEURSHIP, CULTURE AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Macro-economic analysis tells us that innovation and entrepreneurship are related to economic adaptation and expansion[55]. The rate of public and private investments, which are devoted to innovation and entrepreneurial activity, increases in the hope of further accelerating technological development and national wealth and job creation. This study explores some of the ways that entrepreneurship may be related to economic growth and development.

Some analyses of economic growth have focused on the contribution made by larger firms, rather than investigating in more detail the impacts of smaller firms. These studies have been underpinned by the assumption that the larger firms are more likely to be the primary engines of prosperity[56]. Another analytical model is that developed for the Global Entrepreneurship Monitor (GEM). The GEM researchers

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[52] See also Dell (1987), Firth (1972), Sinclair (1959), and Walker (1986)
[53] See James, 2003
[54] See Belich, 1994
[55] See Acs, 1996; Butler et al., 1986; Casson & Godley, 2000; Libecap, 2000; Lydall, 1992; Powell, 1990; Reynolds et al., 2001; Scherer & Perlman, 1992).

around the world maintain that levels of entrepreneurial activity are directly related to the ability of individual entrepreneurs to identify and exploit opportunities. There are two substantive propositions that overarch the GEM research. The first is the recognition that a certain proportion of the adult population can be classified as entrepreneurs, and that the proportion of entrepreneurs should be measured and investigated. GEM is predicated on the notion that measuring the extent of entrepreneurial activity will have profound implications for education, research, and government policy relating to enterprise development.

The second proposition is that one nation, culture or ethnic group can have their total entrepreneurial activity levels compared to another. The GEM research recognises that entrepreneurial activity is shaped by distinct and distinctive factors that have been classified as the "Entrepreneurial Framework Conditions" (or EFCs), which are considered to have an impact on entrepreneurial activity, by influencing the conditions that lead to new venture start-ups and business growth[57].

Cultural and social norms, such as the extent that existing social and cultural norms encourage, or not, the actions of individuals that lead to new and innovative ways of conducting business or economic activities, may also lead to increased dispersion of wealth and income. The Maori dimension of entrepreneurship developed in and for Aotearoa, allowed the GEM researchers to investigate the unique entrepreneurial dimensions of the Maori culture and social norms.

The literature relating to the impact of ethnicity on entrepreneurship and economic development has primarily focused on the characteristics that might promote or discourage entrepreneurship. Much of this literature comes from a neo-conservative or neoliberal school of thought that focuses on the supposedly "ideal type" of entrepreneurship. Some of the notable names of this genre include: Brigitte Berger, 1991, Peter Berger, 1986, 1990; Hsiao & Carnegie Council on Ethics & International Affairs, 1988; Bellah, 1965) in sociology; Harrison,1985 and Kahn, 1970 in economics; Pye & Pye, 1985 in political science; Hofstede, 1997, 2001 in

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[56] See for example, Porter et al. (2002)
[57] GEM New Zealand's Entrepreneurial Framework Conditions included: (1) Financial Support; (2) Government Policies; (3) Government Programmes; (4) Education and Training; (5) Research and Development Transfer; (6) Commercial and Professional Infrastructure; (7) Market Openness/Barriers to Entry; (8) Access to Physical Infrastructure; (9) Cultural and Social Norms; and the Framework Condition specifically developed for Aotearoa (10) Māori dimension of entrepreneurship.

management science; and Fallows, 1994; Novak, 1991; and Gilder, 1981, 1984 in scholarly journalism.

More recent analyses of a specific indigenous dimension have begun by first exploring development before drilling down to entrepreneurship. This body of work has incorporated a sound critique of Western, neoliberal theorizing and the application of a Western worldview to the analysis of indigenous experience[58]. According to Anderson et al. (2004:1)

> *"Around the world, Indigenous peoples are struggling to reassert their nationhood within the post-colonial states in which they find themselves. For all, claims to their traditional lands and the right to use the resources of these lands are central to their drive to nationhood".*

These authors go on to note that,

> *"The modernization and dependency perspectives have dominated development thinking throughout the middle and later decades of the Twentieth Century, the former as the operational paradigm driving the development agenda and the latter as a critique of the failure of this agenda to delver the anticipated development outcomes" (op.cit:3).*

In a similar vein Tucker (1999:3) notes that development

> *"was conceived of as economic growth, industrial development, and the establishment of complementary social and political institutions on the model of the USA. Other cultural formations were viewed primarily as forms of resistance to modernization, which had to be overcome".*

Anderson et.al (op.cit: 5), further state that

> *"The modernist prescription is clearly incompatible with Aboriginal people's objectives relating to their tradition, culture and values and the role these are to play in development".*

They conclude that both the modernist and the dependency views fail to fully account for indigenous development, unless it confirms to a Western 'ideal type' of growth and development. Like the neoliberal analyses of entrepreneurship, these perspectives are limited by their historical and cultural specificity, especially insofar as they exclude any understanding of the indigenous worldview.

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[58] See Begay et al (1997), Cornell & Kalt, 1995, Cornell & Taylor, 2000 for insight into the Native American experience

A more recent addition to this discourse comes from the burgeoning field of contingency theories. For Corbridge (1989: 633)

> *"there is a powerful trend towards theories of capitalist development which emphasize contingency ... a new emphasis on human agency and the provisional and highly skilled task of reproducing social relations" Following on from this premise Tucker states that this may involve, "incorporating the experience of other peoples, other perspectives and other cultures into the development discourse (1999, p. 16)."*

Following from this Anderson et al (op.cit: 28) surmise that,

> *" Western societies have long had a concept of private ownership of land; to own land is to exercise control of it at the exclusion of others. In contrast, Indigenous people in Canada have had a collective concept of land use, whereby no one individual deprives others access to using the resources of the land. We have demonstrated that joint efforts, on the part of Indigenous communities and the Canadian government, have led to social entrepreneurship, improving the state of affairs for indigenous and non-indigenous peoples alike".*

In a more recent article, Anderson et al (2005:6) have stated that,

> *"Around the world indigenous peoples are struggling to rebuild their 'nations' and improve the socio-economic circumstances of their people. Many see economic development as the key to success… They recognize the success of this approach depends on the viability of the businesses they create. In order to improve this viability, Aboriginal people are building capacity and forming partnerships among themselves and with non-Aboriginal organizations including multinational corporations".*

Drawing on regulation theory, Anderson and others of similar persuasion are in the throes of developing a theoretical perspective on Indigenous development for the "new flexible economy". This model attempts to capture and understand indigenous experience and responses by exploring the interplay between the state, the civil sector, corporations and community, and investigating how this interplay gives rise to

ethnic (non-Western) and indigenous models of development, innovation, enterprise and entrepreneurship[59].

Examples and case studies based on diverse cultural perspectives are becoming increasingly common. For example, Lam and Paltiel (1994) argue that Confucianism is correlated with economic development and entrepreneurship in Taiwan and Japan. Other literature describes cultural characteristics that help to explain why Singapore might lack a spirit of entrepreneurship[60], a finding that may explain that country's poor showing in the GEM Report, 2001[61].

One school of thought examines the relationship between culture and personality traits[62]. Cowling (2000) found that gender and education variables varied in the strength of explaining entrepreneurship across countries. Frederick et al. (2002) believe that New Zealand entrepreneurs do not appear to be driven by the urgency to succeed, nor do they appear to be particularly ego-driven. Hofstede (1984) has long argued that cultural dimensions such as power distance, uncertainty avoidance, individualism/collectivism, and masculinity/ femininity affect national wealth and economic growth. Morris & Davis (1994) have shown that the classic definition of entrepreneurship is less apparent when the culture of collectivity is more emphasized in a given society. Trompenaars et al (1994) illustrated how different cultures respond to different management approaches, and how organizations have different meanings in different cultures. Many authors[63] reinforce the view that characteristics such as these may well comprise the salient dimensions of culture insofar as entrepreneurship is concerned.

In this tradition, Lee and Peterson (2000) have proposed the notion that a society's propensity to generate autonomous, risk-taking, innovative, competitively aggressive and proactive entrepreneurs and firms depends fundamentally on its cultural characteristics. Countries with these specific cultural tendencies will engender a strong "entrepreneurial orientation," hence higher total entrepreneurial activity. They posit that entrepreneurial cultures are less likely to tolerate high power distance, may also be more willing to accept living with uncertainty and are more likely to value individualistic, masculine, achievement-oriented behaviour. By contrast, those

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[59] See also Gatti (1989), Harper (1992), Foley (2003) and Peredo & Anderson (2003)
[60] See Arnold, 1999 and Mellor, 2001
[61] See Reynolds et al., 2001, 2002
[62] See Mueller & Thomas, 2001; Thomas, 2000

societies develop distinctive class structures that value social hierarchies, seek out job security, and favour consensus decision making, are more likely to accept and embrace power distance, will seek to avoid uncertainty and manifest more collectivist social forms. These findings adhere closely to Hofstede's original findings.

They six cultural dichotomies articulated first by Hofstede, and reinforced by later researchers, are as follows:

➢ *Uncertainty Avoidance* – the degree of acceptance of uncertainty or the willingness to take risk (Strong= little acceptance of uncertainty or risk versus Weak = generally accepting of uncertainty and risk)

➢ *Power Distance* – the degree of tolerance for hierarchical, unequal relationships (High = large degree of tolerance for unequal relationships versus Low = small degree of tolerance for unequal relationships)

➢ *Masculinity* – the degree of emphasis placed on materialism (Masculinity = large degree of stress placed on the accumulation of materialism and wealth versus Femininity = large degree of stress placed on harmony and relationships).

➢ *Individualism* – the degree of emphasis placed on individual accomplishment (Individualism = large degree of emphasis placed on individual accomplishment versus Collectivism = large degree of emphasis placed on group accomplishment).

➢ *Achievement* – describes how power and status are determined (Achievement = power and status that are achieved or earned through competition and hard work versus Ascription = power and status that are ascribed by birthright, age, or gender).

➢ *Universalism* – describes norms for regulating behaviour (Universalism = a code of laws exist that apply equally to all versus Particularism = the notion that individuals enjoy, or should enjoy special rights or privileges because of their status).

On this model, the "ideal type" of entrepreneurs should conform to the following characteristics and personality types:

• Generally accepting of uncertainty and risk;

• Not tolerating unequal relationships;

• Stressing materialism and wealth (as opposed to harmony and relationships);

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[63] See Brockhaus, 1982; Gartner, 1985; Hofstede, 1980; Kets de Vries, 1977; McClelland, 1987;

- Emphasising individual accomplishment (as opposed to group accomplishment);
- Believing that power and status are earned through competition and hard work (as opposed to birthright, age or gender);
- Believing that a code of laws exists equally for all (as opposed to individuals enjoy special rights or privileges because of their status).

GLOBAL ENTREPENEURSHIP MONITOR IN AOTEAROA

To examine these economic and cultural dimensions in the New Zealand context the New Zealand GEM team explored the phenomenon of Maori entrepreneurship, using a random adult population survey, using a telephone poll. Maori and Pakeha entrepreneurial styles were compared within New Zealand using the 'Ideal Type' survey. Finally, these two data sets were externally verified through qualitative data gained from interviews with Maori entrepreneurial experts.

In 2001, 2000 adult New Zealanders, and in 2002 another 2,836 adult New Zealanders aged 18–64 were polled by telephone to measure their entrepreneurial behaviour and attitudes. In 2002, the Maori sample was selected to ensure a statistically robust sample size, so that comparisons between Maori and non- Maori New Zealanders could be made, and further comparisons be made between Maori and samples in other countries in which the GEM study was conducted.

These surveys produced a measure called the Total Entrepreneurial Activity Index (TEA).Entrepreneurial 'start-ups' were divided into 'nascent' and 'new' categories. To qualify as a *nascent* entrepreneur, one had to satisfy three conditions. First, they must have taken some action to create a new business within the past year. Second, they had to expect to share ownership of the new firm. Thirdly, the firm must not have anyone in paid salaries or waged positions for more than three months. If the new firm had paid salaries and wages for more than 3 months (but less than 42 months) it was classified as a *new* firm.

The TEA measured the sum of: (1) those individuals involved in the start-up process (nascent entrepreneurs); and (2) the individuals active as owner-managers of firms less than 42 months old. Those 5% that qualified for both were counted only once. An individual was also considered entrepreneurially active if they were involved in ownership and management of a new business that had not paid salaries and wages

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Spence, 1985; Verma, 1985

for over 42 months. Data was collected on individuals who were owner/managers of firms over 42 months old, but no further analysis of that data was undertaken.

The second component of the GEM Methodology, the 'Ideal Type' mail-out survey, comprised an investigation of the cultural characteristics that might unite or distinguish New Zealanders of different ethnicity. The survey asked respondents to indicate where their ethnicity might lie on these six cultural dimensions if they were to generalize across the entire group. A statistically valid proportion of the surveys were returned and the ethnic breakdown of respondents, particularly Pakeha and Maori, matched the wider population.

Finally, the expert interviews were conducted. In all, seventy-nine interviews with New Zealand experts enabled the researchers to probe more deeply into the dynamics of entrepreneurship in New Zealand. The experts included entrepreneurs, politicians, educators, government officials, investors, and other professionals in the field of entrepreneurship. Forty percent of the informants were Maori (and 65% of all informants offered comments about Maori entrepreneurship). The expertise of the Maori experts covered a wide range of entrepreneurial experience, drawing from government, research and development agencies; educationalists; financial and business development advisors; and those working in community, tribal and pan-tribal organisations; as well as entrepreneurs operating in everything from small to medium and large corporate enterprises from around the country.

The interviewees were also asked to complete an extensive questionnaire that consisted of some of the items identified in the 'adult population' survey. They were asked to rate 84 items, drawn from 14 different business and socio-demographic topics. The majority of the items were based around statements that they felt described (or not) the situation in their country, for example they were asked to rate statements like the following on a scale from 1-5; 1 being totally untrue, 5 being totally true. Not Applicable option was available for those who felt they could not make comment on that particular item. For example, one statement read:

> *"In my country, people working for government agencies are competent and effective in supporting new and growing firms."*

From the GEM research, conducted annually between 2001 and 2004, New Zealand was consistently found to be one of the world's most entrepreneurial countries. The telephone poll results found that, of the 14% of New Zealanders who were identified

as entrepreneurs in 2002, 83% were opportunity entrepreneurs and 16% were necessity entrepreneurs. These terms are defined in the GEM research as: 'opportunity entrepreneurship' means taking advantage of business opportunities, and 'necessity entrepreneurship', meaning 'no better choice for work'. New Zealand was found to have the highest proportion of 'opportunity entrepreneurs' in the OECD countries, ranking higher than the USA. New Zealanders experienced an increase in entrepreneurial behaviour from ages 18 to 34, younger than average ages of entrepreneurs in many other developed countries. Younger women were found to be more entrepreneurial than young men, but males overtook females over the age of 35. Entrepreneurs' levels of educational attainment appeared to be positively correlated with their levels of entrepreneurial activity.

Maori had an 11.9% rate of Total Entrepreneurial Activity, compared to14.5% non-Maori. Of the 'new' (less than 12 months old) firms in the country, Maori and non-Maori had started up about the same proportion, but non-Maori firms outstripped Maori firms in their "staying power" (three years and longer). Ranked on their own, Maori were found to be the seventh most entrepreneurial 'nation' amongst the thirty to forty participating nations over the years in question, exceeding the TEA found in United States, Ireland, Canada, and Australia. Maori were found to have a higher have a higher rate of necessity entrepreneurship than non-Maori. Compared to the other GEM countries, Maori entrepreneurs had a slightly higher 'necessity rate' than the global average.

Maori entrepreneurs were on average three years younger than non-Maori entrepreneurs, and had less tertiary education. However, when compared to the total Maori population, Maori entrepreneurs were far more likely have received tertiary and business education and were less likely to be unemployed when they began their businesses. There were slightly more Maori females than males in the sample.

Entrepreneurs tend to exploit two types of opportunities: They either exploit *innovative* venture opportunities, thus creating completely new products and markets; or they exploit *equilibrium* venture opportunities, thereby optimising 'supply and demand' characteristics in existing product-lines and markets (Samuelsson, 2001). The researchers wanted to compare the ways Maori exploited venture opportunities compared to non-Maori. According to this survey, Maori definitely identified as *'innovative'* rather than *'equilibrium'* entrepreneurs. Maori perceived of themselves as exploiting innovative opportunities by creating new products and markets, or being

among the first to enter a new product or market arena. Furthermore, Maori entrepreneurs were far more likely than non-Maori entrepreneurs to perceive that their product or service would be new and unfamiliar and that they would face limited competition. Maori tended to make less use of technology and to focus less on the need for expertise and expert advice. Finally, Maori perceived just as many good start-up opportunities as non-Maori but had a slightly higher "fear of failure" rate. Fewer Maori felt they had the knowledge, skills and experience to start a new business, but more of them knew another entrepreneur personally, one of the key predictors of entrepreneurial activity at some point in the future.

'Ideal Type' survey provided results that complemented the telephone poll and fleshed out the picture of entrepreneurialism and entrepreneurship in New Zealand. The entrepreneurship literature suggests that the Ideal Type entrepreneur would generally have a large degree of tolerance of unequal relationships in the power distance dimension. It was found that 65% of Pakeha respondents were tolerant of unequal power relationships, but Maori were split almost equally on this dimension. The Ideal Type entrepreneur would place a large degree of emphasis on materialism and wealth. Thus, while 91% of Pakeha placed a large degree of stress on materialism and wealth, 94% of the Maori placed much less emphasis on materialism and wealth and a greater degree of emphasis on harmony and relationships. The Ideal Type entrepreneur would generally be accepting of risk or uncertainty. However, while 75% of Pakeha were generally accepting of risk and uncertainty, Maori were split with 46% being strong on risk acceptance and 54% being weak on risk acceptance. The Ideal Type entrepreneur would place a large degree of emphasis on individual accomplishment. While 89% of Pakeha placed a large degree of emphasis on individual accomplishment, 93% of the Maori responded differently, placing a far larger degree of emphasis on group achievement.

The prototypical entrepreneur would believe that power and status are achieved or earned through competition and hard work. Ninety-five percent of Pakeha fit this description, but Maori were split (57–43%). The prototypical entrepreneur would aver that a code of laws exist that apply equally to all. Again, 86% of Pakeha fit this description, but Maori were not so sure (64–35%).

The GEM authors offered some preliminary conclusions based on the results of these two surveys. They posit that Pakeha appear to fit the ideal type suggested by the research literature on cultural characteristics in entrepreneurship. Maori do not.

Maori were quite divided on some of the entrepreneurial characteristics, but for two of them – *materialism* and *individual accomplishment* – Maori perceptions stood out as strikingly different from the 'ideal type'. This study found that Maori were extraordinarily entrepreneurial; however, the literature of "ideal type" entrepreneurship failed to explain why Maori are so entrepreneurial from a 'cultural perspective'. The final survey, the in-depth interviews with Maori experts, would provide the more detailed insight into Maori entrepreneurship.

These Maori experts highlighted certain common themes across a range of issues, but they also expressed some equally divergent views that reflected the diversity of their personal backgrounds (tribal or urban Maori communities, Government or community organisations, large/corporate or small to medium enterprises). Maori experts highlighted certain common themes across a range of issues but also expressed some equally divergent views that reflected the diversity of their personal backgrounds (tribal or urban Maori communities, Government or community organisations, large corporate or small to medium enterprises).

There appeared to be a split between the perceptions of urban Maori, who may have lost their connection to the land and tribe, and the tribal or rural Maori. These differences have been highlighted in the literature[64] and have even been the cause of litigation. For example, in one court case, the Treaty of Waitangi Fisheries Commission and urban Maori groups argued that the distribution of assets to be returned to Maori by the New Zealand Crown as part of a Waitangi Tribunal Settlement should go to all Maori, rather than just to tribal Maori. This is significant given that almost one quarter of all Maori do not give a tribal affiliation and more than 60% of Maori live outside their tribal boundaries. The "Definition of an Iwi" case (1998) was heard in the High Court, in the matter of the Maori Fisheries Act 1989, between Te Runanganui o Te Upoko o Te Ika Association and others, being the plaintiffs, and the Treaty of Waitangi Fisheries Commission and others, heard by Justice Patterson in Auckland New Zealand, after which the case was taken to the Privy Council, England.

The Privy Council, no doubt somewhat bemused that Maori people should take a case to the Law Lords to 'define an iwi', could not render a legal decision, thereby throwing the ball back into the hands of Maori, where it took until 2004 before a final decision about allocation was finally presented. Though some dissent still exists,

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[64] See, for example Henare (1998) and Henry (1999)

most notably from Ngati Porou, there appear to be an air of resignation to the final allocation model, though the underlying conflict around 'what is a Maori' remains to be settled. Though seemingly an arcane, philosophical and cultural debate, the issue is pressing and has been exacerbated in the wake of the 'Orewa Speech', as it has come to be known, and the consequent focus, by both major political parties, on 'race-based' legislation, policies and funding. For at the heart of this dilemma are New Zealanders concerns about race relations and the Treaty of Waitangi. In the midst of this dilemma are the great majority of new Zealanders of Maori descent who struggle with their own identity and affiliation with 'being Maori'. Thus, any discussion of Maori entrepreneurship occurs within this philosophical and cultural milieu.

The GEM survey respondents were asked to give their views on the weaknesses that restrict Maori entrepreneurship, the strengths that contribute to it, and their recommendations for encouraging and increasing it. Their responses tended to fall into two main categories: those occurring within Maori society and culture; and those that were external to Maori society and culture, and over which Maori have less control.

Taken as a whole, there was considerable agreement that legacies of the colonial past limit Maori entrepreneurship today, especially when one considered that Maori were actively engaged in national and international trade and commerce from at least the 1820s until the 1860s[65], later the Land Wars (ostensibly from the 1850s–1860s, though Belich has argued they continued in some form of violence or another into the early 1900s) and consequent confiscation of Maori lands and estates by the settler government caused irrevocable damage to the Maori economy. The role of the New Zealand government in either suppressing Maori development through paternalistic policies and practices, or stimulating it through proactive programmes and supportive Ministries was also highlighted.

Alongside these sentiments, there was recognition that the Maori cultural renaissance, most commonly associated with activism and rising Maori consciousness since the 1970s[66], has had a profound impact on Maori self-confidence and capacity. A growing sense of pride and cultural identity, a resurgence of language and culture, and calls for Maori self-determination occur alongside the

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[65] See Walker, 1990 and Henry, 1999 for more detail
[66] See Walker, 1990, Henry & Pene 1999

flowering of Maori scholarship, the re-ignition of Maori entrepreneurship and increasing awareness of Maori achievement in business, the arts, sport and science.

Weaknesses to be addressed in the area of Maori Entrepreneurship

There were two main types of weaknesses identified that Maori must address in relation to entrepreneurship. The first relates to the need to develop skills in the Maori world. This is particularly true in Maori tribal, social service and charitable organisations, where limited expertise, particularly business, and financial skills and experience at sourcing and acquiring capital, is seen as a serious impediment to Maori development. Maori businesses are often under-capitalised and are further hampered by a lack of experience in governance and general management. These organisations are often less capable of meeting the compliance requirements, or are impeded by the high compliance costs associated with Maori organisations, particularly trusts and incorporated societies tendering for, or meeting the requirements of government contracts. Overall, the Maori world need more innovators, scientists and experienced entrepreneurs who can help shape and support business development. Whilst tribal trusts attempt to provide scholarships and financial assistance for study, these are often unfocused and not targeted to the specific academic and business needs of the tribes.

The second set of weakness relates to the long-term impacts of colonisation on Maori society and culture. The first and most serious impact is the high levels of poverty in Maori communities, either as a consequence of loss of land and economic resources in the first decades after the signing of the Treaty, and more recently because of economic reforms and the corporatisation of organisations and industries that traditionally provided stable employment for Maori. This colonial past makes many Maori communities wary of dealing with Crown agencies, a legacy of distrust on the part of Maori, and paternalistic policies on the part of the Crown, seriously impeding mutually beneficial relationships.

The Maori experts saw disenfranchisement, alienation and assimilationist policies as undermining Maori self-confidence, ambition, and motivation and the capacity for independent thinking, a "dynamic deficiency outcome" manifest in complacency and passivity. This combined with the difficulties of finding investment capital from land that lies in multiple-title ownership, were seen as factors that influence Maori thinking and business decision-making. Thus, the conservatism (manifest as risk-aversion and fear of failure) that far too often appears to drive tribal businesses and decision-

making was seen as an ongoing weakness. All of this was exacerbated by fundamental changes to traditional tribal leadership, threatened as tribal leadership has consistently been by the introduction of Western models of government, and hierarchical approaches to leadership and organisations, which do not sit well alongside traditional patterns of participatory leadership, consultative and consensus decision-making, and empowering outcomes for the community. Underpinning many of the challenges to traditional, tribal leadership has been the introduction into Aotearoa of 19th Century patriarchal European leadership, and its ongoing, pervasive and destructive impacts on Maori women and leadership, a case which is substantively argued in the Mana Wahine Claim to the Waitangi Tribunal and to research on Maori women and leadership[67]

Other specific aspects of contemporary Maori culture that respondents felt discouraged entrepreneurship included the domination by males of Maori organisations, the lack of unity and cohesion among tribes, particularly the large corporate entities, and the growing antipathy between urban and tribal-rural groups in some areas. Some felt that Maori language and culture had the capacity to become divisive, with those Maori who are non-speakers of *te reo Maori* feeling excluded from tribal discussions and decision-making. Further, the ancient notions of *whanaungatanga* (tribal kinship) were seen as potentially incompatible with individualistic, business endeavour, or it had been used as the basis to appoint people on the basis of genealogy rather than expertise. There was some suspicion that tribal wealth was not being distributed fairly or equally, and those outside the tribal cabal might be the least likely to benefit from economic development and tribal successes.

Challenges and threats outside the Maori world

The other main set of weaknesses related to factors outside of the Maori world. The lack of capital for Maori enterprise was considered serious, as were perpetually changing governmental policies and programmes for Maori. The lack of tax incentives was seen as an impediment for all entrepreneurs, but particularly so for fledgling Maori initiatives. Finally, those government programmes that are in place have, at various times, been hampered by general inadequacy or lack of skills in dealing with Maori displayed by some consultants and advisors. Some respondents were particularly disparaging about clumsy, complicated, or seemingly inaccessible

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[67] See Henry (1994)

programmes and policies that were supposedly set up to address and support Maori innovation. The collapse of the Community Employment Group in 2004, under public scrutiny and fuelled by media harangue, belied the simple fact that for many Maori communities and organisations CEGS funding had been a godsend. One of the great Maori leaders of the 20th Century, Sir John Turei (2002), once remarked in a speech that he had become cynical watching initiatives that were making meaningful changes in Maori communities being withdrawn once they became successful. Sir John cited programmes such as the Maori Trade Training Scheme, Mana Access and Matua Whangai as stunning examples of policies that made a positive difference for Maori being summarily extinguished on a political whim.

Education was another factor seen as a weakness, more specifically the lack of an entrepreneurship curriculum in compulsory education, or the recognition that entrepreneurship should start in the early stages of the child's life. The Experts also criticised Western educational models as individualistic, especially since they did not acknowledge the Maori capacity to learn kinaesthetically and by rote. The costs associated with conducting research, development and the protecting intellectual property rights were seen as another disincentive to Maori entrepreneurship. Physical infrastructure was problematic for Maori, particularly those living in isolated rural communities where telephone access, postal services, regional service centres, even roads are a luxury rather than the taken-for-granted prerequisites of 'civilised' urban life.

The final category of weaknesses related to the cultural and social norms of New Zealand society, which is predominantly non-Maori of Anglo-European descent, and with a rapidly growing population of Pacific and Asian migrants. Most of the experts referred to the ongoing effects of negative attitudes towards and perceptions of Maori. In other words, the perceived racism of the dominant culture continues to undermine relations between Maori and non-Maori[68]. That, combined with the "old-boys" network of New Zealand business[69], and their linkages to global consortia of capital and influence, impedes Maori access to the resources, support and networks that enhance business start-up.

These findings, added to by recent case study research (Henry, 2005), support the notion that there is antipathy in the Maori business community about the levels and

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[68] Spoonley et al. (1997) and Simpson (1979)
[69] See Murray (2001) for an insightful analysis of the old-boys boardroom networks

type of support available for Maori innovation and enterprise. The latter research is finding that programmes such as the Maori Business Facilitation Service, though well meaning, is not particularly useful. What is coming through consistently[70] from Maori entrepreneurs is the desperate need for capital, rather than yet more well-meaning 'advisors'. The Escalator programme, funded by Trade & Enterprise goes some way to introducing Maori entrepreneurs to venture capitalists, but (not surprisingly) Pakeha investors do not seem to be beating a path to provide capital to Maori businesses. Thus, the plethora of Maori business and research centres, incubators, ice-houses and other such entities are perceived by some as 'useless', unless they can facilitate the sourcing and securing of capital for emerging Maori innovators and entrepreneurs.

Strengths that accelerate Maori entrepreneurship

The Maori experts identified an equally compelling range of strengths, again categorised by those occurring within and outside of Maori society and culture. A small but significant group of Maori entrepreneurs within large corporate Maori entities have strong tribal links. Some of those tribes have had a long-term commitment to providing scholarships and encouraging further education for the best and brightest youth. This group is complemented by an equally small but significant number of entrepreneurs and innovators who have formed companies that predominantly operate in urban areas, nationally and internationally. Interestingly, the former groups are almost entirely male, whilst the latter comprise a large proportion of women.

Both types of entrepreneurs and their organisations are increasingly participating in visionary joint ventures that bring together Maori capital and human and physical resources. These resources include tribal land, coastline, fisheries, ownership of tourism features and mineral deposits. Also, tribal non-profit organisations that deliver social services to Maori are benefiting from the growing level of management, business and entrepreneurship expertise in Maori communities, and the increasing awareness that Maori organisations must move from social service delivery, or commodity-based production, to value-adding and a greater orientation toward generating profits and building business capacity.

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[70] See the FOMA website for presentations made at the 2003 Maori Innovation Conference, in particular the presentation from successful Maori entrepreneurs, Rhonda Kite, Taura Eruera, Pita Witihira

Another category of strengths within Maoridom relates to Maori culture and society itself, especially its extraordinary renaissance over the last thirty years. The development of a separate Maori education system, the burgeoning interest in Maori language and culture and a revision of Maori history from a Maori perspective are the most notable example of this resurgence in identity, pride and culture. These strengths are complemented by government policies and programmes that support Maori education and development and foster alliances between Maori, government, educators and business.

Included among these are the capacity-building and regional development programmes. Stable government, the separation of judiciary and political power, and relatively corruption free government agencies, in general enhances Maori society and business. Proportional political representation has seen a rapid growth in Maori holding positions of political power.

In terms of wider New Zealand social and cultural norms, the manifestation of attitudes including the Kiwi "number-8 wire" ingenuity, "having a go," pulling together in a crisis and acceptance of innovation are seen as social strengths that enhance Maori entrepreneurship. The prevailing sense of pride in things Maori, the celebration of the haka and the Maori version of the national anthem at sporting events, and the growing use of Maori terms and place-names are important acknowledgements of Maori culture for Maori people.

These strengths are enhanced by tribal entrepreneurial successes stories such as Ngai Tahu Corporation, Kaikoura WhaleWatch, Taharoa C and the Iron Sands, Whakatu Incorporation, Mangatu Incorporation, Paraninihi Ki Waitotara Trust, Federation of Maori Authorities, Tohu Wines and Mai FM, one of the most popular radio stations in Auckland (of which Taura Eruera was a key driver). Other entrepreneurial successes not linked to tribal entities include Tamaki Tours (tourism), Wai Ata Productions (film and video production, owned by previously mentioned Rhonda Kite), Taylor Made (animation and graphics), Kaitaia Fire (chilli-based condiments), Mana Media and the Green Juice Company (kiwi fruit products). Taken as a group, these initiatives are an example of the potentiality of Maori, tribal and urban, to foster entrepreneurship and develop and grow robust businesses. Since 2003, a number of the abovementioned organisations have been profiled in two annual reports on Case Studies of Maori Organisations, compiled by FOMA and Funded by Te Puni Kokiri. These publications provide an in-depth insight into the

growth of a wide range of entities, as part of a bigger TPK programme focusing on enhancing the governance capacity of Maori organisations. Initiatives such as these publications provide an important bench-mark for tribal enterprise development.

Unique Problems Facing Maori Entrepreneurs

Maori entrepreneurs face a number of dilemmas, from the financial to the cultural. Many do not speak their language (*te reo Maori*) well, which opens up a rift with their elders and the burgeoning group of embourgoisened professionals with strong Maori-language skills, embodied by high-profile individuals such as Timoti Karetu, Shane Jones, Moana Maniapoto and Haami Piripi. This latter group represents the bold face of the Maori Renaissance, but can appear intimidating to the emerging entrepreneur trying to make their way in business. On the other hand, tribal elders may exercise power on the *marae* (in a traditional setting), but they may feel powerless in the world of advanced technology and rapid change. Equally, outside of these traditional contexts, members of the younger generation may have little respect for their kaumatua and kuia because they perceive them to be ill-equipped to lead in the modern world. There is an ongoing tension between traditional models of leadership, in which status is derived from age and descent, and the models of leadership that apply in the business world, that are presumably based on the concept of merit. Young Maori resent the wasted and lost opportunities that arise from a mismatch between leadership capability and the nature of the opportunity.

At the turn of the century, common sense ruled, but, according to these experts, a political climate prevails. Elders may tell their youngsters, "Don't you go and do it on your own: you move with the whanau (family)." This may make the reawakening of Maori entrepreneurial culture inaccessible to the next generation. Elders do not want their mana challenged, said the experts. Far too often, the elders are not commercially minded nor are they promoters of budding young entrepreneurs.

In conclusion, a number of respondents felt that Maori entrepreneurs fight battles on several fronts. They have all the usual problems in getting their business off the ground and they may also have to wrestle with the whanau, hapu or iwi to be culturally accepted. Finally, Maori entrepreneurs were found to have a hard time being accepted as successful in the Pakeha dominated business world. They often face problems of trust and loyalty, and tend to mistrust others for fear their good ideas might be stolen, especially if they are not skilled in protecting their intellectual property.

In terms of the cultural and social norms that hold Maori entrepreneurship back, according to one of the informants:

> "If you want to be captains of industry rather than cabin boys, don't bullshit yourself that because you are learning your language and your culture you've got Nirvana. Maori are trying to build the tribal nirvana that was crushed under the process of marginalisation processes in the late nineteenth century. But even our own total Maori language immersion programme does not empower the kids business-wise to the extent that it should. In this way all we do is help our children get access to the next stock of commodities but we don't help them add value through new entrepreneurial businesses".

In terms of the Maori attitude toward personal wealth creation, another stated:

> "Maori think it's a sin to be rich and that it's not a good thing to have money – but I know that deep down they all want it, but it's their mental attitude. It's almost a passive aggressive role".

There are a range of issues that impact on contemporary Maori business practices. For example, traditionally, Maori have made cultural products and given them away as gifts. The experts maintained that they may not well understand or adequately value what they have produced. Thus, they may feel uncomfortable putting a price on it, especially if it involves charging people who are close to them. Overall, the current resistance to wealth creation represented a substantial barrier for Maori. As a result, there are some attitudes towards failure, risk, and growth that continue to be impediments to enterprise development. Maori entrepreneurs were likely to feel trapped by the reverence for their past, to the detriment of their future. One stated:

> "Generally in my tribe I am considered an entrepreneur because I created a successful business. They say, 'You are the entrepreneur, we know how enterprising you are. The rest of us are the norm. You can, we can't'. The majority of our generation don't see themselves as entrepreneurs".

Business education was another major issue. Most Maori attended state schools that are not renowned for focusing on entrepreneurship education. The New Zealand education system was designed to train New Zealanders for work on the land or in factories. The introduction of Intermediate Schools discouraged people from leaving school at 12, by remaining in education to learn a trade. The education system for

Maori has been deeply criticised as paternalistic and racist[71]. Thus, it should be no surprise that an education system which teaches Maori to take risks, challenge the status quo, and nurture innovation has not eventuated. Mainstream education has only recently begun to introduce enterprise and entrepreneurship studies for all New Zealanders, no doubt as a consequence of the economic reforms of the 1980s and 1990s. One expert noted that:

> *"My family budgeted itself on whether we had the water cut off, or the power cut off and that is not a good way to budget. When I participated in organising the school balls, guys around me had degrees in commerce just because of the way their families conducted and managed themselves. They understood how a shop ran, how Dad's business ran. So I was way behind. I didn't have that exposure because of the way I had been brought up. Our families were labourers. They were just told it was the bosses' job to do the thinking".*

These findings have been revelatory, especially when combined with the results of the two other surveys. They have helped to paint a picture with both optimistic and dreary components. We know that Maori have an entrepreneurial past and that respect for innovation is embedded in our most ancient cultural memories. As a people, we could not have reached Aotearoa, nor survived its inhospitable climate and terrain without the capacity to take risks and find new and innovative ways of 'doing' and 'being'. The first phase of contact with the outside world, after centuries of isolation, was favourable and successful in terms of enterprise development. Tribes enjoyed wealth and prosperity on their own terms from at least the later 1970s up until the 1850s. That wealth was extinguished by the systematic expropriation of Maori land from the 1850s, without that economic base the tribes floundered and languished, the people suffered unimaginable poverty and deprivation. But the spark on entrepreneurial flare still survived, and thrives in isolated pockets. Certain characteristics of Maori entrepreneurship are recognizable, and can be nurtured with appropriate programmes[72], but there are enormous hurdles to be overcome, both within Maori society and culture, and in the environment created by government and business. The next section of this report will look at some of the recent literature that may better inform the further development of Maori entrepreneurship.

INDIVIDUAL VERSUS COLLECTIVE ENTREPRENEURSHIP

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[71] See Smith (1997), Pihama (1993)
[72] The research of Sullivan & Margaritas (2000) and Zapalska et al (2003) contributes to this discussion.

There is a body of literature (Chung & Gibbons, 1997; Connell, 1999; Morris & Davis, 1994; Mourdoukoutas, 1999; Reich, 1987; Roberts, 1993; Tetzschner, 1997) that may help unravel the distinction between individual and collective entrepreneurship, that latter of which best describes Maori enterprise and entrepreneurialism. This literature explores the importance of collective entrepreneurship and posits the notion that individual entrepreneurship is but one culturally determined variant. Morris states:

> *"The role of individuals versus groups or collectives in facilitating entrepreneurship in organisations may . . . be culture-bound."*

What has been identified in New Zealand is that the particular variant of Pakeha entrepreneurship may be culturally different from some types of Maori entrepreneurship, if we view entrepreneurship along an individualism-collectivism spectrum. Thus we may ask: What is collective entrepreneurship? According to Mourdoukoutas, entrepreneurial collectives are communities that share a common fate: the risks and rewards associated with the discovery and exploitation of new businesses (Mourdoukoutas, 1999). It might not come as a surprise that in his later work, Schumpeter (1949) explicitly recognises the rise of collective entrepreneurship, when he states that:

> *"[The] entrepreneurial function need not to be embodied in [. . .] a single physical person. Every social environment has its own ways of filling the entrepreneurial function [. . . it] may be and often is filled co-operatively".*

One oft-cited advocate of collective entrepreneurship, the former U.S. Secretary of Labour, Robert Reich, says,

> *"we must begin to celebrate collective entrepreneurship, endeavours in which the whole of the effort is greater than the sum of individual contributions"* (Reich, 1987).

And Morris makes these distinctions, when he states:

> *"In an individualistic environment, people are motivated by self-interest and achievement of personal goals. They are hesitant to contribute to collective action unless their own efforts are recognized, preferring instead to benefit from the efforts of others. Collectivists believe that they are an indispensable part of the group, and will readily contribute without concern for advantage being taken of them, or for whether others are doing their part. They feel personally responsible for the group product and are oriented towards sharing group rewards".*

In addition to its use in corporate entrepreneurship, the concept of collective entrepreneurship also has meaning for community entrepreneurship because it combines business risk and capital investment with the social values of collective action. "It is an event that exists when collective action aims for the economic and social betterment of a locality by means of some transformation of social norms, values, and networks for the production of goods or services by an enterprise" (Connell, 1999).

CHARACTERISTICS OF MAORI ENTREPRENEURSHIP

One question that emerges from this research relates to whether there are really two types of Maori entrepreneurship. There are the "rugged pioneer" entrepreneurs, such as the Tamaki Brothers in the tourism industry, who mirror successful Pakeha entrepreneurs, but are unashamedly Maori and family-oriented. Then there are the "collective entrepreneurs" who are using innovative and entrepreneurial business practices not for the benefit of individuals per se, but rather for the benefit of the larger community. Thus, another question arises out of the original: what is a Maori? There comes another equally trenchant query: what is a Maori business? These is, emerging from this research, the recognition that we must begin to answer these questions before we can further Maori cultural, social and economic objectives. There is also the growing sense that the answers to these questions may require a modicum of historical specificity, for the Maori and the Maori business have obviously looked, felt and operated quite differently in the past. Thus, research and recommendations may need to take these facts into consideration before embarking on prescribed pathways.

Having made that statement, this research can still expand our understanding of Maori innovation and enterprise in contemporary New Zealand society. As the NZIER report says, the Maori economy expresses a particular worldview: "The Maori economic ideal is achievement of wealth for the good of the community through co-operative enterprise." The challenge is to "translate behaviour consistent with the uniquely Maori worldview into actions which also produce successful outcomes in the modern economy".[73]

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[73] See also the James (2003) article

Any study of Maori enterprise and entrepreneurship must necessarily begin by examining the cultural imperatives of Maori economic and business development. Only uniquely Maori political, economic and social systems can explain cultural, social and political factors that both inhibit and enhance Maori economic prosperity. Maori entrepreneurship is particularly strong in the land-based industries, but is becoming increasingly important in tourism, forestry, fisheries and related businesses in the service sector. Attention must be given to shifting Maori economic development from its focus on commodity industries to value-adding and exploring the potential of future sectors such as information technology and biotechnology. The latter sector has been fraught with dissension among Maori because of strongly held suspicions about genetic modification and the growing frustration at biotechnology firms that have benefited from indigenous intellectual property and traditional resource rights and knowledge, without consultation or consideration of the indigenous guardians of the knowledge and resources.

The further study of Maori entrepreneurship must examine both commercial and non-commercial bodies set up to administer Maori resources and iwi, entities set up by the Crown as well as bodies formed by Maori in an attempt to keep control of their own resources. This would include case studies of commercial initiatives iwi have taken with the funds obtained through the Treaty claims settlement process. Some of the essential research questions that this paper has revealed are summed up well by one of our Experts, Dr Manuka Henare, Director of the Mira Szazy Maori Research Centre, when he states:

> *"What was the extent of the entrepreneurial commercial ethos within Maoritanga before colonisation, how did this ethos resonate in the entrepreneurship expressed in late nineteenth century Maori business enterprise and its later collapse? Can a residual spark of entrepreneurship be identified in contemporary Maori culture and society? How far, and to what extent, can Maori SMEs be innovative and create wealth? Are cultural and other factors aids or impediments to innovation and wealth creation? Finally, can culture be mobilised to ensure the success of SME start-up and sustainability, and conversely, does business enterprise ethos and practice impact on Maori culture and society?"*

In the end, Maori entrepreneurial success is central to honouring the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi. This success will enable Maori to improve their well being, and provides a more solid foundation for national well being. National well being and the

well being of Maori are inseparable. Maori entrepreneurship is a major contributor to the New Zealand economy. Maori economic and social resurgence in the past century has created a demand for entrepreneurs who have a sound understanding of the dynamics of Maori society and culture.

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