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THE ROLE OF PUBLICLY FUNDED ENTERPRISE ASSISTANCE IN MĀORI ENTREPRENEURSHIP IN AOTEAROA NEW ZEALAND

A thesis presented in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of
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ABSTRACT

Māori entrepreneurship in relation to enterprise assistance is rarely subject to academic enquiry, inhibiting theoretical development. This thesis examines the role of publicly funded enterprise assistance in Māori entrepreneurship in Aotearoa New Zealand. Publicly funded enterprise assistance includes formalised business support—financial and nonfinancial—offered by government. Kaupapa Māori research is the overriding research epistemology, with Western pragmatism integrated within this. The thesis is critical, inductive and exploratory, using interviews for data collection.

The thesis finds that Māori entrepreneurship is an expression of Māori self-determination, Māori potentiality, and substantive freedom. Māori entrepreneurship contributes to Māori development in terms of social, cultural, economic, environmental and spiritual outcomes. Māori entrepreneurs proudly identify with being Māori and doing business in a Māori way, predicated upon principles of duality, collectivism, permanence and intergenerationality. Māori enterprises are mainly defined by Māori ownership, values, assets and institutions, and represent the organisational context of Māori entrepreneurship.

The thesis suggests that publicly funded enterprise assistance serves three roles in Māori entrepreneurship: (i) satisfying firm-level business needs; (ii) building Māori entrepreneurial capabilities; and, (iii) enabling Māori enterprises to develop. A conceptual model of Māori enterprise assistance is developed that illustrates the relationship between Māori entrepreneurship and enterprise assistance. The thesis suggests principles for enterprise assistance design based on an ideal delivery model. Strong support for the role of government in public enterprise assistance for Māori entrepreneurship is evident. Tribes also have a role in this, but are not to be viewed as a substitute for the government's role.

DEDICATION

In memory of Mrs Anne Scrivens (nee Ani Mika) (1934-2010)

Ko Waikirikiri te marae, ko Hamua te hapū, ko Tūhoe te iwi.

Ko tōku kuia nāna ahau i whāngai.

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First, I thank the Lord for making all things possible. Second, I thank my wife Valencia for your love, support and patience, and for taking wonderful care of our beautiful children. Without your support Mrs Mika doctoral study would have remained no more than a yearning. My love for you knows no bounds. I thank my parents, Hiria and Paul, for having me and supporting me through this endeavour. I thank all of our family members for their love and support for me and my family. Your kindness and generosity in times of need kept our spirits high and my feet firmly planted.

A special thanks to my supervisors Associate Professor Paul Toulson, Professor Annemarie Gillies and Doctor Joanne Bensemman for being gifted and patient teachers. Your wisdom, advice and good humour got me through. I also thank my colleagues in the School of Management for your support, in particular Head of School, Professor Sarah Leberman for the many opportunities afforded me in this special place and all of the academic and administrative staff of Massey Business School. Additionally, I thank *ngā kaitiaki o Te Pūtanga ki te Ao Mātauranga*, our librarians, in particular Katherine Chisholm and Sheeanda Field for taking care of that most precious of resources, *ngā pukapuka o te ao*.

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Finally, thanks to our church family of Kelesi, the Tongan Methodist Parish of Palmerston North for your love and spiritual sustenance. Malo ‘aupito. Kia ora rawa atu. Ma te Atua tātau e manaaki i ngā wā katoa.

RARANGATIA TE WHITAU HARAKEKE

This is a personal statement about coming to do a PhD at Massey University's School of Management. The title is taken from a *kauhau* (sermon) delivered by Tūhoe elder Mrs Mona Riini at a *hui* (meeting) at Te Maungarongo Marae in Ohope in 1981 (Cairns, 2013). *Rarangatia* means to weave and *whitau harakeke* means flax fibre, a prized commodity of Māori and settlers to Aotearoa New Zealand because of its strength and beauty as a material. Rarangatia te whitau harakeke encapsulates the privilege and value of the PhD experience and symbolises the story woven into this thesis.

A PhD has been a personal ambition since 1991. Some twenty years later one was finally commenced in earnest. A computing diploma at Waiāriki Polytechnic in 1989 whet my appetite for tertiary study. This was followed by a business diploma at the same institution in 1992. The late Arapeta Tahana then chief executive of Waiāriki Polytechnic and head of the Business School Terry Firth encouraged me to pursue further study. A business degree at Waikato University followed in 1994.

A Te Tari Taake scholarship led to a job in Wellington at the Inland Revenue and the writing of my first publication, the "Smart Business" tax guide in 1996 (see IR 320). Eagerness to work in Māori development led to the job of policy analyst at Te Puni Kōkiri (TPK). While there, a Master of Public Policy was completed at Victoria University, under Professors Claudia Scott and Jonathan Boston, and Associate Professor Bill Ryan, supervisor of my research report on capacity building.

A secondment to a new entity called M-Commerce (short for Māori Commerce) gave me some insight into the nexus between government and business. M-Commerce was championed by June McCabe, then a Westpac banking executive and chair of the Māori Economic Development Commission. M-Commerce's mandate was to provide Māori enterprises with business facilitation services using private sector mentors. A board was

appointed and Paul Quinn hired as establishment manager. M-Commerce was short-lived as a change in government from National to Labour in 1999 led to the winding down of the Māori development commissions. M-Commerce was refashioned as the Māori Business Facilitation Service (MBFS) inside TPK. M-Commerce staff (Paul Quinn, Evan Nathan and me) were retained to set up MBFS.

Still with TPK, implementing the Māori capacity building policy occupied my time for another 12-months, before a new challenge beckoned—management consulting. The problem with public policy is that the value of one's work is often unseen, mixed in with that of others in the process, or is so far removed as to resemble a mirage. The appeal of consultancy is that the impact of one's work is typically more immediate, visible and tangible. These perceptions coupled with a belief in my capacity to offer useful advice meant self-employment as a consultant became a nine-year outlet for my entrepreneurial ambitions.

As a consultant I became an accredited business mentor for the MBFS. This capped off a circulatory affinity with the MBFS that included: being party to its birth, demise, and rebirth; being a client of it as a nascent entrepreneur; then as an MBFS mentor. The missing element—studying it—is to be rectified momentarily. The positives about consultancy are the people, the learnings, and the money. The downsides are the hours one keeps, the constancy of chasing new work, and administration. What was once an exciting pursuit becomes a grind. Self-employment is no more, but was a wonderful experience and led me to my present endeavour. The PhD experience has been rewarding, affirming my desire to be an academic. The prospect of researching, writing and teaching subjects about which one is passionate is inviting. I intend to make the most of it.

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ABBREVIATIONS

ACEA	Adult and Community Education Aotearoa
AIMC	Aotearoa Independent Media Centre
BERL	Business and Economic Research Limited
BYOB	Be Your Own Boss
CRM	Client Relationship Management
EDA	Economic Development Agency
EDANZ	Economic Development Agencies New Zealand
FOMA	Federation of Māori Authorities
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GEM	Global Entrepreneurship Monitor
GIAB	Growth and Innovation Advisory Board
HDI	Human Development Index
IRD	Inland Revenue Department
IT	Information Technology
LDC	Least developed countries
MBA	Master of Business Administration
MBIE	Ministry of Business, Innovation and Employment
MDC	Māori Development Corporation
MED	Ministry of Economic Development
MEDC	Māori Economic Development Commission
MEDP	Māori Economic Development Panel
MLIG	Māori Land Investment Group
MMP	Mixed Member Proportional Representation
MP	Member of Parliament
MSD	Ministry of Social Development
MWDI	Māori Women's Development Incorporated
NZ	New Zealand
NZIER	New Zealand Institute of Economic Research
NZPA	New Zealand Press Association
NZTE	New Zealand Trade and Enterprise
NZVIF	New Zealand Venture Investment Fund
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
OTS	Office of Treaty Settlements
PNBST	Port Nicholson Block Settlement Trust
PSGE	Post settlement governance entity
PTE	Private training establishments
PwC	PricewaterhouseCoopers
RBNZ	Reserve Bank of New Zealand
SBA	Small Business Administration
SBAG	Small Business Advisory Group
SME	Small and medium enterprise
SRG	Sapere Research Group
TPK	Te Puni Kōkiri
UK	United Kingdom
USA	United States of America
WINZ	Work and Income New Zealand

GLOSSARY OF MĀORI WORDS

Āhuatanga	Traditions
Aotearoa	New Zealand
Aroha	Love, compassion
Aronga	World view
Āta	To do something with care
Atu	Over there, adds emphasis
Atua	God, gods
Awhi	Assistance
Haere	Go, travel, walk
Hapū	Subtribe
Harakeke	Flax
Hongi	Press noses while shaking hands as a form of greeting
Iwi	Tribe
Kai	Food; prefix added to nouns to make them verbs (see Kaitakawaenga)
Kaitakawaenga	Mediator, arbitrator
Kaitiaki	Guardian, trustee
Kaitiakitanga	Guardianship, stewardship, trusteeship
Kanohi	Eyes, face
Kanohi-ki-te-kanohi	Face-to-face (meeting)
Karakia	Incantation, prayer
Kau	A particle emphasising the effect of something (e.g., <i>rapū kau</i> – search)
Kaupapa	Philosophy, principles, subject matter
Kia	When, to, that, let be, so that
Koha	Gift
Kuia	Elderly female
Kumara	Sweet potato
Ma	For, by, through
Māhaki	Humble
Mana	Prestige, power, authority, status
Manaaki(tanga)	Hospitality, generosity, care for something
Māori	Indigenous person of Aotearoa New Zealand, normal, common
Marae	Courtyard in front of a traditional meeting house
Mātau	We, them and me, to be knowledgeable
Mauri	Life principle, essence, source of emotions
Mokopuna	Grandchild, grandchildren
Muru	Plunder, remove, erase
Ngā	The (two or more things). See <i>te</i> .
Ora	Alive, life, wellness
Pae tawhiti	Distant horizon
Pākehā	New Zealander of European descent
Pakihi	Business
Papa	Ground
Papatūānuku	Earth mother
Ranginui	Sky father
Raranga(tia)	Weave, woven
Rawa	Too, indeed, really, adds emphasis
Taake	Tax
Tāne	Male, man
Tāne Mahuta	Tāne, god of the forests, also known as Tāne-nui-ā-Rangi
Tāne-nui-ā-Rangi	Tāne, god of the heavens, also known as Tāne Mahuta

Tangata	Person, people
Tangata whenua	People of the land, indigenous people, local people
Tapū	Sacred
Tari	Department, office
Tatauranga	Statistics
Te	The (one thing) – see <i>ngā</i> .
Te ao Māori	The Māori world, Māori society
Te ao Pākehā	The Pākehā world, Pākehā society, mainstream society
Te ao pakihi	The business world
Te ao whānui	Global society, wider society
Te Pūtanga ki te Ao Mātauranga	Massey University Library, Turitea Campus, Manawatū
Tērā	That over there
Tinana	Body, real
Tino rangatiratanga	Chiefly authority; Māori self-determination; Māori autonomy
Tipu	Grow, seedling
Tūrangawaewae	Place to stand; homelands
Umanga	Business
Utu	Reciprocity, recompense, revenge
Wā	Time, place, era, space
Waenganui	Amongst, in the middle of
Waka	Canoe, vehicle, vessel
Whakapapa	Genealogy, lineage
Whakarongo	Listen
Whānau	Family, extended family, nonkinship collectives that resemble a family
Whānaungatanga	Family relationships
Whitau	Flax fibre

A NOTE ON WRITING CONVENTIONS

The thesis is written according to Massey University Library guidelines for the presentation of doctoral theses (Massey University, 2014) and the American Psychological Association (6th edition) writing and referencing conventions (American Psychological Association, 2010). UK style English is the dominant usage. American spelling is retained where this relates to citations and proper nouns. The thesis uses Times New Roman font, 11 point font size, and is doubled spaced. Tables, figures and appendices are single spaced and ordered by chapter. The meanings of Māori words are mainly drawn from Te Aka Māori, but other dictionaries are used (Moorfield, 2011; Ngata, 1993; Williams, 2004). Māori words are italicised when they first appear and followed by an English equivalent in brackets. The English equivalent may change depending on the context. Macrons over the Māori vowels denote extended vowel sounds. Māori language text is translated by the researcher.

Chapter 1 Introduction

RESEARCH PURPOSE

This chapter introduces the thesis, setting out its context, content and structure. This thesis examines the role of publicly funded enterprise assistance (information, advice, facilitation, training and grants, and finance) in Māori entrepreneurship in Aotearoa New Zealand. The thesis explores Māori entrepreneurs' perceptions of enterprise assistance, both Māori-specific and non-specific mainstream enterprise assistance. In doing so, the thesis traverses several bodies of knowledge including development theory, entrepreneurship, and public policy. Three questions emerge from this literature to guide the research: (i) what is the theory of Māori entrepreneurship as it relates to enterprise assistance? (ii) what is the role of publicly funded enterprise assistance in Māori entrepreneurship? and (iii) what is the ideal model of enterprise assistance for Māori entrepreneurs?

The thesis is expected to contribute to knowledge and methods of Māori entrepreneurship research. Māori entrepreneurship is an emerging field of indigenous entrepreneurship research. Indigenous and non-indigenous scholars are contributing to the field (see for example, Dana & Anderson, 2007; Foley, 2003; Gillies, Tinirau, & Mako, 2007; M. Love & Love, 2005; P. J. Mataira, 2000; Spiller, 2010; Tinirau, 2004; Waa & Love, 1997), but more scholarly contributions are needed. Interest in indigenous entrepreneurship, and Māori entrepreneurship in particular, stems from the ample room for novel lines of enquiry and the possibility that such research might yield more general implications for the parent fields of entrepreneurship and management.

RATIONALE FOR THE THESIS

This thesis is important for five main reasons. First, Western entrepreneurship theory has a two-hundred and fifty year head start on the theoretical development of Māori entrepreneurship (Casson, Yeung, Basu, & Wadeson, 2006). Lost ground is not going to be made up here. Instead, the thesis seeks to make a humble contribution to those who have already enquired into Māori entrepreneurship. Second, rarely is entrepreneurship studied from an indigenous perspective. Instead, entrepreneurship is typically studied using Western research paradigms, which favour quantitative methods (Davidsson, 2004). This thesis uses an indigenous research paradigm known as kaupapa Māori research. Thus, an expectation is that the thesis contributes to knowledge of entrepreneurship research methods. Third, little academic research has examined the connection between Māori entrepreneurship and enterprise assistance. Government commissioned evaluations partially fill the void, but these studies necessarily emphasise public accountability and performance considerations over theoretical and empirical insights. Economic theory of market failure dominates thinking about why enterprise assistance exists. Indigenous theories of enterprise assistance are not apparent in the literature. Fourth, Māori entrepreneurship is fashioned from its context, which at its heart is the intersection of Māori development, Māori and State relations and Māori participation in the economy of Aotearoa New Zealand. These contextual considerations are heeded without being bound by them. Fifth, the Māori economy has historically underperformed relative to the national economy (Butterworth, 1967; NZIER, 2003). Given the argument that the prosperity of the national economy hinges in part on a better performing Māori economy (McLeod, 2009), understanding how enterprise assistance helps Māori entrepreneurs contribute to this seems worthwhile exploring.

ENTREPRENEURSHIP AND ENTERPRISE ASSISTANCE TERMS

This section defines key terms in entrepreneurship and enterprise assistance used throughout the thesis. This includes: (i) entrepreneur; (ii) entrepreneurship; (iii) enterprise; and (iv) enterprise assistance.

Who is an entrepreneur?

Attempts to define an entrepreneur have been ongoing since the term was first documented by Cantillon in 1769 (Casson et al., 2006; Massey, 2007; O'Sullivan & Dana, 2008). Cantillon regarded an entrepreneur as someone specialising in risk taking, with risk having manageable and unmanageable properties (Knight, 1921, cited in Casson et al., 2006). Schumpeter later focuses on large-scale industrial enterprises and describes five types of 'new combination' effected by such entrepreneurs: (i) new products; (ii) new processes of production; (iii) new export markets; (iv) new raw material supplies; and (v) the creation of new forms of institution (M. C. Becker, Knudsen, & Swedberg, 2011; Casson et al., 2006). Smaller-scale forms of entrepreneurship are explained by the Austrian perspective, which regards the entrepreneur as a 'middleman,' using price differentials as an invitation to trade in pursuit of profit-opportunities (Hayek, 1937; Kirzner, 1973; Wennekers & Thurik, 1999).

Sirolli (2011), a pioneer of community-based economic development laments the preponderance of these economic-oriented definitions. Sirolli (2011) suggests that an entrepreneur originally simply meant someone with initiative, someone with the courage to do things differently, whether in business or in civic institutions. Consistent with Sirolli's view, an entrepreneur has become a distinctly pliable term, able to accommodate many different forms, including for example social entrepreneurs (Wood & Wood, 2012), ethnic and migrant entrepreneurs (Dana, 2007), indigenous entrepreneurs (Hindle & Moroz, 2009), and

Māori entrepreneurs (Frederick & Kuratko, 2010; T. R. Love, 2004b; P. Tapsell & Woods, 2008; Tinirau & Gillies, 2010).

For the purposes of this thesis, an entrepreneur is simply defined as a person who engages in entrepreneurial activity. Entrepreneurs in this sense recognise and pursue economic opportunities by establishing and operating commercial enterprises using their own and others' resources.

What is entrepreneurship?

As with an entrepreneur, consensus in the literature on what is entrepreneurship is not apparent (see for example, Davidsson, 2004; Gedeon, 2010). Pretorius, Millard, and Kruger (2006), cited in Hunter and Kazakoff (2012), suggest that entrepreneurship comprises three main activities: exploiting opportunities, and creating and growing ventures. Creativity, innovation and action are implicit activities within this process (Hunter & Kazakoff, 2012). Davidsson (2008) and Devlin (2006) maintain that entrepreneurship involves new economic activity with a substantial emphasis on 'newness,' from which Davidsson in particular excludes noneconomic forms (Brooks, 2009; Davidsson, 2004; Licht & Siegel, 2006). Like Davidsson, the Global Entrepreneurship Monitor (GEM) sees entrepreneurship as concerned with new economic activity (Minniti, 2011; Reihana, Modlik, & Sisley, 2006). Devlin (2006) is critical, however, of the GEM because it counts *intention* to start an enterprise as entrepreneurship despite no economic value of consequence being created.

The entrepreneurial process of identifying and initiating opportunities for new product, process and market combinations and value creation emanates from a tradition of Western conceptualisations of entrepreneurship (see for example, M. C. Becker et al., 2011; Casson et al., 2006; Davidsson, 2004; Hayek, 1937; Wennekers & Thurik, 1999). Wennekers and Thurik (1999) identify three broad schools of 'Western' thought on entrepreneurship. First is the German school of Schumpeter, von Thunen and Baumol, which emphasises the role of

entrepreneur as an instigator of “instability and creative destruction” indicated by ‘churn’ (the birth and death of enterprises in an economy) (Wennekers & Thurik, 1999, p. 31). Consistent with the Schumpeterian view, the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) defines entrepreneurship as the pursuance of economic value from new products, processes and markets (Ahmad & Hoffman, 2007). The second is the neoclassical school of Knight, Marshall and Schultz, which emphasises the role of entrepreneurs as “leading markets to equilibrium” through their activities (Wennekers & Thurik, 1999, p. 31). The third is the Austrian school of von Mises, Menger, and Kirzner, in which the entrepreneur’s role is to perceive and act on profit-making opportunities, typically after some outside economic shock (Wennekers & Thurik, 1999).

For the purposes of this thesis, entrepreneurship is defined as the process of starting and managing enterprises which generate economic value through new products, processes and markets within the context of social, cultural, economic and political environments.

What is an enterprise?

There are two broad ways in which enterprises are generally defined: as identifiable legal units and as economic units. In the first instance, Statistics New Zealand (MacPherson, 2013, p. 10) defines an enterprise as “an institutional unit” that generally constitutes a legal entity, whether private or public, commercial or noncommercial, and individually or collectively owned. Provisional figures indicate that there were 472,600 enterprises in New Zealand in 2013 (MacPherson, 2013). Counting enterprises in this way, however, has limitations, including: (i) non-coverage of ‘small’ enterprises that fall outside the economic significance criteria; and (ii) the gap between the ‘economic significance’ condition of \$30,000 of sales subject to GST and the compulsory GST registration threshold of \$60,000 (MacPherson, 2013).

In the second instance, Coase (1937) distinguishes between markets and firms as alternative methods of organising the allocation of resources in market economies; markets

use the price mechanism; firms rely on entrepreneurs. Thus, firms obviate the open market and associated transaction costs in the purchasing and organising factors of production, principally labour. To Coase (1937, p. 393), therefore, a firm is a system of relationships that comes into existence when the organisation of resources is dependent on an entrepreneur;” in other words, an institution.

Taking both the legal and economic views into account, for the purposes of this thesis, an enterprise is defined here as an organisation within which entrepreneurs coordinate resources in the production of goods and services for exchange in markets.

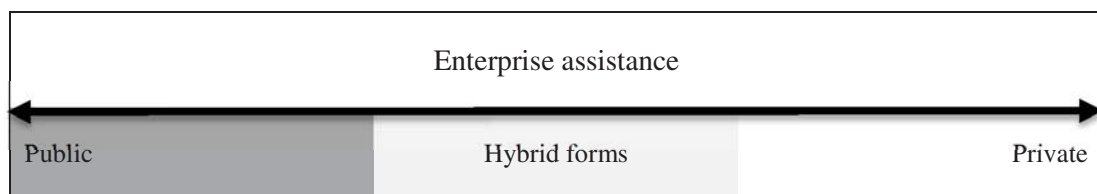
What is enterprise assistance?

For the purposes of this thesis, enterprise assistance is defined as the array of formalised business support, both financial and nonfinancial, available over the lifetime of an enterprise (Jurado & Massey, 2011; Storey, 1994; Te Puni Kōkiri, 1995). The theory of enterprise assistance assumes that such support allows firms to perform to their potential and thus contribute to the collective welfare of the citizenry. These contributions include the production of goods and services, generation of employment, productive use of resources, payment of taxes and returns to owners. Enterprise assistance can be either public or private or some combination of both (see Figure 1.1).

Public enterprise assistance, for the purposes of this thesis, is defined as forms of business support that are funded from taxation, produced and supplied by public sector agents, and is either fully or partially subsidised. An example of purely public enterprise assistance are Māori community officers who offer Māori organisations advice on tax compliance as employees of the Inland Revenue Department (IRD) (Mika, 1995). Private enterprise assistance is business support provided by the market place according to extant demand, the cost of which is indicated by price and met by consumers (Massey, 2006; P. Parker, 2005). Purely private forms of enterprise assistance include accountants and management

consultants. Hybrid forms of enterprise assistance are those that are either more public than private, or more private than public, thus producing a continuum of enterprise assistance. An example of hybrid enterprise assistance is the Māori Business Facilitation Service (Aiono, 2012; Jenkins, Kilvington, & Leniston, 2006). In this government funded service, ministry employees operate as account managers, while private sector business advisors are contracted as mentors. The primary focus of this thesis is on publicly funded enterprise assistance, centre-left of the continuum in Figure 1.1.

Figure 1.1 Enterprise assistance continuum



Beyond this public-private continuum, the typology of enterprise assistance extends to form and function. Enterprise assistance is about improving the functionality of entrepreneurs, that is, their capacity to be entrepreneurial and to pursue entrepreneurial aims. The forms of enterprise assistance have previously been classified by Storey (1994) as direct and indirect. By direct, Storey (1994) means assistance involving the contribution of outside financial resources to supplement those of the entrepreneur and their enterprise. Debt, equity and grants are examples of direct enterprise assistance, which are also described as ‘hard’ forms of assistance. The basis of direct assistance is to “overcome market imperfections” (Storey, 1994, p. 286). This means markets sometimes fail to supply enterprises, particularly small and new enterprises, with adequate finance because of information asymmetries (differences in information between providers and recipients of capital) and other limitations. In Aotearoa New Zealand, some examples of direct publicly funded enterprise assistance are listed in Table 1.1.

Table 1.1 Direct forms of public enterprise assistance in Aotearoa New Zealand

Provider	Assistance	Subsidisation
New Zealand Trade and Enterprise	Capability vouchers	Partial (50% up to \$5,000)
Ministry of Social Development	Enterprise Allowance grant	Fully subsidised (up to \$10,000)
Māori Women's Development Incorporated	Business loans	Loans from \$30,000-\$50,000
New Zealand Venture Investments Fund	Venture capital and seed finance	Partial financing
New Zealand Export Credit Office	Trade credit	100% credit guarantee

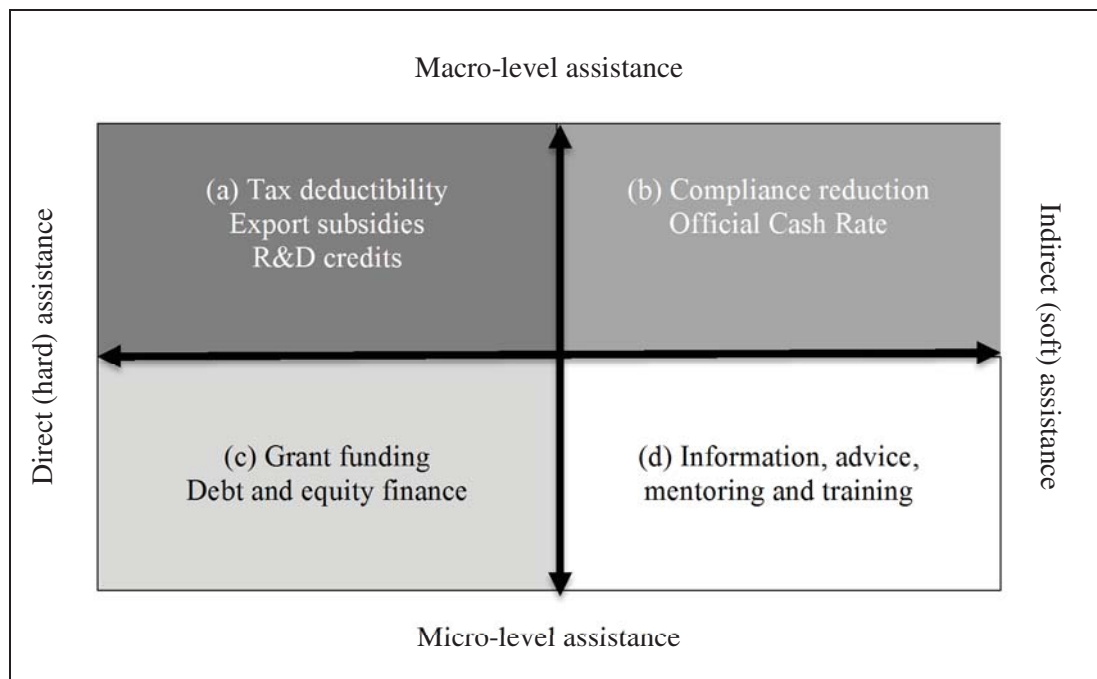
By indirect assistance, Storey (1994) means nonfinancial forms of assistance intended to improve the internal efficiency of an enterprise. Information, advice, training and mentoring are examples of indirect enterprise assistance, also described as 'soft' assistance. Indirect enterprise assistance exists to overcome "information imperfections" (Storey, 1994, p. 286). Such imperfections include an entrepreneur's unawareness of information, advice and training, and providers' misunderstandings about entrepreneurial needs. Some local examples of indirect enterprise assistance are listed in Table 1.2.

Table 1.2 Indirect forms of public enterprise assistance in Aotearoa New Zealand

Provider	Assistance	Subsidisation
Ministry of Business, Innovation and Employment	Business.govt.nz website	Fully subsidised
Business Mentors New Zealand	Business mentoring	Mix of subsidy and voluntary
Māori Business Facilitation Service	Business mentoring	Fully subsidised
Be Your Own Boss programme providers	Business training	Fully subsidised
Inland Revenue	<i>Kaitakawaenga Māori</i> (Māori tax advisory officers)	Fully subsidised

A typology of public enterprise assistance is presented in Figure 1.2. In this figure, forms of public enterprise assistance are organised according to intersecting axes. Macroeconomic and microeconomic interventions are indicated along the vertical axis and direct or indirect assistance are indicated along the horizontal axis. Four basic combinations of enterprise assistance are evident in Figure 1.2: (a) macro-direct; (b) macro-indirect; (c) micro-direct; and, (d) micro-indirect, with examples of each in the relevant quadrant. This thesis concentrates on micro (firm-level) enterprise assistance—both direct and indirect (see quadrants (c) and (d) in Figure 1.2).

Figure 1.2 A typology of public enterprise assistance



Micro-direct public enterprise assistance (quadrant (c)) includes debt, equity and grants. A business loan is a form of debt repayable over an agreed period for which interest is charged as the return for risk born by the lender. Loans are secured by collateral, usually fixed assets, and personal guarantees (Bygrave & Zacharakis, 2014). Commercial banks are the main source of private sector debt finance (Bygrave & Zacharakis, 2014). While small business loans are a significant part of public enterprise assistance in the United States (SBA,

2013), the public provision of debt finance in Aotearoa New Zealand was phased out in the mid-1980s (see Chapter 3) (Jurado & Massey, 2011). One of the few remaining publicly funded debt finance providers is the Māori Women's Development Incorporated (MWDI) (Benedict, 2010; Mika, 2010a; E. Walker, 1995). MWDI shares elements in common with microfinancing, that is, enterprise financing for impoverished groups (Bygrave & Zacharakis, 2014).

Most entrepreneurs obtain equity from the founder, family, friends and the foolhardy (the 'four Fs') constituting their respective ownership interests in an enterprise (Bygrave & Zacharakis, 2014; Massey, 2005). Beyond these informal sources are venture capital and public share offerings. Venture capital is intended to "accelerate the commercialization of new products and services" with only a small fraction of enterprises obtaining such finance (Bygrave & Zacharakis, 2014, p. 348). Public share offerings are used by established enterprises with strong growth prospects to obtain equity from the public. Massachusetts is the birth place of venture capital, with the United States supplying 74 percent of venture capital invested in 'G7 nations' (i.e., Canada, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, the United Kingdom, and the United States) (Bygrave & Zacharakis, 2014).

The New Zealand Venture Investments Fund Limited (NZVIF) was established by government on 1 July 2002 to help establish a venture capital market in Aotearoa New Zealand (NZVIF, 2011). The NZVIF has around \$200 million in funds invested in two programmes: \$160 million in venture capital; and \$40 million in a seed co-investment fund (NZVIF, 2011). The government in Aotearoa New Zealand has a regulatory oversight role over initial public offerings (IPOs) through the Financial Markets Authority. These instruments (venture capital and public offerings) are outside the scope of this thesis because they are primarily private forms of assistance, which are rarely obtained by small and medium enterprises.

Micro-indirect public enterprise assistance (quadrant (d)) includes information, advisory services, facilitation, and training. Information underpins human communication,

understanding, knowledge, behaviour, and social and economic activity (Beavers, 2011; Capurro & Hjørland, 2003; Hayek, 1937). Thus, information provision is an inherent part of advice, mentoring and training. The origin of external advisory services is generally attributed to the work of Frederick Winslow Taylor (1998). Public advisory services are government funded, but typically privately provided forms of advice (e.g., the capability voucher scheme of New Zealand Trade and Enterprise). Mentoring traces its origins from Greek mythology where the goddess Athena acted as a sage to a young boy (Garvey, Stokes, & Megginson, 2009; Healy & Welchert, 1990). Mentoring evolved in the time of the guilds and trades when apprentices benefitted from the wisdom of more experienced members (McKimm, Jollie, & Hatter, 2007). Business mentoring is thus about helping entrepreneurs develop knowledge, skills and confidence through one-to-one advice, encouragement and knowledge transfer.

Education is about learning skills, knowledge and habits to perform specific and general roles, through formal and informal instruction, training and research (Dewey, 1916). Training is about developing competencies (abilities) to perform a function well ('know how'), whereas education is about understanding why and how things work ('know why') (Essenhigh, 2000). Entrepreneurship requires both 'know how' and 'know why' knowledge and skills in varying degrees over time. Entrepreneurship education is ubiquitous in Western universities (Safranski, 2004), but the focus in this thesis is on entrepreneurship training as opposed to entrepreneurship education. This is because business education is delivered through the education system rather than enterprise assistance (Ministry of Education, 2010).

DEVELOPMENT THEORY TERMS

Two fundamental terms which are influential in this thesis are development and the state. Both are initially defined here.

What is development?

Debate about the meaning of development is ongoing (NZIER, 2003). For instance, Freyssinet (1966), cited in Shirley (1982), details over 300 different interpretations of development varying by country, region, time, space, stage, standards and values. Shirley (1982) argues that such contradictions have four main elements: (i) the role of genetics and the environment in conditioning human development; (ii) the role of primary (e.g., family) and secondary institutions (e.g., markets) in conditioning individual choice and behaviour; (iii) the role of government in devising policies that influence development; and (iv) the role of other influences (e.g., global trade) in the pursuit of personal and social wellbeing.

Development describes a normative process of change from a present state to a desired state, encompassing political, economic, social, cultural and environmental considerations (P. Knox, Agnew, & McCarthy, 2014). These latter considerations are both ends and means intended to achieve improvements in the quality of life. According to P. Knox et al. (2014), development can be viewed in two main ways—as underdevelopment or human potential—because of intra and intergroup comparisons of wellbeing.

Shirley (1982) describes the three main development modes of the 21st century that influence the economic systems within which entrepreneurship occurs. These development modes are also helpful in understanding where among them Aotearoa New Zealand is situated. They are: (i) liberal ideology emphasising freedom, individualism, democracy and liberty associated with Adam Smith (1991), John Stuart Mill (1956) and Milton Freidman (1982); (ii) socialist ideology emphasising social justice, equality, social wellbeing, and community associated with Karl Marx (1976) and Friedrich Engels (1882); and (iii) technological ideology emphasising economic growth and the state’s regulatory role, associated mainly with John Maynard Keynes (1965). Within these development modes, social and political context is often overlooked (Shirley, 1982).

Growing disparities between developed and least developed countries (LDC) and evidence of global environmental degradation have given impetus to new forms of development (P. Knox et al., 2014; Kožul-Wright et al., 2011). Sustainability is one such ideology (United Nations, 2002). Sustainable development is a process that seeks to integrate human development, economic growth and environmental protection in ways that meet the needs of current generations without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their needs (Barrow, 2006; Welford & Gouldson, 1993). Sustainable development is somewhat constrained by the slow pace of practical application and the persistence of anthropocentrism, which places human needs (e.g., profit) ahead of environmental considerations. In addition, indigenous perspectives are given limited consideration in sustainable development policy and practice (Barrow, 2006; Harmsworth & Awatere, 2013).

Thus, for the purposes of this thesis, development is defined here as the process and condition of human progress according to a preferred way of life in a given time and place.

What is the State?

State refers to a given system of government (Humpage, 2002). Because the State has been highly influential in Māori and Pākehā relations since early colonial contact, it is important to understand the particular form we have here (Alves, 1999; Durie, 1993; Hill, 2004). The governmental system in Aotearoa New Zealand is a constitutional monarchy, wherein the powers of the sovereign as head of state are exercised by the Governor-General on ministerial advice (Boston, Martin, Pallot, & Walsh, 1996). Constitutionally, therefore, governmental power is vested in the monarch. In reality, however, day-to-day governmental authority is exercised by the executive, drawn from elected members of parliament, whose laws are enforced by an independent judiciary (Boston et al., 1996). Given its status as a monarchy, the State is often referred to as ‘the Crown’ in Aotearoa New Zealand. For the purposes of this

thesis, the State and Crown are used interchangeably to mean central government in Aotearoa New Zealand.

MĀORI DEVELOPMENT TERMS

This section defines key terms associated with Māori development discourse. Those terms are: (i) Māori; (ii) Māori entrepreneur; (iii) Māori entrepreneurship; (iv) Māori enterprise; and (v) Māori economy.

Who is Māori?

Defining Māori identity for statistical, policy and research purposes is a matter of ethnic enumeration which varies between the socially constructed notion of cultural affiliation and the biological elements of ancestry and descent. Kukutai (2003) provides a compelling account of the way in which ethnicity, and Māori ethnicity in particular, has been defined over time. Pre-European Māori defined themselves by whakapapa (genealogical descent from a common ancestor) around which tribes were formed (Barlow, 1993). Tribes began to use the term Māori (normal, usual) from about 1810 to set themselves apart from settlers and as an expression of national unity (Kukutai, 2003). Official attempts to define Māori relied on race-based definitions from the 1850s to the 1970s, serving colonial state purposes of integrating Māori into the dominant majority Pākehā population. Racial markers of Māori identity (e.g., quantum of Māori blood) became an increasingly dubious means of counting Māori, however, “given inter-marriage, urbanisation and assimilation” (Kukutai, 2003, p. 23). It was the 1974 Māori Affairs Amendment Act definition of Māori as “any person of the Māori race of New Zealand, and includes any descendant of such a person” that led to the shift away from the blood quantum criteria (Bassett, 2010, p. 1; Kukutai, 2003, p. 24).

Statistics New Zealand's current practice is to collect both Māori ethnicity and ancestry data, including tribal affiliation (Kukutai, 2003). Statistics New Zealand (2010, p. 1) defines ethnicity as "a measure of [present-day] cultural affiliation [which is] self-perceived." Drawing on the work of A. D. Smith (1986), Statistics New Zealand (2010) defines ethnic group as one that has a common name, common religion, customs and language, shared ancestry and common geographic origins. This accords with what Kukutai (2003) describes as situational theories of ethnicity, which emphasise cultural differences and self-identity over blood ties. Race, on the other hand, is a "biological indicator and ascribed attribute," whereas ancestry refers to a person's historical "blood descent" (Statistics New Zealand, 2010, p. 2). While identifying as Māori implies an homogenous populace, Kukutai (2003) and others (e.g., Durie, 2003; R. Walker, 2004) find diverse realities and fluid ethnic preferences among Māori, which vary over their lifetimes. For Māori, establishing some modicum of ancestry remains an important criterion of tribal membership; ethnicity on its own is unlikely to be sufficient for one to be admitted onto tribal registers.

A Māori person is, therefore, a person who self-identifies as a member of the Māori ethnic group or is a descendant of a Māori person, or both.

Who is a Māori entrepreneur?

As the term Māori entrepreneur is an amalgam of Māori and entrepreneur, it is useful to reflect on the meanings of both. A Māori person is someone who identifies with the Māori ethnic group and/or has Māori ancestry. This means that to be a Māori entrepreneur requires a person to have a genealogical connection (ancestry) to and/or cultural affinity (ethnicity) with Māori. An anomaly is possible whereby a Māori entrepreneur may subscribe to being ethnically Māori, but may not have Māori ancestry. Dawson (2012, p. 171) adds some cultural and commercial markers to her definition of a Māori entrepreneur whom she regards as "a creative change agent, who bears risk, in order to seek venture creation opportunities that exploit Māori

knowledge, whilst upholding Māori cultural traditions.” A Māori entrepreneur in this thesis refers to a person who self-identifies as Māori and is engaged in entrepreneurial activity.

What is Māori entrepreneurship?

Māori entrepreneurship represents a differentiated form of entrepreneurship shaped by a Māori world view, Māori knowledge, Māori culture, and Māori experience. While the degree to which Māori knowledge, values, language and customs are applied may vary, they are associated with the phenomenon of Māori entrepreneurship. These dimensions of Māoriness (values, language and customs) are acquired by socialisation within whānau (family), hapū (sub-tribe), iwi (tribe) and Māori communities (Black, Bean, Collings, & Nuku, 2012; Gillies et al., 2007; King, 1975, 1992; H. M. Mead, 2003; Ministry of Justice, 2001; Royal, 2005).

Durie (2003) proposes the idea of a Māori-centred business which promotes Māori self-determination in several ways: (i) relative autonomy and self-sufficiency; (ii) the revitalisation of the Māori language and culture; (iii) secure access for Māori to te ao Māori; and (iv) addressing social inequalities. Harmsworth (2005, p. 21) notes that Durie’s approach challenges the standard business ethic of the “single bottom-line measure” and presents an ethic (“Māori advancement”) that “appears, developmentally speaking, clearly superior to current ‘policies-in-use’ in New Zealand” (see for example, Cash & Taurima, 2002).

Durie (2003) concludes that a distinctly Māori approach to business is not apparent despite increased participation by Māori in business and initiatives that have assisted Māori businesses. Yet, Davies (2011) suggests that there is a Māori way of doing business that incorporates *tikanga* Māori (Māori customs). Davies (2011) argues that a Māori approach to entrepreneurship includes considerations of conduct, long time horizons and broader objectives and aspirations. Davies (2011) expects that a Māori commercial model will evolve from Māori entrepreneurs’ interactions with the market place. Henry (2007) coins the phrase kaupapa Māori entrepreneurship, which she equates with social entrepreneurship. Kaupapa

Māori entrepreneurs pursue social aims to improve the wealth and wellbeing of Māori communities and the restoration of their lands, language and culture (Henry, 2007).

Māori entrepreneurship is initially defined as the process by which a Māori person (or people) operating within a Māori world view generates value by identifying and exploiting new products, processes or markets for economic, social and cultural purposes of benefit to themselves, their *whānau* (family), *hapū* (sub-tribe), *iwi* (tribe), and wider community.

What is a Māori enterprise?

Defining Māori enterprise for research, public policy and statistical purposes has been an enduring challenge (see for example, French, 1998; Henry, 1997; M. Love & Love, 2005; Msirikale, 1990). Common features among these attempts to define Māori enterprise are the following: (i) Māori people and groups are majority owners in the business (which are therefore inclusive of mixed—Māori and non-Māori—ownership arrangements); (ii) Māori management and staff may be employed; (iii) distinctly Māori products and services may be produced; (iv) Māori consumers may be a primary customer segment. Additional features of a Māori enterprise may include: (i) use of a distinctly Māori legal entity such as a Māori land trust or incorporation; (ii) Māori culture, identity, language and customs in the organisational culture of the enterprise; and (iii) distinctly Māori assets and resources, such as land administered under Te Ture Whenua Māori (the Māori Land Act 1993) (Mika & O'Sullivan, 2014).

Harmsworth (2005) argues that Māori values have a significant role to play in Māori enterprises. Māori values help define Māori enterprises, maintain cultural and ethical standards, give direction, and provide a point of difference in the market place (C. Knox, 2005; Mika & O'Sullivan, 2014). One of the ways in which Māori enterprises are differentiating themselves and their products and services is through indigenous branding based on Māori values, symbols, images and words, having evolved over many centuries (Harmsworth, 2005;

Harmsworth & Tahī, 2008). Māori values and customs influence Māori enterprise governance and management (Morgan & Mulligan, 2006; Mulholland, 2006; Te Puni Kōkiri, 2007b). Māori values are regarded as so fundamental that McLeod (2009) advocates modifying Māori values through influential institutions such as whānau, schools, churches, government, business and iwi to lift the performance of Māori people in the economy.

For the purposes of this thesis, a Māori enterprise is defined as a business that is owned by Māori and operates according to Māori values. Māori enterprises represent the organisational context for Māori entrepreneurship. Consistent with other studies that suggest ownership is the distinguishing feature, Māori enterprises are those enterprises that are 50 percent or more owned by a Māori person or Māori people (Battisti & Gillies, 2009; French, 1998; Te Puni Kōkiri, 2013d). Notwithstanding this, other factors do influence the identity of a Māori enterprise including the infusion of culture in products and services, and Māori management, employees and customers (French, 1998; Statistics New Zealand, 2012). Yet, ownership remains the favoured benchmark distinguishing Māori enterprises from non-Māori enterprises (Statistics New Zealand, 2012).

What is the Māori economy?

The Māori economy comprises the assets and income of Māori enterprises, Māori wages and salaries earned in the general and Māori economies, and Māori housing (Harmsworth, 2005; Nana, Stokes, & Molano, 2011a; NZIER, 2003). This definition includes Māori providers of social services oriented to Māori needs (Davies, Lattimore, & Ikin, 2005). These providers are mainly not-for-profit charities (Cram, Pipi, Keefe-Ormsby, & Small, 2002; Nana et al., 2011a). Māori economic development is traditionally viewed alongside rather than separate to Māori social and cultural development (Cross et al., 1991; Davies et al., 2005; Loomis, Morrison, & Nicolas, 1998; R. N. Love, 1998). The implication is that Māori economic development ought to contribute to Māori social and cultural aims, enhancing what it means

to be Māori (Davies et al., 2005; Durie, 2005b; Harmsworth, 2009; Hui Taumata Steering Committee, 2005).

The Māori economy is distinguished from the national economy on the basis of differentiated aspirations and expectations, communally (heritage) and individually (non-heritage) owned assets, and institutional arrangements which distort Māori economic activity in favour of specific policy objectives (e.g., non-alienation of Māori land and settlement assets) (Davies et al., 2005; Mika, 2013b; NZIER, 2003; B. Parker, 1999, 2000). The Māori and Aotearoa New Zealand economies are interdependent to the extent that Māori prosperity improves non-Māori fortunes, whereas an under-performing Māori economy hinders the national economy (McLeod, 2009). Like the national economy, the Māori economy has a commodity export bias given its productive activity centres on agriculture, forestry, and fishing (MEDC, 1999). The Māori economy is consequently highly sensitive to international market conditions (Allen, 2011; NZIER, 2003).

New conceptions of the Māori economy grounded in Māori aspirations and Māori models of success are being explored within a major research programme entitled *Te Pae Tawhiti* (distant horizon) (Carter, Kamau, & Barrett, 2011). The project is intended to uncover Māori-defined models of development, incorporating Māori, non-Māori and indigenous principles of economic development. Some of the themes the project identifies are: (i) the paucity of Māori economic data (Potaka, 2008); (ii) alternative measures of the Māori economy (Treasury, 2014; UNDP, 2009); and (iii) new configurations of collectivism and collaboration within the Māori economy (Carter et al., 2011). *Te Pae Tawhiti* differs from previous attempts to define the Māori economy in that its start-point is iwi-based (tribal) conceptions of economic development rather than those of Pākehā.

For the purposes of this thesis, the Māori economy is defined as the economic assets and activity of Māori people and Māori enterprises.

OVERVIEW OF THE CHAPTERS

The thesis is organised into seven chapters. These chapters are previewed here.

This chapter (Chapter 1) introduces the thesis, setting out the aims and reasons for the thesis. This chapter establishes the scope of the thesis as focusing on Māori entrepreneurs' experiences of enterprise assistance. The research questions are indicated here, but their basis in the literature can be found in Chapter 3. Key concepts are also defined relating to entrepreneurship and enterprise assistance, development theory and Māori development. A typology of enterprise assistance is presented including definitions and examples.

Chapter 2 discusses Māori development in Aotearoa New Zealand. This chapter contextualises the study of Māori entrepreneurship and enterprise assistance within Māori society. The chapter provides an historical and demographic profile of Māori people, and a précis of the Māori world view and how this relates to being Māori. An analysis of Māori and State relations from 1840 to the present is provided, which focuses on Māori affairs policy. The nature of the Māori economy is discussed, and within this, Māori enterprise development theory and practice. A stage model of Māori enterprise development is presented, notwithstanding the limitations of such models, which are discussed.

Chapter 3 reviews relevant literature and identifies aspects which give rise to the research questions. The chapter discusses entrepreneurship in relation to various forms of development, entrepreneurial capabilities as essential resources for entrepreneurs, and enterprise assistance as a process that connects entrepreneurs and capabilities. The chapter discusses the basis for government intervention in market economies and support governments provide for enterprises. A model is devised that indicates the main stages of publicly funded enterprise assistance in terms of design, delivery and evaluation.

Chapter 4 outlines the research methodology and methods. The chapter establishes *kaupapa* Māori as the dominant research philosophy with the integration of a pragmatist

paradigm—a Western research philosophy—within this. The effect of kaupapa Māori theory on research design, implementation, and ethics is discussed. The chapter describes the research approach as exploratory, inductive and critical. The use of semi-structured interviews and the recruitment of Māori entrepreneurs and key informants as participants is explained. Procedures relating to research ethics, the pilot study, transcribing interviews and the use of Nvivo software in the analysis of data are presented.

Chapter 5 presents the research findings that are based on interviews with Māori entrepreneurs and key informants. The findings are arranged in three parts: (i) participants' background stories and how this plays out in their roles as entrepreneurs; (ii) participants' experiences and perceptions of enterprise assistance; and (iii) an ideal model of enterprise assistance, including consideration of the roles of government and iwi in enterprise assistance for Māori entrepreneurs.

Chapter 6 interprets the findings from the previous chapter in relation to the literature and research questions of this thesis. The chapter tentatively proposes elements of a theory of Māori entrepreneurship as it relates to enterprise assistance. The chapter then discusses three main roles of publicly funded enterprise assistance in Māori entrepreneurship and suggests an ideal model of enterprise assistance for Māori entrepreneurs. A conceptual model of Māori enterprise assistance is proposed, integrating Māori entrepreneurship, capability development, enterprise development and Māori development. The contribution of the thesis to knowledge and methods, limitations of the thesis, and future research are discussed here.

Chapter 7 sets out the conclusions of the thesis. The chapter clarifies key definitions, and the context and aims of the research. The chapter outlines how the thesis answers the main research questions given the limitations, and discusses implications of the research for policy and practice.

Chapter 2 Māori development

This chapter contextualises the thesis within Māori development. Māori development encompasses the Māori way of life in Aotearoa New Zealand since Māori first arrived to the present time and beyond (Durie, 2001a). An historical and demographic profile of Māori people is presented, including a discussion of the Māori world view, culture and identity. Māori and State relations are examined in terms of the Treaty of Waitangi, Māori affairs policy and Māori development. The Māori economy is then discussed. Within the Māori economy, a conceptual model of Māori enterprise development is proposed. The model integrates Māori cultural and economic principles and suggests that Māori enterprises are engaged in a developmental process defined by their capacity for organisational learning.

MĀORI PEOPLE

Origins of the Māori people

The Māori people of Aotearoa New Zealand are descendants of their ancestral explorers arriving most likely from East Polynesia (the Society, Marquesas, Astral and Cook groups) in ocean-going *waka* (canoes) in a series of migratory voyages around 1350AD (A. Anderson, 2009; King, 2003; R. Walker, 2004) and possibly as early as 950AD according to traditional Māori narratives (Buck, 1987). Thus Māori enjoyed ‘undisturbed possession’ of their lands, people and way of life (from the outside world) for at least 400 years. During this time Māori owned and controlled all 268,680 square kilometres of the country’s landmass, Māori was the only language spoken, and Māori values, knowledge and customs regulated daily life. Māori existed within tight-knit social groups of *whānau* (extended families), *hapū* (sub-tribes) and

iwi (tribes), essential to their survival in the intemperate climes of Aotearoa New Zealand (King, 2003; Mika & O'Sullivan, 2014; Reilly, 2004).

Māori demographics

As at June 2014, there were an estimated 4,509,900 people resident in Aotearoa New Zealand (Statistics New Zealand, 2014b). Of these, 701,700 people are estimated to identify with the Māori ethnic group (15.6 percent) (Statistics New Zealand, 2014a). In the 2013 Census, 668,724 people (15.8 percent) identify as being of Māori descent (Statistics New Zealand, 2013b). Thus, the Māori population is counted in two ways: by descent and by ethnicity. Māori descent refers to people who descend from a person of the Māori race, whereas Māori ethnicity refers to cultural affiliation (Statistics New Zealand, 2013b). By definition therefore, some 32,000 people of Māori descent do not affiliate with the Māori ethnic group. This means that around five percent of Māori people acknowledge their Māori ancestry but do not culturally identify with being Māori.

Māori ancestry and ethnicity are closely tied to tribal affiliation. There are at least 116 distinct *iwi* (tribes) and many more *hapū* (subtribes) in Aotearoa New Zealand (Statistics New Zealand, 2013a, 2013b) (see Appendix A for a list of *iwi*). Of these Ngāpuhi is the largest tribe with 125,601 people of Māori descent, followed by Ngāti Porou with 71,049 (Statistics New Zealand, 2013b). Some 110,928 people of Māori descent do not know their *iwi* (Statistics New Zealand, 2013b). This circumstance is attributed to urban settlement and successive generations being raised without active *iwi* relationships.

In terms of culture and identity, 125,352 Māori (21.3 percent) can converse in *te reo* Māori (the Māori language) about everyday things, a 4.8 percent decrease between 2006 and 2013 (Statistics New Zealand, 2013b). Māori are a relatively youthful population. The Māori median age is 23.9 years compared with 41.0 years for *Pākehā* (New Zealanders of European descent) (Statistics New Zealand, 2013b, 2013c). One-third (33.1 percent) of people of Māori

descent are aged under 15 years, while 5.6 percent are aged 65 years and over (Statistics New Zealand, 2013b). The vast majority of Māori (86.0 percent) live in the North Island, with 23.8 percent of all Māori living in the Auckland region (Statistics New Zealand, 2013b).

In 2013, 36,072 Māori indicated a bachelor's degree or higher as their highest qualification, with 75 percent of these having a bachelor's degree, 10 percent masters, and 1.8 percent doctorates (Statistics New Zealand, 2013b). One-third of Māori (33.3 percent) aged 15 years and over had no formal qualifications in 2013, down from 39.9 percent in 2006 (Statistics New Zealand, 2013b). In 2013, the Māori unemployment rate was 15.6 percent compared to 7.1 percent for all people (Statistics New Zealand, 2013b, 2013c). The most common occupational groups for Māori are labourers (19.4 percent), professionals (16.4 percent), and managers (13.1 percent) (Statistics New Zealand, 2013b). The median income for Māori aged 15 years and over is NZ\$22,500 compared to NZ\$28,500 for all of New Zealand (Statistics New Zealand, 2013b, 2013c).

A high youth population, coupled with lower educational attainment, are reflected in comparably higher rates of Māori unemployment. This presents a challenge—to better engage Māori youth in education, training and work (Ministry of Education, 2009). Failure to achieve high rates of Māori participation and achievement in education and work has significant implications for the rest of Aotearoa New Zealand (Hui Taumata Steering Committee, 2005). Māori forms of education and increasing attention on the Māori economy are helping lift Māori social and economic outcomes (Durie, 2005a; Ministry of Education, 2009, 2011; Waitangi Tribunal, 1999). These developments are examined later in this chapter.

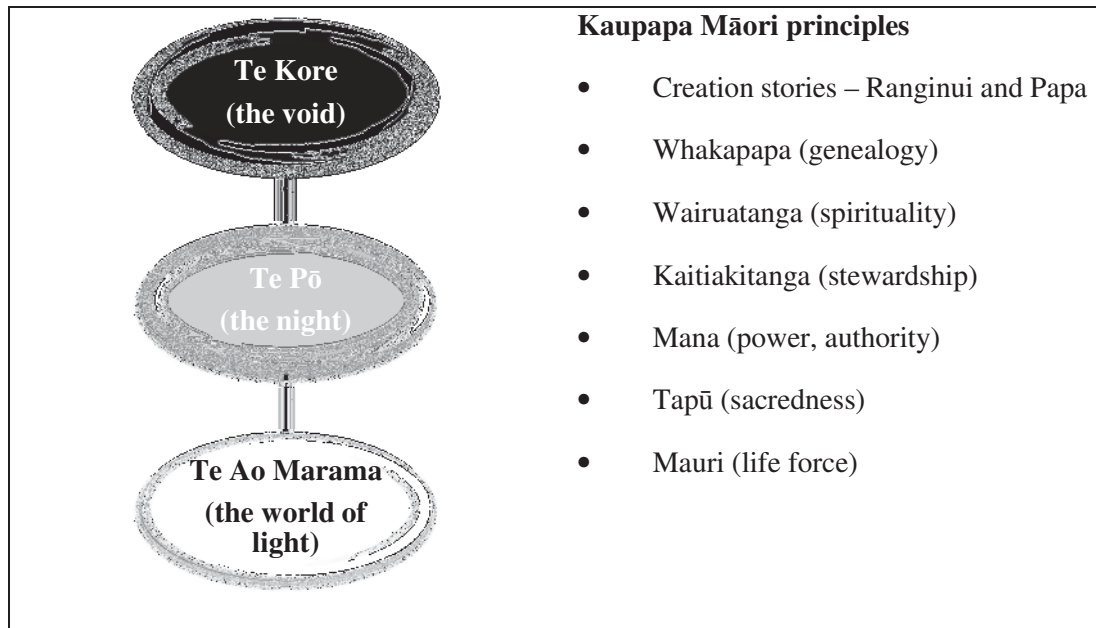
Māori world view

To understand a people in terms of their thinking and behaviour, it is useful to grasp something of their world view (Heidegger & Grene, 1976). In everyday terms, one's world view shapes beliefs about what is possible, what is real and what constitutes socially acceptable behaviours,

norms and mores (Sumner, 1959). In academia, one's world view influences epistemic positioning, theoretical lens, methodology, method choice and interpretation of phenomena (Crotty, 1998). In this sense, a world view constitutes the culturally derived way in which a group understands the universe and their place within it (Royal, 2003). A world view becomes a 'view' once the viewer orients themselves toward the representation of reality to which they ascribe (Heidegger & Grene, 1976).

It is possible to discern a Māori world view that originates from tribal identity and lore (Marsden, 1992; Rangihau, 1992). The traditional Māori world view is metaphysical in nature, founded upon Māori cosmology (Henry & Pene, 2001; Marsden, 1992). The sequence of Māori cosmology is illustrated in Figure 2.1, from which several constituent principles or kaupapa Māori are derived. In this depiction, wisdom and knowledge emanate from the earth as a living, dynamic and life-giving being, a *tīpuna* (ancestor) from which humanity descends (Royal, 2005). The creation of the universe begins with *te kore* (the nothingness), a period devoid of time and space (Harris, Matamua, Smith, Kerr, & Waaka, 2013). This is followed by *te pō* (the night) wherein the creative process has begun, but the primal parents of *Ranginui* (sky father) and *Papatūānuku* (earth mother) are enveloped in darkness. *Ranginui* and *Papatūānuku* are separated by one of their sons *Tāne Mahuta* (god of the forests and people) (Reed, 1999). Light, consciousness and understanding transform the world and *te ao marama* (the world of light) comes into being. Enlightenment is aided by *Tāne Mahuta*'s retrieval of the baskets of knowledge from the upper realms of his father *Ranginui* (Wilkie, 2010). *Tāne Mahuta* also creates the first human being, *Hine-ahu-one*, a woman fashioned from clay by imbuing her with *mauri* (life force) (Reed, 1999).

Figure 2.1 Māori cosmology and the Māori world view



Principles of the Māori world view influence Māori research. The most fundamental of these is *whakapapa* (genealogy) (Edwards, 2005). Māori cosmology is expressed as ultimate genealogy demonstrating the relationship between humanity and the gods wherein people are descendants of the natural world and of the heavens (Ministry of Justice, 2001). This whakapapa of the cosmos signifies the interconnectedness of all things, material and immaterial, physical and spiritual (Edwards, McManus, & McCreanor, 2005). Thus, the spiritual dimension or *wairuatanga* is a vital part of Māori wellbeing (Barlow, 1993; Durie, 1998b; Raerino, 1999). This spiritual relationship with the cosmos imposes upon Māori obligations to respect one’s elders, which in Māori tradition includes all of the known and unknown elements of the natural world. Knowledge of this relationship signals to Māori reciprocal obligations for their ancestors to sustain their kin—humanity—reflected in usage rights of nature’s bounty in ways which do not diminish the entitlements of future generations (Harmsworth, 2005).

Mana (power, authority) derives from celestial beings and is vested in human beings by birth (*whakapapa*) and deed (A. Mahuika, 1992; Ministry of Justice, 2001). *Mana* and *tapū*

(sacredness) were primary features of social regulation among pre-European Māori, most visibly within *rangatira* (chiefs) as the basis of their mandate to lead (Barlow, 1993; H. M. Mead, 2003; Waa & Love, 1997). Mana and tapū were thus highly guarded ideals preserved through arranged marriages and the everyday deeds of rangatira and their tribes. Mana and tapū still matter to Māori today (C. Knox, 2005; M. Love & Waa, 1997). Mana and tapū are reflected in the power and authority of tribes and the contemporary operation of Māori enterprises (Harmsworth, 2005; Tinirau & Gillies, 2010; Yates, 2009). While all people have dignity, the mana and tapū of tribal leaders is maintained by whānau, hapū, and iwi.

Tikanga Māori (Māori culture) influences Māori social and economic activity. H. M. Mead (2003) defines tikanga as the beliefs, practices and procedures which guide group and individual activity. Tikanga originates from historical knowledge handed down through generations, constituting a key part of Māori intellectual property (Barlow, 1993; Cleave, 1998; H. M. Mead, 2003). Tikanga Māori is, therefore, not static; it varies across generations, organisations, tribes, and sectors. H. M. Mead (2003) argues that tikanga is influenced by knowledge and performance of rituals to the highest standard, both of which are validated by iwi.

Beyond Māori demographics, an enduring identity as Māori derived from a Māori world view is evident. This view of identity intimates what it means to be Māori. Māori scholars such as Marsden (1992) and Rangihau (1992) suggest that a thorough understanding of Māori identity is only possible through rigorous subjective examination. They argue that Māoritanga, the favoured term for a “corporate view” of Māori identity in their time, is acquired through one’s apprenticeship within a tribal setting (Marsden, 1992, p. 117). The substantial migration of Māori from rural settlements to urban centres after the Second World War precluded many Māori from experiencing traditional methods of socialisation on the *marae* (village courtyard and building complex) (Meredith, 2012; R. Walker, 2004). Urban Māori responded with new forms of socialisation that gave some assurance of their “cultural

continuity” (R. Walker, 2004, p. 199). This included the formation of local and national Māori organisations such as the Māori Women’s Welfare League, Māori sports and cultural clubs, new Māori churches and parts of established Christian churches, and urban marae (R. Walker, 2004). More recently, Māori health, education and social service organisations have emerged to meet Māori needs in ways that afford Māori cultural continuity (Cram et al., 2002). Through this, however, Māori tribal organisation remains (Taonui, 2012b).

While identity is deeply personal, and therefore highly variegated, Durie (2011) suggests that being Māori ostensibly has several attributes. These attributes include: (i) self-identifying as Māori; (ii) affiliation to a Māori collective; (iii) participation in the Māori world; (iv) affinity with the natural environment; (v) Māori language usage; (vi) knowledge of customs and heritage; (vii) active whānau membership; and (viii) access to Māori assets (Durie, 2011). These characteristics are representative of Māori indigeneity in contemporary society. Durie (2011) argues that these attributes of Māori indigeneity ought to be recognised as determinants of Māori wellbeing. This suggests that Māori ought to be involved in shaping such policy as may affect them (Durie, 1993; L. A. Ruwhiu, 1999).

MĀORI AND THE STATE

Treaty of Waitangi

The relationship between Māori and the State in Aotearoa New Zealand is defined by the partnership signified in the Treaty of Waitangi signed on 6 February 1840 between representatives of the British Crown and 540 Māori chiefs (Hancock & Grover, 2001; I. H. Kawharu, 1989; King, 2003; Orange, 1987; R. Walker, 2004). Constitutionally, the Treaty is recognised as the nation’s founding document (Keith, 2008). The Treaty affirms the right of the British Crown to establish governance over Aotearoa New Zealand; recognises Māori as *tangata whenua*, the indigenous people of Aotearoa; preserves tribal authority, ownership and

control over Māori resources; and grants citizenship rights to Māori (Brookfield, 2006; Hancock & Grover, 2001; I. H. Kawharu, 1989). The Treaty paved the way for European settlement and colonisation of Aotearoa New Zealand in spite of controversies over its meaning and status in international and domestic law (Brookfield, 2006; King, 2003; Orange, 1987).

Some of the effects of the Treaty on the State have been to “indicate limits in [the] polity on majority decision-making... accord special recognition to Māori [collective] rights and interests... [and] as citizens... and in some situations, autonomous Māori institutions” (Keith, 2008, p. 2). The Treaty of Waitangi contemplates a relationship of mutual benefit and positive development across a range of interests, including economic, social, cultural and environmental dimensions of public policy (Durie, 2002b; Hunt, 1999; Tawhai & Gray-Sharp, 2011). The Crown has not always proactively provided for Māori interests. Indeed, Māori have been engaged in a constant struggle challenging political and administrative policies, practices and legislation, which seek to disturb, dilute, ignore and remove Māori rights (R. Walker, 2004). Māori have pursued justice in various ways including petitioning the Crown, civil protest, and representations to the United Nations, but with most success achieved through court action and claims to the Waitangi Tribunal (Alves, 1999; Anaya, 2011; Binney, 2009; Chen & Palmer, 1993; Hancock & Grover, 2001; Mutu, 2012; Orange, 1987; Radio New Zealand, 2014; L. T. Smith, 1999; R. Walker, 2004).

Māori deprivation

The adverse effects of colonisation on Māori have been well documented, most poignantly in the enquiries, hearings and findings of the Waitangi Tribunal and subsequently in the historical accounts of deeds of settlement (Catalinac, 2004; Orange, 1987; PNBST & The Crown, 2008; Te Uru Taumatua & The Crown, 2013; Waitangi Tribunal, 1988, 1991, 2009). Evidence suggests the consequences of colonisation remain, with Māori disproportionately experiencing

socioeconomic deprivation (Anaya, 2011; Durie, 1998b; Hook, 2006; Humpage, 2002; Ministry of Education, 2009; Te Puni Kōkiri, 1998; W. Winiata, 1998).

Māori and the State differ conceptually, ideologically and practically as to the challenge presented by the Māori socioeconomic position. On the one hand, the State views Māori socioeconomic disparities as the central problem constraining Māori development, arising from present circumstances rather than historical antecedents. In this view, Māori deprivation is to be addressed within prevailing political and economic institutional arrangements, with some provision for Māori participation in social service delivery (Cram et al., 2002; D. Henare, Thompson, & Comer, 1991; Hunn, 1961; S. Jones, 1990; Parata, 1994; Te Puni Kōkiri, 1999b). On the other hand, Māori view the central problem as one of unequal power between Māori and the State, uneven distribution of wealth, and in some instances institutional racism (D. Awatere, 1984; Humpage, 2002; C. P. Jones, 1999; Rangihau, 1989). Māori argue that recognising Māori indigeneity, autonomy and agency are necessary prerequisites for change because socioeconomic disparities are viewed as a consequence of subjugation (Durie, 1998a, 2002b; Hill, 2009; R. Walker, 2004).

Māori representation

Four responses to addressing Māori-State relations are evident in the Māori development literature: (i) provision for Māori representation; (ii) processes of decolonisation; (iii) instituting Māori affairs policy; and (iv) recognition of indigenous rights. These aspects of Māori-State relations are discussed in turn.

The State has attempted to provide for Māori representation since establishing the four Māori electorates under the Māori Representation Act 1867; implying some recognition of Māori political rights under the Treaty of Waitangi (Durie, 1998a; Tomlins-Jahnke, 2011). Although under threat during the change to Mixed Member Proportional (MMP) Representation in 1993, the Māori electorates were retained and modified so that the number

of Māori seats was tied to the size of the Māori electoral roll (Durie, 1998a). There are currently around 13 Māori members of parliament (MPs), including seven Māori electorate MPs (Parliamentary Library, 2015).

Māori representation was recently examined as part of a review of Aotearoa New Zealand's constitutional arrangements (Burrows et al., 2013). The review found that most Māori wanted the Māori seats retained but aspire to more enhanced models of Māori representation, founded upon the Treaty of Waitangi and international indigenous practice (Burrows et al., 2013). Various options for change to Māori representation were canvassed but the advisory panel recommended ministers retain the status quo, that is, keep the Māori electorates and recognition of the Treaty of Waitangi as the nation's founding document (Burrows et al., 2013).

Decolonisation

International experiences of colonialism and its parent, imperialism, were justified because of a fundamental belief in the superiority of the religious, political, economic, social and cultural institutions of Western colonising powers (Bishop, 1996; G. Jack & Westwood, 2009; McAloon, 2009; L. T. Smith, 1999). As a counter discourse, decolonisation is a feature of postcolonial theory that involves dismantling institutions of unequal power and exclusionary and discriminatory practice (Ashcroft, Griffiths, & Tiffin, 2000; G. Jack & Westwood, 2009; L. T. Smith, 1999). This effort is the postcolonial juncture; an ongoing pursuit of equalisation and equity in opportunity and outcomes between indigenous and non-indigenous groups.

Māori agitation for decolonisation has arguably been active since 1840, gaining momentum from 1975 when Māori protest stirred national consciousness and the Waitangi Tribunal came into being (Belich, 1998; Catalinac, 2004; Durie, 2000; Orange, 2011; Waitangi Tribunal, 1991, 2009). While Treaty settlements and Māori policy have sought to accommodate Māori interests, neither has displaced the dominant colonial paradigms of

democracy and capitalism (Butterworth, 1990; Durie, 1998a, 2005b; Office of Treaty Settlements, 2013; Te Puni Kōkiri, 1999b). These remain central tenets of State functioning in Aotearoa New Zealand (Annesley, 2005; Chen & Palmer, 1993; Kelsey, 1990; Roper, 2005; Treasury, 2014). Māori and State relations are, therefore, set to be defined by democracy and capitalism for some time to come unless moderated by adjustments acceptable to Māori and non-Māori, or some dramatic shift to alternative constitutional and institutional arrangements occurs.

Māori affairs policy

Māori affairs policy refers to State-defined goals for Māori (Humpage, 2002). From 1840 to the 1890s, Māori affairs policy held contradictory aims of protecting and yet exploiting Māori (Butterworth, 1990; Humpage, 2002; H. R. Young, 1990). Māori affairs policy set out to assimilate Māori to colonial politics, economics, laws and customs, whilst appearing to allow Māori some measure of local autonomy (Binney, 2009; Humpage, 2002). Administrative institutions, military intervention and legislative measures were used to pacify Māori resistance during and after the Aotearoa New Zealand wars from 1863 to 1873 (Belich, 1998; Humpage, 2002; R. Walker, 2004). Māori affairs policy between 1900 and 1950 is characterised by paternalism and benevolence, extending Māori the protection of the welfare state whilst ushering in the prospect welfare dependency (Durie, 2000). Hunn (1961) concluded that assimilating Māori had not worked and that integration of Māori on the basis of equal opportunity should be adopted as Māori affairs policy. Māori social and economic conditions improved only modestly between 1960 and 1984 (R. N. Love, 1984a, 1984b).

Between 1985 and 1995, Māori affairs policy adopted two broad aims: devolution and mainstreaming (S. Jones, 1990; Martin & Harper, 1988; Parata, 1994). Under mainstreaming, a comparatively substantial range of Māori affairs programmes (e.g., housing, trade training, and business support) were transferred from the disestablished Department of Māori Affairs

to other government departments, but with few parameters on how ‘mainstream’ agencies were to provide for Māori (Parata, 1994; R. Walker, 2004). The prospect of devolving delivery of ‘mainstreamed’ services to *iwi* (tribes) was curtailed by the repeal of the Rūnanga Iwi Act in May 1991 (Hill, 2009; S. Jones, 1990). Māori affairs policy from the early 1990s emphasised ‘development’ as the way to address Māori deprivation (D. Henare et al., 1991). By development, the Minister of Māori Affairs’s advisors meant recognising Māori as culturally and politically distinct and supporting Māori to fully participate in Aotearoa New Zealand. This was similar to Hunn’s (1961) integrationist proposal, modified by the recognition of cultural distinctiveness (D. Henare et al., 1991).

Māori affairs policy has retained a consistent theme of preserving the legitimacy of the State whilst casting Māori rights and interests as subordinate (Butterworth, 1990; Humpage, 2002; L. A. Ruwhiu, 1999; H. R. Young, 1990). Māori have been afforded limited concessions for two main reasons. First, recognising Māori rights was historically inconsistent with the colonial state’s intent to open up Māori territories for European settlement (R. Walker, 2004). Second, recognising Māori rights runs counter to democratic principles of universality, equality and a single nation-state (Durie, 2000, 2002b; Humpage, 2002).

The State has, until recently, viewed Māori aspirations for *tino rangatiratanga* or self-determination as a threat to governmental legitimacy and power (AIMC, 2011; Durie, 1995; NZPA, 2010; R. Walker, 2004). Humpage (2002, p. 10) argues the chief concern of Māori affairs policy is, therefore, “national cohesion [which] refers to the unity and solidarity of a state-defined national community.” Durie’s (2000) prescription for Māori development suggests a broader policy goal, that is, maximising Māori participation in *te ao Māori* (Māori society) and *te ao Pākehā* (mainstream society). Durie’s (2000) pluralistic prognosis marked a concomitant shift in Māori affairs policy from a ‘deficits’ focus (disparities) to a ‘strengths’ focus (capacities) in what is known as the Māori potential framework (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2004a).

Under this framework, the role of the State is to enable Māori to succeed in both Pākehā and Māori society, but on Māori terms (Ministry of Education, 2009; Te Puni Kōkiri, 2013a).

Māori and indigenous rights

The new frontier for Māori-State relations is how Māori indigenous (group) rights are reconciled with universal (individual) rights (Durie, 2002b; Parata, 1994; Tomlins-Jahnke, 2011). Māori indigenous rights derive from State recognition of the Treaty of Waitangi (Durie, 1998a) and the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (Charters, 2006; NZPA, 2010).

Durie (2002b) argues that part of the problem is confusion between individual rights (e.g., entitlements and obligations of citizenship) and group rights (e.g., recognition of tribal authority over tribal resources). The other part of the problem is an enduring notion that ethnic difference is tolerable provided it does not interfere with a “uni-dimensional view of citizenship” (Durie, 2002b, p. 3). Durie (2002b) argues that it is feasible for the State to reconcile Māori rights as citizens from which equality of opportunity and outcome flow; as Treaty partners implying some sharing of power and authority; and as indigenous peoples promoting Māori autonomy and agency. The Māori potential framework partly achieves this, but the fundamental political, economic and social institutions of the State, and the Māori position within them, remains unchanged.

MĀORI ECONOMY

The size and nature of the Māori economy

The Māori economy was estimated to be worth \$36.9 billion in 2010, up from \$16.5 billion in 2006 (Nana et al., 2011a). Nana et al. (2011a) attribute the \$20.4 billion increase to better data,

different assumptions, appreciation in values of capital goods and real growth. The \$36.9 billion figure comprises the value of commercial assets held by Māori enterprises (see Table 2.1).

Table 2.1 Māori commercial assets in 2010

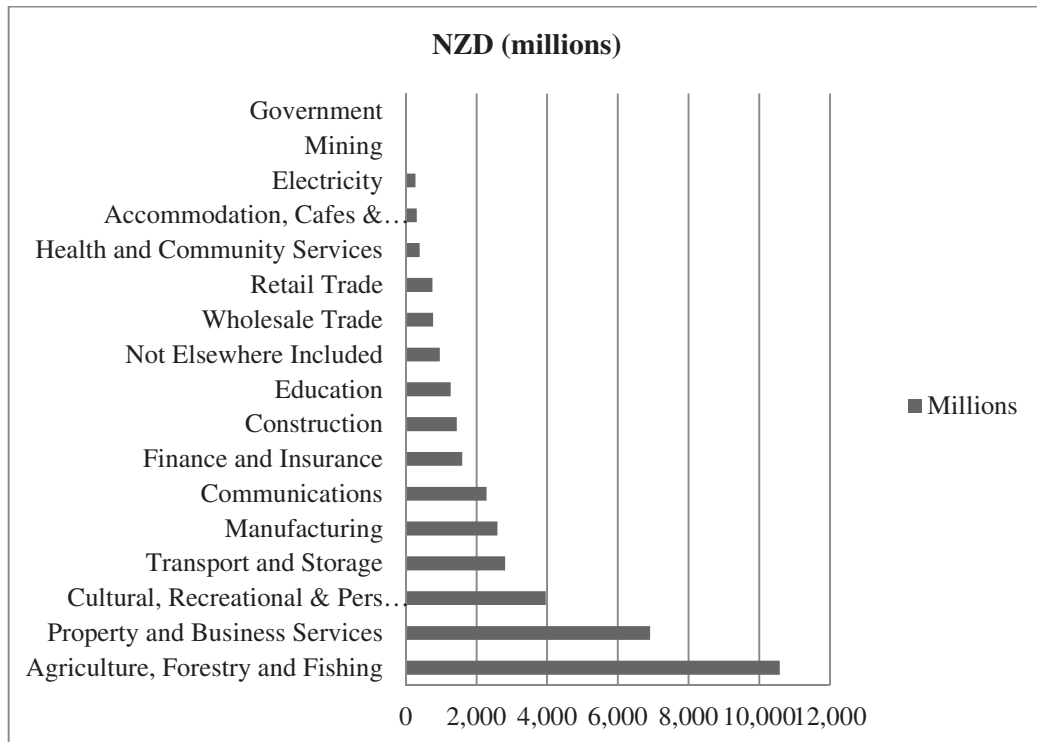
Māori enterprises	Entities	NZD billions	Percent
Māori self-employed	12,920	\$5.40	15%
Māori employers	2,690	\$20.80	57%
Māori collectives	5,906	\$10.60	29%
Total	21,516	\$36.80	100%

Source: Adapted from Nana et al. (2011a); Totals differ because of rounding errors.

Māori enterprises participate in almost all industries and sectors in Aotearoa New Zealand (see Figure 2.2). Agriculture, forestry and fishing are, however, still predominant among Māori enterprises.

Most Māori derive their income from the general economy in Aotearoa New Zealand, with only \$300 million of the \$4.3 billion in Māori salaries and wages earned from the Māori economy (NZIER, 2003). The scale of the Māori economy is, therefore, insufficient on its own to support the Māori population. Instead, Māori aspirations for economic self-sufficiency are to be met by Māori participation in the Māori, national and global economies (Durie, 2011). In addition to domestic Māori economic growth, Māori enterprises are increasingly operating internationally, presenting further scope for expansion (Allen, 2011; Nana et al., 2011a; B. Parker, 2000).

Figure 2.2 Māori commercial assets by industry in 2010



Source: Adapted from Nana et al. (2011a)

One study estimates that the Māori economy has the potential to generate an additional \$12.1 billion in GDP and 148,000 jobs by 2061 provided there is increasing investment in science and innovation within the Māori economy (Nana, Stokes, & Molano, 2011b). The Māori economy is, however, constrained by a liquidity problem as Māori have insufficient internal capital to fund economic expansion (McCabe, 2012). Responses to the liquidity gap in the Māori economy have included varying combinations of government, Māori and private sector financial assistance (Dickson, 2009, 2010; Groves, 2000; Hawkins, Mariu, Jones, & Mika, 1999; Mika, 2010a; Solomon, 2010; SRG, 2011; E. Walker, 1995; White, 1999). At an enterprise-level, few Māori financing initiatives have endured except for the MWDI and Poutama Trust (Mika, 2010a; R. Walker, 2004). The scale of capital required to accelerate Māori economic growth is likely to significantly exceed the resources of these organisations. Uncertainty exists around the access to finance problem for Māori enterprises and the Māori economy, that is, whether or not its origins are supply-side (availability and accessibility of

capital) or demand-side (investment readiness); or if indeed there is a problem (SRG, 2011; White, 1999).

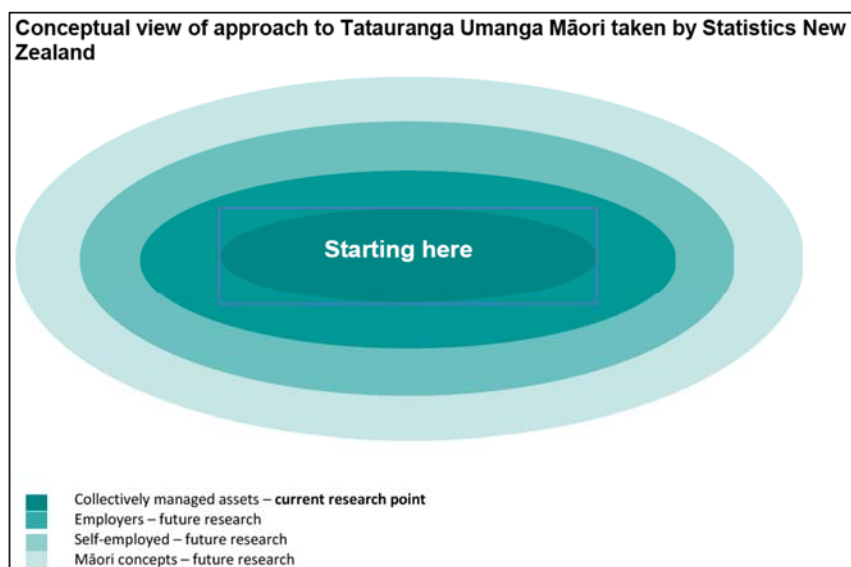
One of the challenges of studying the Māori economy is that statistical models are necessarily fashioned from impaired data because official Māori business statistics are not collected (Butterworth, 1967; Nana et al., 2011a; NZIER, 2003; B. Parker, 2000; Rose, 1997). Such models generally default to the census and labour market studies which collect ethnicity data using surveys and business registers held by government and nongovernment agencies. One of the consequences of impaired data is that evidence of market failure (a cornerstone in the rationale for government intervention) is difficult to establish. While the BERL (Nana et al., 2011a) and NZIER (2003) reports, both funded by Te Puni Kōkiri, have been invaluable sources of insight into the Māori economy, even they admit that their work does not fully account for Māori entrepreneurship and Māori enterprises because of data limitations. This represents a major impediment to Māori public policy.

Māori enterprises

The lack of an operative definition of Māori enterprise partly explains the paucity of official Māori business statistics. The other part of the explanation is an apparent aversion within government and business to anything that would add further compliance costs (L. Dalziel, 2006; SBAG, 2006). For instance, the use of an ethnicity indicator in business tax records, a principal source of business statistics, would require all enterprises to indicate their ethnicity, not just Māori enterprises. Some improvement in Māori business statistics is occurring, but the use of ethnicity indicators in business statistics remains only one possibility of several being considered (Fahey, 2014; Mika, 2013a; Statistics New Zealand, 2012). One way of circumventing the statistical cavity is to use Māori employer and Māori self-employment statistics as a useful proxy (Nana et al., 2011a).

While Statistics New Zealand notes that it does not produce “official Māori business and economic statistics” (Statistics New Zealand, 2012, p. 6), its data have nonetheless been used by others to estimate Māori economic activity (e.g., Nana et al., 2011a). Tatauranga Umanga Māori is a Statistics New Zealand project intended to improve the availability of Māori business statistics (Statistics New Zealand, 2012). Statistics New Zealand conceptualise their approach in the diagram in Figure 2.3. The first stage of the project concentrates on Māori authorities (e.g., Māori land trusts and incorporations) using existing datasets (K. Coutts, 2013; Statistics New Zealand, 2012). Because of Tatauranga Umanga Māori’s initial focus on collectively managed Māori assets, Statistics New Zealand (2012) currently defines Māori business as a Māori authority. Defining Māori business in this way is administratively expedient because it relies on data already collected by Inland Revenue. Data collection on Māori small and medium sized enterprises remains a distant prospect.

Figure 2.3 Tatauranga Umanga Māori approach



Source: Statistics New Zealand (2012, p. 7).

Te Puni Kōkiri (2007a) report that Māori self-employed grew in number by 3,950 to 21,000 between 2001 and 2006, a growth rate of 23 percent. This accounted for around 9.8 percent of the total Māori workforce aged 15 years and over in 2006. Māori self-employed growth was even stronger between 1981 and 2001, with a 156 percent increase for Māori

compared with 97 percent for non-Māori self-employed (M. Love & Love, 2005). While female Māori self-employment is increasing (e.g., 106 percent increase between 1991 and 2001) (M. Love & Love, 2005), Māori self-employed are predominantly male (see Table 2.2) (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2008).

Table 2.2 Māori self-employed by gender

Gender	Number		Percent	
	2001	2006	2001	2006
Male	11,604	13,710	67.9%	65.1%
Female	5,490	73,56	32.1%	34.9%
Total	17,094	21,066	100.0%	100.0%

Source: Adapted from Te Puni Kōkiri (2008)

Most self-employed Māori (50.4 percent) are to be found in Auckland, Waikato and Bay of Plenty (see Table 2.3). Percentage-wise, growth in Māori self-employed shows a different order with the South Island regions of Nelson, Otago and Canterbury leading (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2008).

Table 2.3 Māori self-employed by region

Region	Self-employed	
	Number	Percent
Auckland	5,856	27.8%
Waikato	2,484	11.8%
Bay of Plenty	2,274	10.8%
Wellington	2,274	10.8%
Northland	1,602	7.6%
Canterbury	1,569	7.4%
10 other regions combined	5,007	23.8%
Total	21,066	100.0%

Adapted from Te Puni Kōkiri (2008)

In 2006, almost half of self-employed Māori worked in one of three industries: construction (20 percent); property and business services (17 percent); and agriculture, forestry and fishing (12 percent) (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2008). Treaty settlements and the prevalence of Māori culture are encouraging self-employed Māori to establish service-oriented enterprises (M. Love & Love, 2005). Māori are turning to self-employment less out of necessity because of job losses and lack of skills and more out of choice (Fox, 1998; M. Love & Love, 2005). Thirty-one percent of self-employed Māori have a school qualification and 32 percent a post-school diploma or certificate (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2008).

MĀORI ENTERPRISE DEVELOPMENT

Māori enterprise development relates to the growth of Māori enterprises, how that growth is classified and activated, and the business needs, which give rise to help-seeking by Māori entrepreneurs, leading and contributing to enterprise growth. Two important principles about business needs are these. First, business needs resulting from interaction between an enterprise

and its business environment tend to be externally generated (A. F. Cameron, 2005; Reihana et al., 2006; Zapalska, Perry, & Dabb, 2003). Examples of this include help with regulatory compliance and market access. Second, business needs vary according to the development status of an enterprise. That is, these needs tend to be internally generated by the nature and circumstance of the enterprise. For instance, the business needs of a start-up enterprise (e.g., initial finance) differ from those of a going concern (e.g., productivity) (Dale, Shepherd, Woods, & Oliver, 2005). It is instructive, however, to preface a discussion of Māori business needs and Māori enterprise development with a review of the literature on stage-of-growth models. While intuitively appealing among researchers and policy makers alike, enterprise lifecycle theories or stage models have their limitations.

Lifecycle models of enterprise development

O'Farrell and Hitchens (1988), cited in McMahon (1998), identify the substantial limitations of stage models of enterprise development as follows: (i) stage models tend to reflect symptoms rather than underlying causes of growth; (ii) stage models tend to be intuitive, lacking empirical validity; (iii) small samples and cross-sectional data are used when longitudinal data are called for; (iv) stage models tend to assume sequential and linearity of enterprise growth, downplaying the possibility of regression; (v) stage models tend to overlook pre-start-up activity; and (vi) stage models emphasise internal firm-level dynamics over external environmental factors. Moreover, Penrose (1952) challenges the popular theoretical device of viewing firms as analogous to living organisms as unsupported by the evidence or testable hypotheses.

McMahon (1998) draws the conclusion that enterprises simply do not transition neatly from one stage to another in deterministic fashion. Instead, they appear to configure themselves in ways that respond to owner-manager preferences, and contextual and structural variables. Kazanjian (1988), cited in McMahon (1998), describes such configurations as

gestalts rather than stages. Gestalts, in this sense, are inferred as distinctive enterprise-level responses to business conditions independent of any sequential developmental pattern.

Amidst an extensive review of the literature on enterprise lifecycle theories, McMahon (1998) finds that the stages-of-growth model advanced by Hanks et al. (1993) partially overcomes the limitations of such models. This is because Hanks et al.'s (1993) model is grounded in empirics and includes both progressive (start-up; expansion; maturity; and diversification) and regressive stages (lifestyle and capped growth) of enterprise development. Additionally, Hanks et al.'s (1993) model seems not inconsistent with the notion that stages represent self-contained configurations or *gestalts* rather than interconnecting parts of a seamless process of enterprise development. The implication for the stages of enterprise growth models developed and used in this thesis is one of caution. The caution is that such models, while intuitively attractive and metaphysically grounded in a Māori world view, may represent constructs with limited explanatory power in the absence of empirical analysis.

Māori business needs

Notwithstanding the limitations of stage models, the existence of stages implies enterprises experience different business needs at each stage. Churchill and Lewis (1983), for instance, differentiate business challenges (in brackets) according to five stages (in italics) of enterprise development: (i) *existence* (production and customers); (ii) *survival* (cash flow); (iii) *success* (risk); (iv) *take-off* (growth); and, (v) *maturity* (consolidation) (cited in Dale et al., 2005). Zapalska et al. (2003) find that Māori entrepreneurs face similar challenges to non-Māori entrepreneurs as their enterprises grow, but the progression of Māori enterprises is comparably slower in parts. Zapalska, Perry, and Dabb (2003) find that: 10 percent of Māori enterprises are in the conception stage in which product and market development are dominant business needs; 38 percent are in the commercialisation stage where they are producing and selling

products; and 11 percent are stable, having achieved a high degree of growth and success and established highly formalised organisations.

The work of Zapalska et al. (2003) aside, Māori business needs are generally inferred from theory, industry and policy because empirical evidence of such needs is irregular. An attempt to identify Māori business needs from the literature is set out in Table 2.4. Table 2.4 uses the typology of enterprise assistance from Chapter 1 (Figure 1.2) to identify Māori business needs from a range of academic, industry and government studies. Four of the eight sources present empirical evidence; whereas others proffer normative evidence about what Māori business needs are based on socioeconomic, demographic, and economic analyses.

Table 2.4 Māori business needs

Source	Macro-needs		Micro-needs		Evidence	
	Direct	Indirect	Direct	Indirect	Normative	Empirical
Battisti & Gillies (2009)	Markets	Economic conditions	Finance Business costs	Business education		✓
Zapalska et al. (2003)	Markets	Labour	Finance Business costs	Management Marketing		✓
Reihana et al. (2006)	R&D	Policies	Finance Cultural innovation	Culture Training		✓
NZIER (2003)	Business structures	Property rights	Finance Cultural innovation	Governance Management	✓	
MEDP (2012a, 2012b)	Markets		Finance	Management Networks	✓	
Te Puni Kōkiri (1997a)	Markets Enterprise assistance	Business structures	Finance	Networks Information Training	✓	
Parker (1999)		Māori land	Access to finance Diversification	Technology Management	✓	
Te Puni Kōkiri (2013d)	Tax ACC	Compliance costs	Finance	Advice Technology Training		✓

While diverse, several Māori business needs are commonly observed from Table 2.4. At the macro-level (i.e., business environment), Māori business needs include market access, economic policy, taxation, research and development, property rights, and compliance costs. At the micro-level (i.e., enterprise), Māori business needs include finance, management, marketing, networking, training, technology, and advice. Such needs, macro and micro, seem related to enterprise development.

Poutama framework of Māori enterprise development

By integrating Māori cultural and entrepreneurial principles, a framework for Māori enterprise development is devised based on the concept of the *poutama* (see Table 2.5). Poutama in ordinary Māori usage refers to a staircase pattern commonly used in weaving and other traditional artwork, symbolising genealogies, levels of learning and intellectual development (Moorfield, 2011; Tangaere, 1997).

In traditional Māori narrative, poutama is used to describe the ascent of *Tāne-nui-ā-Rangi* (god of the forests and humankind) of the heavens in his quest for knowledge (Moorfield, 2011; Tangaere, 1997). It is in the twelfth heaven that Tāne-nui-ā-Rangi retrieves the three baskets of knowledge: *te kete-tuatea* (basket of light; helpful knowledge); *te kete-tuauri* (basket of darkness; knowledge of ritual); and *te kete-aronui* (basket of pursuit; harmful knowledge) (Taonui, 2012a). These baskets were successfully brought back to earth and secured for the benefit of humanity in a sacred house of knowledge or *whare kura* (Taonui, 2012a).

The concept of poutama is used as an indigenous methodology in diverse fields of Māori development including health, education, business, and human development (S. Jones, 1998; McKegg, Wehipeihana, Pipi, & Thompson, 2013; Tangaere, 1997; Te Whāiti, McCarthy, & Durie, 1997; Waitangi Tribunal, 1993). Tangaere (1997) relates the poutama to human development, which is premised on Māori knowledge, Māori language and Māori

methods of learning. Poutama is adapted here to reconceptualise the process of Māori enterprise development. The poutama model of Māori enterprise development comprises four stages (see Table 2.5). One of the implications of the poutama model for Māori entrepreneurs is to emulate their ancestor Tāne-nui-ā-Rangi and his ascent of the heavens in his quest for knowledge (Taonui, 2012a; R. Walker, 1978).

Table 2.5 Stages of Māori enterprise development

Stage	Description	Interpretation
1.	Pre-start-up enterprise	Idea, research, decision to act and resources assembled. This stage is metaphorically related to the Māori concept of <i>te kore</i> (the nothingness). This is the earliest period of the universe devoid of time and space.
2.	Start-up enterprise	Trading commences and experiential learning begins. The Māori metaphor for this state is <i>te po</i> (the night). The creative process has begun, but darkness prevails and uncertainty reigns.
3.	Growing enterprise	Maintenance and growth focus. The Māori metaphor is <i>te ao marama</i> (the world of light), which describes an evolutionary state in which sufficient knowledge is acquired for functional life.
4.	Actualising enterprise	A stage of passive ownership and serial entrepreneurship. This stage is associated with <i>te ira tangata</i> , which is the life principle, the essence of human knowledge, and the realisation of human potential.

Dawson (2012) proposes a Māori entrepreneurial framework similar to the poutama in terms of its stages (pre-start-up, start-up, maintenance, and growth). Dawson's (2012) framework identifies internal and external factors that enable and impede Māori entrepreneurial progress, which primarily relate to aspects of culture, education and learning, and support infrastructure. A limitation of Dawson's framework, shared by the poutama model, is that the manner in which impediments and enablers cause shifts from one stage to another is unclear. Further research is needed to understand how Māori business needs change and are affected by enterprise assistance over the lifetime of an enterprise.

This chapter makes explicit aspects of Māori development which permeate Māori entrepreneurship research. This brings into play a range of considerations including Māori identity, demographics, politics, economics, and enterprise development. The chapter neither sums up the Māori being nor being Māori; it merely renders an insight into its relevant parts for the purpose of this thesis. The Māori population is growing in size and diversity, but contend with being a minority. The Māori world view based on Māori cosmology is still influential in Māori ways of thinking and acting, including in business. Māori development is closely linked to Māori relations with the State, and the role of Māori entrepreneurship and Māori enterprise development in a growing Māori economy. The next chapter reviews the literature on entrepreneurship and enterprise assistance with a focus on entrepreneurial capabilities. Chapters 2 and 3 provide the basis for the research questions of this thesis, which are also outlined in the next chapter.

Chapter 3 Literature Review

This chapter reviews three central aspects of the literature: entrepreneurship, entrepreneurial capabilities, and enterprise assistance. Entrepreneurship is discussed in terms of development theory, including economic development, human development, indigenous development and Māori development. Entrepreneurial capabilities are discussed as a determinant of entrepreneurship, manifesting in five forms—social capital, human capital, cultural capital, financial capital and spiritual capital. Enterprise assistance is discussed in terms of the publicly funded variety, including its basis, design, delivery and evaluation. Three research questions are developed from the literature to guide the research. The chapter begins by briefly reviewing relevant aspects of entrepreneurship theory (context and culture) as a precursor to more involved application of entrepreneurship to development theory.

ENTREPRENEURSHIP THEORY

Entrepreneurship and context

Context matters to entrepreneurial activity. That is to say, entrepreneurship occurs within the context of its social, cultural, economic and political environments (Hunter & Kazakoff, 2012; Reihana et al., 2006). The GEM study refers to context as “entrepreneurial framework conditions” (Bygrave & Zacharakis, 2014, p. 13). The GEM model is premised upon the assumption that national economic outcomes are a function of new and existing entrepreneurial activity (Bygrave & Zacharakis, 2014). Entrepreneurial framework conditions used in Aotearoa New Zealand versions of the GEM study include finance, government policies and programmes, education and training, research and development, market access, infrastructure, culture and norms, and the Māori dimension of entrepreneurship (Frederick &

Henry, 2004). There is a tendency in the literature, however, to emphasise the influence of the economic over the social environment upon entrepreneurship (Casson et al., 2006; Davidsson, 2004; S. C. Parker, 2009), and to focus on individual entrepreneurs as disruptive agents of change (Groth & Tse, 2015). Yet, scholars are increasingly exploring the relationship between entrepreneurs and their social and cultural environments and their effects on entrepreneurship (Hopp & Stephan, 2012; S. L. Jack & Anderson, 2002; Kodithuwakkua & Rose, 2002).

The concept of social embeddedness has emerged as one way of understanding how entrepreneurs interact with their social environment (Greve & Salaff, 2003; S. L. Jack & Anderson, 2002). Jack and Anderson (2002), for example, draw on Giddens's (1984) theory of structuration to ethnographically study a small group of entrepreneurs within the context of a rural Scottish Highland's community. Structuration, in Giddens's view of it, is a theory of how social systems condition the behaviour of social agents (entrepreneurs); yet these social agents concomitantly exercise a degree of freedom to alter their environment (S. L. Jack & Anderson, 2002). Social embeddedness in this sense is the degree to which entrepreneurs understand and immerse themselves within their social environment and replicate and maintain the structure (e.g., social networks, relationships and conduct) of their social environment. In consequence, entrepreneurs are able to access resources, opportunities and support that might not otherwise be available to them (S. L. Jack & Anderson, 2002). In their study, entrepreneurs achieve social embeddedness in various ways, including by being born and raised in the locale, familial and marital ties, and genuine socialisation within community institutions (S. L. Jack & Anderson, 2002). Jack and Anderson (2002) find that social embeddedness impacts the entrepreneurial process by enabling entrepreneurs to recognise opportunities, access resources and support, who are then subsequently inclined to reciprocate this support.

Social embeddedness resonates with Māori conceptions of cultural identity and social relations. Māori identity is traditionally framed as contextual; contingent upon the kinship relations and social obligations of the individual within the group (O'Sullivan & Dana, 2008;

R. Walker, 2004). The esteemed Tūhoe elder and scholar John Rangihau (1992), for example, remarked that his being Māori was entirely about his being Tūhoe, that is, as a member of his tribal community. When Māori are asked where they come from, invariably the response is a recital of one's tribal territories, waterways and the deeds of one's ancestors (Ka'ai & Higgins, 2003; H. M. Mead, 2003). Social embeddedness in a Māori context is thus defined by kinship relations that regulate social behaviour and economic opportunities (Cross et al., 1991).

Social embeddedness would, therefore, seem a worthwhile basis for studying Māori entrepreneurs within the context of enterprise assistance. Three reasons count against this however. First, while social embeddedness might elucidate Māori entrepreneurs' identity and socialisation as Māori within whānau, hapū, iwi and community contexts, 'embeddedness' is not a central aim of the thesis. Yet, an examination of Māori entrepreneurs and their interaction within their social (and cultural) environments is a different, and potentially fertile, study of its own. Other scholars are already doing such research (see for example, Gillies et al., 2007; M. Love, 1992; Tinirau & Gillies, 2010; Tinirau & Mika, 2012; Warriner, 2007; Yates, 2009). Second, structuration theory suits studying social practices *in situ*, but again the emphasis in this thesis is on Māori entrepreneurs' perceptions rather than social practices in the context of enterprise assistance. Third, the thesis is concerned primarily with entrepreneur's access to and use of publicly funded forms of enterprise assistance rather than forms of enterprise assistance which derive from one's social relations (e.g., the support of friends and family). Social embeddedness seems more apt to examinations of the latter of these phenomena, that is, assistance that drives from personal social networks.

Entrepreneurship and culture

While Davidsson (2004, 2008) avoids cultural considerations, other scholars draw attention to culturally varied manifestations of entrepreneurship (see for example, Basu, 2006; Waldinger, 1986). Cultural values, norms and customs are an intangible, ingrained and

enduring part of informal institutions (Chavance, 2009). Changing informal institutions, such as a shift toward an enterprising culture, can take considerable time (Greene, Mole, & Storey, 2008). At a broad level then, the evidence suggests that culture has some part to play in entrepreneurship, but the connection is not straightforward (Wennekers & Thurik, 1999).

Hofstede (1980, 2001), cited in Urban (2010), defines culture as a collective phenomenon, being the summation of individual personalities within a group, from which we may observe general tendencies in beliefs, values and behaviours. Hofstede's (1980) study of national culture using IBM country-level employee data produces four enduring empirical dimensions of national culture: (i) power-distance—different approaches to human inequality; (ii) uncertainty avoidance—how societies deal with the stress of an uncertain future; (iii) individualism vis-à-vis collectivism—the integration of individuals into groups; and, (iv) masculinity vis-a-vis femininity—the division of emotional roles between men and women. Hofstede's work is not without its critics (see for example, Fang, 2003, 2006) who argue that his model ignores cultural dynamism (e.g., multiculturalism) and accords with a mechanistic world view. These criticisms point to uncertainty about how culture affects one's predisposition to entrepreneurship and entrepreneurial outcomes. For example, there is some evidence that social dimensions (e.g., relationships and networks) may be a better indicator of the propensity for entrepreneurship than individual dimensions (e.g., personality, attitudes and beliefs) (Begley & Tan, 2001, cited in Urban, 2010).

Hayton, George, & Zahra (2002) cited in Urban (2010) find that culture acts as a catalyst rather than a determinant of entrepreneurship. Urban (2010) argues that cultural dichotomies ought to be considered in entrepreneurship research because they moderate relationships between institutions and entrepreneurial outcomes. Examples of cultural dichotomies include: imported (etic) versus indigenous (emic) cultural elements; independent (which emphasises individual autonomy) versus dependent (which emphasises relationships) characteristics; and relatedly, individual versus collective cultural paradigms. Collectivism

(vis-à-vis individualism) as a dimension of national culture and its influence in entrepreneurship is widely discussed in the literature (Hayton et al., 2002; Hofstede & Hofstede, 2005; Ozorhon, Ardit, Dikmen, & Birgonul, 2008; Urban, 2010).

Individual characteristics like passion, vision, and tenacity are routinely portrayed as essential attributes of successful entrepreneurs, reinforcing the perception of the entrepreneur as an heroic and brazen individual (Demers, 2015; Robinson, 2014). Success in entrepreneurship in this sense is predicated upon the individual as an autonomous and agentive being. Sirolli (2004) finds the contrary true that successful enterprises have rarely if ever been started by a single entrepreneur. Instead, they are started by teams of two or more people, each contributing to the creative and managerial process inherent within entrepreneurship according to their complementary skill-sets. This challenges the presumption of individuality, providing scope for entrepreneurship to be conceived as a collective endeavour, that is, the work of groups.

ENTREPRENEURSHIP AS FORMS OF DEVELOPMENT

Three perspectives of entrepreneurship are initially discussed: entrepreneurship as contributing to economic development; entrepreneurship as human development; and, entrepreneurship as indigenous development. These approaches to entrepreneurship are then related to Māori development, as outlined in Chapter 2.

Entrepreneurship as economic development

A neoclassical view of economic development largely ignores the role of entrepreneurs because assumptions of rational choice, perfect information, and equilibrium negate concern for innovation and risk (Wennekers & Thurik, 1999). Based on the work of Solow (1970), this model assumes economic growth is dependent on exogenous (external) factors, principally the

role of savings, technology, and population growth (S. C. Parker, 2009; Wennekers & Thurik, 1999). Wennekers and Thurik (1999) suggest that renewed interest in the role of entrepreneurs in economic development has been stimulated by the influence of real-life entrepreneurs, declining economies, the growth of small enterprises, technological change, and the importance of institutions. An endogenous theory such as that advanced by Romer (1986), cited in S. C. Parker (2009) is an example of this. Romer's (1986) theory suggests internal factors such as human capital and innovation better explain economic growth.

Institutionalism offers another view of the role of entrepreneurship in economic development (Brousseau & Glachant, 2008; Chavance, 2009; Wennekers & Thurik, 1999). Institutions are the formal and informal rules (political, economic and social) governing economic activity in a given context. North (1990, p. 6) explains "the major role of institutions is to reduce uncertainty by establishing a stable (but not necessarily efficient) structure to human interaction," where the costs of violating the "rules of the game" and the "severity of punishment" determine how the game is played. Thus, a combination of formal rules (e.g., regulation governing competition, property rights, enforcement, and markets) and informal rules (e.g., attitudes to wealth, risk, and change) affect the contribution of entrepreneurship to economic growth (North, 2005; Wennekers & Thurik, 1999).

Drawing on institutionalism, McMullen (2011) argues that improving the standards of living of the world's poorest people—some one billion people living on less than \$2 per day (Prahalad, 2005)—is more likely to be achieved through bottom-up market-based strategies which facilitate endogenous entrepreneurial change than traditional top-down, planning oriented strategies. McMullen (2011) contends that market failure is not caused so much by imperfections in the market as a failure by governments to establish the necessary formal institutions (e.g., rule of law, property rights, competitive markets, and incentives for innovation). Development entrepreneurship is, therefore, about reducing institutional barriers

and making productive entrepreneurship more attractive than non-productive entrepreneurship such as rent-seeking and crime (Baumol, 1990).

From an economic development perspective, entrepreneurship is viewed as a determinant of economic growth, that is, a factor of production referred to as “entrepreneurial capital,” which is used to exploit market opportunities in the supply of new goods and services (Firkin, 2001, p. 58). The reward for entrepreneurial activity is profit (Firkin, 2003). Entrepreneurship within firms is assumed to contribute to macroeconomic outcomes such as national income, job creation, consumer choice, and firm creation (Ahmad & Hoffman, 2007; Gries & Naude, 2011; Minniti, 2011). Wennekers and Thurik (1999) indicate that entrepreneurial attitudes and abilities, culture and institutions are common preconditions for enabling entrepreneurs to contribute to firm-level and macro-level outcomes.

Entrepreneurship as human development

An omission from the economic perspective of entrepreneurship is the human element, which overlooks the fact that ideas, values and markets are constructs of human ingenuity. An emerging perspective views entrepreneurship as contributing to human development (Alkire, 2005b; Gries & Naude, 2011). Gries and Naude (2011) describe human development as multidimensional, hard to measure and theoretically embryonic. In response, Gries and Naude (2011) contribute a theoretical framework that relates entrepreneurship to human development based on the capabilities approach. The idea of capabilities is an approach to welfare economics conceived by Sen (1999), developed by others (Alkire, 2005a, 2005b) and adapted in the human development work of the United Nations’ (UNDP, 2009).

Sen (1999) finds that income, wealth and technological advancement (features of the economic perspective) are inadequate measures of human development. Sen (1999) argues that human wellbeing is about increasing people’s freedoms to satisfy their aspirations and to do the things that they value and have reason to value. By freedom, Sen is referring to human

capabilities rather than confining freedom to civil or political liberties (Alkire, 2005a; Gries & Naude, 2011). One of the implications of Sen's approach is a refocusing on the *ends* that make development worthwhile (e.g., social, political and economic arrangements) over the *means* of development (e.g., enterprise activity) (Sen, 1999).

The central proposition of the capability approach is that development policy ought to expand people's capabilities, that is, their ability to pursue and achieve states of wellbeing they determine are of value to them (Alkire, 2005a). This approach is likely to cause fewer distortions in development outcomes because development policy is oriented toward what people value for themselves rather than an outsider's perception of value (Alkire, 2005a; Schumacher, 1973; Sirolli, 1999). Thus, valued states of wellbeing can range from satiation of basic needs (e.g., being well-fed) to complex aspects of human fulfilment (e.g., elite mastery of any activity) (Alkire, 2005a). Effective development is, therefore, about building the capabilities for people to live the kind of lives they value and can achieve.

Gries and Naude (2011) argue that development policy directed toward expanding people's capabilities means entrepreneurship becomes a feasible and valued activity. Converting entrepreneurial potential into human development requires conditions conducive to entrepreneurship such as adequate entrepreneurial capital, an enterprising culture, favourable education and employment conditions, infrastructure and other forms of support. Instituting such preconditions suggests engaging in development entrepreneurship (McMullen, 2011). The uncertainty is how people come to conceive of entrepreneurship as a valued human activity when presently they may not. Because, if neither being an entrepreneur nor doing entrepreneurship are valued, the dilemma is whether or not conjuring a view of entrepreneurship as a meaningful pursuit is a defensible development policy. This challenges the whole notion that it is possible to create an enterprising culture and expand the stock of firms (Greene et al., 2008).

Entrepreneurship as indigenous development

Indigenous entrepreneurship has become increasingly prevalent in the literature in concert with international recognition of indigenous peoples, indigenous rights and indigenous development (Chakrabarti, 2006; Charters, 2006; Deruyttere, 1997; Havemann, 1999; Howard, 2003; Round, 2009; United Nations, 2007). While a universally accepted definition is not to be found, indigenous peoples generally share seven characteristics: (i) self-identifying as and recognised by others as members of their particular group; (ii) an ongoing historical link with societies that predate colonial settlement; (iii) an association with and use of ancestral lands and natural resources; (iv) distinct customary, economic, social and political institutions; (v) a distinct language and culture; (vi) belonging to nondominant societal groups; and (vii) resolving to maintain their distinctiveness (World Bank, 2010). The term indigeneity is derived from these characteristics. Indigeneity refers to the quality of being indigenous; with the local variant of indigeneity being 'Māoriness' or *Māoritanga*, that is, Māori cultural identity (NZIER, 2003; Rangihau, 1992).

The principal challenge of indigenous entrepreneurship research has been to define the boundaries of the field without compartmentalising it using Western epistemologies and methodologies. Indigenous and non-indigenous scholars are attempting to identify general principles and themes that make sense for highly diverse and distinct indigenous peoples, searching for commonalities of experience, knowledge and insight (Dana & Anderson, 2007; Foley, 2007; Frederick & Henry, 2004; Gibson & Scrimgeour, 2004; Hindle & Moroz, 2009; Ingram, 1990; P. J. Mataira, 2000; D. Ruwhiu, 2009; Scrimgeour & Iremonger, 2004; Spiller, 2010). Three broad views of indigenous entrepreneurship are apparent in the literature. First, entrepreneurship as aiding poverty alleviation. Second, entrepreneurship as an expression of self-determination. Third, entrepreneurship as emancipation from fourth-world status. These three views are discussed further below.

The first view equates entrepreneurship with poverty alleviation among indigenous peoples, emphasizing the economic advantages of entrepreneurial activity (Hindle & Moroz, 2009). This view privileges Western conceptions of entrepreneurship and assumes indigenous peoples ought to acquiesce to the global economy (Peredo, Anderson, Galbraith, Honig, & Dana, 2004). One of the consequences of this mode of development is that the value of traditional knowledge and resources is diminished. Peredo et al. (2004) argue that assimilation of traditional cultures (an assumption of modernisation theory) and exploitation of the least developed nations and groups (a condition of dependency theory) is making way for indigenous peoples to interact with the global economy on more favourable terms (contingency theory). Peredo et al. (2004) argue that technology diffusion is making efficient localised microeconomies possible in previously deprived nations and regions.

The second are those scholars that view indigenous entrepreneurship as fulfilling aspirations for economic independence and self-sufficiency on indigenous terms (Campbell-Stokes, 1998; Foley, 2004; Jorgensen & Taylor, 2000; Loomis et al., 1998). This view accords with Sen's (1999) capabilities approach, where indigenous peoples pursue entrepreneurship because it is to them something worth pursuing (Alkire, 2005b; Gries & Naude, 2011; Sen, 1999). In this respect, indigenous self-determination, traditional knowledge, capabilities and resources are valued antecedents of entrepreneurship and of a broader developmental project, that of indigenous nation-building (Cornell & Kalt, 1998; Dana & Anderson, 2007; de Bruin & Matairea, 2003; Dodd, 2003; Durie, 2002a; Foley, 2004, 2007, 2010; Henry, 2007; Ingram, 1990; K. Morrison, 2008). Evidence suggests indigenous entrepreneurs are engaging in entrepreneurship on the premise of both poverty alleviation and self-determination (Christie & Chamard, 1997; Jorgensen & Taylor, 2000; Peredo et al., 2004).

A third view is associated with fourth world theory, that is, large-scale nonparticipation by indigenous peoples in entrepreneurship because they are disenfranchised from the state within which they live (Manuel & Posluns, 1974, cited in Seton, 1999). Fourth

world theory is concerned with the challenge that indigenous nations pose for states whose development is marked by a dominant mainstream culture (Hindle & Lansdowne, 2007). For entrepreneurship to become meaningful for indigenous peoples resembling fourth world status requires a radical transformation of mainstream conceptions, perceptions, and institutions in relation to their indigenous populations in addition to a major capability building effort among indigenous entrepreneurs (Havemann, 1999).

The challenge, Peredo et al. (2004) suggest, is how do indigenous peoples retain their culture and identity whilst participating in the modern global economy? Hindle and Lansdowne (2007) regard this protection-development dichotomy as a fallacy. The real problem they suggest is how to recognise the potential within indigenous heritage for entrepreneurship (Hindle & Lansdowne, 2007). Foley (2004) finds that indigenous entrepreneurs are, for example, able to hold to their indigenous identity and values, yet adapt Western values and practices for their cultural and economic survival.

Entrepreneurship as Māori development

This section discusses the role of entrepreneurship in Māori development. The discussion distinguishes between pre-European (pre-1769) and post-European (post-1769) forms of Māori entrepreneurship. The analysis reveals a shift from collectivist to individualist entrepreneurial modes and the contemporary struggle to find principles that reconcile collectivity and individuality within Māori entrepreneurship. A number of principles of Māori entrepreneurship are inferred from discussion of the Māori world view and Māori enterprise development in Chapter 2. The role of institutions (both formal and informal) in entrepreneurship and Māori development are also discussed, with specific consideration given to the role of culture in entrepreneurship.

Pre-European Māori entrepreneurship is synonymous with tribal entrepreneurship where territorial rights, authority and ownership of resources was communal (Firth, 1973;

Petrie, 2006). The means of production were tribally owned where chiefs, with the consent of tribal members, directed collective efforts to ensure the group's survival (Waa & Love, 1997). Tribes subsisted on seasonal harvests of forest and marine foods and cultivated crops using non-metallurgic technologies (e.g., rat traps, bird snares, and eel traps) (Buck, 1987; Waa & Love, 1997). Staple foods were fern root, berries, leaves, kumara, birds, rat and fish, with diets varying by locality (E. Best, 1902; Buck, 1987). Productive output within the Māori economy was constrained by the capacity of available technology and resources to adequately satisfy the needs of whānau, hapū and iwi. A driving imperative of accumulation as a stimulus for technological innovation was not apparent (Mika & O'Sullivan, 2014). Inter-tribal exchange occurred in foods, valued artefacts, tools and weapons, obtained either by way of *muru* (confiscation) in war or by gift governed by Māori concepts of *mana* (power, authority and prestige) and *utu* (reciprocity) (Firth, 1973; C. Knox, 2005; Waa & Love, 1997).

Early post-European Māori entrepreneurship (1769-1840) is an adaptation of the capitalist form to a tribal foundation (Petrie, 2006). The factors of production were still communally owned, managed and directed by tribal chiefs in pursuit of tribal survival and prosperity (Warren, 2009). Importantly, however, tribal economies refocused their efforts on the production of surplus goods and services including flax fibre, flour, and timber needed by burgeoning nearby European settler communities (McAloon, 2009; Petrie, 2002; Schaniel, 1985).

Tribes increasingly used money as a medium of exchange from the 1830s, supplementing barter and gift-exchange (RBNZ, 2007). Some tribes used cash surpluses and debt to finance the purchase of flour mills and ships among other features of their tribal enterprises (Hawkins, 1999; M. Love & Waa, 1997; Monin, 1995; Petrie, 2006; Schaniel, 1985). Māori entrepreneurship proved flexible and open to innovation during this period, adapting Western agricultural implements, techniques and crops to expand food production across the value chain from planting, tending, harvesting, processing and distributing goods

and services domestically, regionally and internationally (A. Coleman, Dixon, & Mare, 2005; M. Love & Waa, 1997; Petrie, 2002).

The boom in the early post-European Māori economy was short-lived, with a sharp decline in Māori exporters and traders between 1850-1900 linked to large scale land confiscations, leaving Māori with just 5.6 percent of Aotearoa New Zealand's total landmass (Hawkins, 1999; Petrie, 2002; R. Walker, 2004). As a consequence, Māori entrepreneurship and tribal economies were devastated. The establishment of representative government under the New Zealand Constitution Act 1854 expedited the process of depriving Māori of their remaining natural resources through various forms of egregious legislation and policy (M. Mahuika, 2006; Mikaere, 2000; R. Walker, 2004). The potency of Māori entrepreneurship as a vehicle for tribal economies was further curtailed by dwindling populations afflicted by disease, famine and war and substantially reduced land holdings (A. Coleman et al., 2005; Petrie, 2002).

Post-European Māori entrepreneurship from the period 1900 to 1975 takes two main forms: (i) communally-owned Māori enterprises; and (ii) individually-owned Māori enterprises. Collective administration of remnants of Māori land occurred through communal Māori enterprises operating under the jurisdiction of the Māori Land Court, and included the Māori Trustee, Māori trust boards, and Māori trusts and incorporations (Dyall, 1985). These communal Māori enterprises were mainly engaged in farming, forestry and fishing (Barber, 1993; Morad & Jay, 1997). With little land left in Māori ownership, land retention became the legislative imperative (Kingi, 2007; Morgan & Mulligan, 2006; Te Puni Kōkiri, 2013b). Consequently, conservatism and low returns characterise Māori land-based enterprises (Dyall, 1985; Kingi, 2004; V. Winiata, 2008). Māori land development is further constrained by fragmented ownership where land interests are shared among successive generations causing large tracts of land to become uneconomic (French, 1998; MLIG, 1996b; V. Winiata, 2008).

The second group of post-European Māori enterprises are individually owned and operated Māori enterprises of the self-employed and Māori employers (M. Love & Love, 2005; C. Young, 1992). Māori self-employment was precipitated by the decline of tribal economies and the migration of Māori to urban centres in response to the industrial demand for labour following the Second World War (A. Coleman et al., 2005; Meredith, 2012). Māori enterprises that employ others (Māori employers) number around 2,690 firms, with assets of \$20.8 billion (see Table 2.1) (Nana et al., 2011a).

While one might surmise that Treaty settlements, given their disproportionate media coverage (Tahana, 2012), are responsible for recent gains in Māori economic wealth; this would be a mistake. The vast majority (71% or \$26 billion) of Māori commercial wealth is tied up in Māori small and medium enterprises (SMEs) (Nana et al., 2011a). Thus, it is the Māori entrepreneurs and Māori small and medium enterprise owner-operators that are likely to produce the economic gains Nana et al. (2011b) predict are possible. Additionally, however, improved productivity of Māori land cannot be overlooked for its contribution to Māori economic growth (PwC, 2013).

The effect of Treaty settlements on Māori entrepreneurship is twofold. First, Treaty settlements provide tribes with the financial capacity to rebuild tribal economies. Few post-settlement iwi are, however, investing in the enterprises of tribal members; with Ngāi Tahu a notable exception (Barnett, 2006). Instead, iwi appear preoccupied with building stable, capable and effective governing institutions, necessitating conservative investment programmes and the use of corporate business models (Gardiner, 2010; Harmsworth, 2009; Solomon, 2010; SRG, 2011). Second, Treaty settlements are restoring tribal pride, power and authority—*mana motuhake*—to pursue development aims that are consistent with Māori values and aspirations (Durie, 1995, 1998a, 2013). Viewed then as an expression of Māori self-determination, Māori entrepreneurship is evolving according to a Māori world view, Māori aspirations and Māori circumstances.

As a developed country, Aotearoa New Zealand has many recognisable institutional settings necessary to facilitate efficient economic growth (Treasury, 2014; World Bank, 2014). Yet, there are differences in the institutional environment for Māori entrepreneurs and Māori enterprises, which are arguably comparably less efficient. These institutional arrangements may increase transaction costs of doing business and investing inside the Māori economy, and as a consequence, discourage some from participating in the productive economy. This may manifest in information imperfections and asymmetries hindering access to knowledge and finance necessary for growth within the Māori economy (Davies, 2007; Davies et al., 2005; Dickson, 2010; NZIER, 2003; SRG, 2011). Formal institutions governing Māori economic activity found to be inefficient from an entrepreneurial perspective include Māori communal property rights, the mixing of social and commercial objectives within Māori enterprises, and certain forms of Māori organisation (e.g., Māori trust boards, statutory bodies and land trusts) (Kingi, 2004; MLIG, 1996b; NZIER, 2003).

Reform of these institutional arrangements has tended to focus on symptoms rather than causes of institutional inefficiency. An example of this is the proposal for a special purpose vehicle to assist Māori land-based enterprises access capital (MLIG, 1996a). Admittedly a more mammoth task, the alternative is to fix the underlying system of Māori land tenure (Dyall, 1985; Morad & Jay, 1997). Another stalled attempt at institutional reform is the design of a new form of Māori enterprise (*waka umanga*) able to accommodate communal ownership and collective aspirations (Law Commission, 2006). Although McMullen's (2011) model of development entrepreneurship relates to least developed countries, it provides a framework for considering institutional reform within the Māori economy. As the Māori society is embedded within a developed country, institutional reform of the Māori economy and its enterprises is problematic, even though Māori development conditions may resemble those of least developed countries.

Principles of Māori entrepreneurship

In an attempt to reconcile what Urban (2010) describes as cultural dichotomies in entrepreneurship and Māori development a number of principles of Māori entrepreneurship are suggested. Such principles stem from the discourses of Māori development in Chapter 2 and Māori entrepreneurship outlined above.

First, Māori entrepreneurship is located within the context of Māori development by virtue of the entrepreneur being Māori, degrees of socialisation as Māori, and conducting business within a Māori enterprise according to Māori values, customs and norms. A second principle of Māori entrepreneurship is that Māori entrepreneurs interact within *te ao whānui* (wider society) as a source of inputs, transformative capabilities, and an outlet for what is produced by Māori entrepreneurial activity. A third principle is, therefore, that Māori entrepreneurship is adaptive, integrative and intercultural, whose natural tendency is to balance responsibilities within *te ao Māori* and *te ao whānui*. The Māori concept of *utu* (reciprocity) is posited as a cultural device for regulating cultural and commercial imperatives inherent within Māori entrepreneurship. A fourth principle is that Māori entrepreneurship is imbued with a spiritual ethos that accords with *kaupapa Māori*, *tikanga Māori*, and *āhuatanga Māori* (traditions) as constitutive elements of a Māori world view. Māori term this spiritual ethos *mauri* (life force). The strength of *mauri* varies depending on one's participation in and knowledge of *te ao Māori*. A yearning to be among one's kin (a phenomenon Tūhoe call *matemateāone*) linked to one's identity as Māori is a powerful incentive for the expression of *mauri* (Higgins, 2004). A fifth principle is that *mana* (power, authority and honour) seems to be a determinant of Māori entrepreneurship.

ENTREPRENEURIAL CAPABILITIES

A key theme within entrepreneurship research, policy and practice is understanding what makes entrepreneurship possible (Bygrave & Zacharakis, 2014; Casson et al., 2006;

Davidsson, 2004; Frederick & Kuratko, 2010; S. C. Parker, 2009). Scholars have advanced a variety of theories to explain the causes of entrepreneurship, including personal attributes of the entrepreneur, the scope for economic opportunity, the availability and quality of resources at the entrepreneur's disposal, and the impact of institutions (de Bruin & Dupuis, 2003; Reihana et al., 2006; Sarasvathy, Dew, & Velamuri, 2010; Storey, 2010). The OECD identifies six determinants of entrepreneurship that are amenable to public policy because they are factors over which government has some influence. They are: (i) regulation; (ii) research, development and technology; (iii) entrepreneurial capabilities; (iv) culture; (v) access to finance; and, (vi) market conditions (Ahmad & Hoffman, 2007). Of these, this thesis focuses on entrepreneurial capabilities because of their connection to enterprise assistance, the chief subject matter of the research.

Ahmad and Hoffman (2007) define entrepreneurial capabilities as the skills, knowledge, and relationships of the entrepreneur. In their view, public policy influences entrepreneurial capabilities in five main ways: (i) entrepreneurial training and knowledge-sharing; (ii) traditional business education; (iii) specialised entrepreneurship education; (iv) enterprise assistance—public and private; and (v) immigration (Ahmad & Hoffman, 2007). The focus here is on the public policy of enterprise assistance, which is more fully discussed later in this chapter. A review of capabilities as they relate to entrepreneurship follows.

Entrepreneurial capabilities as forms of capital

Entrepreneurial capabilities exist in two states and appear in five main forms. The first state is as a store of value described as capital (Firkin, 2001). The second is a dynamic state where the various forms of capital are put to productive use by entrepreneurs (Firkin, 2003). Entrepreneurial capital thus becomes entrepreneurial capabilities, that is, instrumental resources enabling entrepreneurs to start and manage enterprises and to build economies (Light & Gold, 2000).

As forms of capital, entrepreneurial capabilities materialise as human capital, social capital, cultural capital and financial capital in the entrepreneurship literature (Light & Gold, 2000; Rogoff, 2009). Yet, two other forms are worth considering. Firkin (2003) refers to physical capital as a tangible store of value, which resembles the neoclassical view of capital as an economic factor of production. Whilst essential for many enterprises physical capital is omitted here because it is assumed to be adequately represented as a store of financial capital. One further form of entrepreneurial capability that is added is spiritual capital (Chu, 2007; Verter, 2014). In the entrepreneurship literature, spiritual capital is assumed to be an element of cultural or human capital or is not discussed at all (Light & Gold, 2000; Rogoff, 2009). This is inconsistent with the importance of spirituality in the Māori world view (see Chapter 2). Spiritual capital is, therefore, retained.

Firkin's (2003) view of entrepreneurial capital draws on resource-based theory by substituting the term *resources* for capital. Resource-based theory assumes organisations consist of various resources (financial, human, social, physical, organisational, and technological) from which value is created (Brush, Greene, Hart, & Edleman, 1997). Entrepreneurship is thus a function of entrepreneurial capital, which represents aggregations of financial and nonfinancial assets, in both tangible and intangible form. While Firkin's (2003) model centres on individual entrepreneurs, Light and Gold (2000) show that entrepreneurial capital also resides in groups, including ethnic groups.

Entrepreneurial capabilities have class and ethnic dimensions (Light & Gold, 2000). Class-based capabilities derive from the cultural and material resources of business owners in all sectors: formal, informal and illegal (Light & Gold, 2000). According to Light and Gold (2000), class-based capabilities are universal; they are possessed by all people of the same class regardless of ethnicity, but in varying proportions. Class resources include material wealth possessed by business owners and capitalists such as property rights, financial resources, and supportive cultural values, knowledge and institutions. Ethnic-based

capabilities exist independent of class and derive from membership and socialisation within an ethnic group. Ethnic resources represent the economic value of ethnicity which includes shared outlook, cooperative spirit, organising techniques, and ethnic credit (Light & Gold, 2000). Ethnic entrepreneurial capabilities enable groups lacking class resources to pursue entrepreneurship.

Light and Gold (2000) argue that entrepreneurs utilise both class and ethnic resources in business. Materially impoverished ethnic communities, migrants, cities and nations have established successful economies without financial resources, instead relying on their class resources of social, cultural and human capital (Light & Gold, 2000). Light and Gold (2000) argue that social mobility through entrepreneurship can be achieved on the basis of supportive ethnic resources. Furthermore, when the economy is expanded to include the informal and illegal sectors, they find that entrepreneurship has long operated as a form of poverty relief (Light & Gold, 2000). Light and Gold (2000) suggest that ethnic resources may be more important during the start-up phase and among impoverished groups whereas class resources assume more importance among older more established enterprises. Ethnic resources can be a mixed blessing, with mutual support for coethnic entrepreneurs sometimes corresponding with undesirable costs (e.g., tolerance of free-rider behaviour, misconduct and extortion) (Light & Gold, 2000). A discussion of each of the five forms of entrepreneurial capabilities follows.

Social capital and entrepreneurship

Social capital emphasises the value of human relationships in entrepreneurship (Bourdieu, 1986; Ng, Cheung, & Prakash, 2010). Woolcock (2001) defines social capital as the relations and customs that bring about communal action. Social capital is premised on the instrumentality of cooperative endeavour, enabling entrepreneurs to achieve goals not possible acting alone (M. A. Coleman, 1988). Social capital facilitates access to financial support,

customers, information, technologies, markets, and labour (Balkin, 1989; Barr, 1998; Light, 1972; Luganda, Bwire, & Nabeta, 2006; Velez-Ibanez, 1983; Waldinger, 1986). Light and Gold (2000, p. 95) cite a Chinese concept *guanxi* as an example of entrepreneurial social capital. Guanxi is the “ability to build useful social relationships, to stockpile these relationships, and then to call upon them for business help.”

Social capital exhibits the following characteristics: (i) social capital increases with use; (ii) social capital exists in groups not individuals; (iii) social capital may be inherited or acquired; (iv) social capital requires effort to maintain; (v) social capital may reduce through misdeeds and mistrust, and evaporate through cessation of relations; and (vi) has no physical form (Bourdieu, 1986; M. A. Coleman, 1988; Light & Gold, 2000). Woolcock (2001) distinguishes between inputs (e.g., building social networks) that produce social capital and outputs (e.g., trust and cooperation) of social capital. Social capital reinforces mutual obligations among primary groups (e.g., family) and facilitates social mobility between people with little or no previous association (Cooley, 1909, cited in Woolcock, 2001). An example of this is group-based microenterprise credit programmes such as the Grameen Bank in Bangladesh (Van Bastalaer, 1999, cited in Luganda et al., 2006).

Human capital and entrepreneurship

Human capital emphasises the value of human intellect, knowledge and competencies in entrepreneurship which are primarily derived from education and experience (G. S. Becker, 1964; Felicio, Couto, & Caiado, 2012). Human capital inheres in the individual (M. A. Coleman, 1988; Woolcock, 2001). David and Lopez (2001) distinguish between human capital, which is passive in production and human capabilities, which is an active process of human agency that transforms economic activity. Human capital has both tangible qualities (i.e., physiological human capabilities and conditions) and intangible qualities (i.e., psychological human capabilities) (David & Lopez, 2001).

From an economic perspective, human capabilities imply some cost in their acquisition, either direct or indirect, a degree of volition in the process and some expectation of productive yield (e.g., consumption or higher pay) (David & Lopez, 2001). The costs and benefits of human capital tend to be reduced to measures of education and experience, rather than more complex arrangements of human knowledge (David & Lopez, 2001). Human capital may generate additional benefits for society in terms of new knowledge and assets, which gives human capital a public good element (David & Lopez, 2001).

Investment decisions in building human capital can be contrived by: (i) verifiability—ascertaining the contents of the trained mind is problematic; (ii) monitoring—measuring results from training can be costly and impractical; (iii) asymmetry and agency problems—how to produce and select those with expertise; and (iv) externalities—how firms internalise the benefit of investments in training without them being appropriated by others (David & Lopez, 2001). Other factors that impinge upon the building of human capital include family background and socioeconomic position, costliness of training and financing this, forgone earnings while training, the market for human capital, and labour market imperfections (David & Lopez, 2001; Light & Gold, 2000).

Cultural capital and entrepreneurship

Cultural capital is an intangible class resource, which Bourdieu (1986) defines as knowledge and competency of high status culture such as art, music, fashion, etiquette, literature and architecture. Knowledge of high status culture represents capital that can be converted to financial advantage by entrepreneurs over their lifetime (Light & Gold, 2000).

According to Bourdieu (1986) cultural capital exists in three forms: (i) the *embodied state*, which manifests in one's enduring memories and knowledge; (ii) the *objectified state*, which are tangible cultural products (e.g., artwork, literature, sculptures, machines, and so forth); and (iii) the *institutionalised state*, recognition of the cultural capital one possesses by

an institution. Cultural capital, objectified in tangible things such as writing, artwork and monuments, may be appropriated materially (requiring economic capital) and symbolically (requiring existing cultural capital). People benefit in proportion to their command of objectified cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986). Academic qualifications, Bourdieu (1986) argues, have value in of themselves as they constitute a form of institutionalised cultural capital separate from the qualified person (e.g., a degree from a prestigious university). Cultural capital of this sort can be converted into financial capital in the labour market (Bourdieu, 1986).

Cultural capital is personal to the holder. Cultural capital is acquired at home and in formal schooling. Cultural capital may be silently acquired by observation of cultural artefacts, language or socialisation with the people of a given time and place. The deciding factor of acquisition and reproduction of cultural capital is the time a family can provide their children to accumulate cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986). Children of affluent homes, therefore, receive class cultural learning, which may confer financial advantages in superior job, marriage and business prospects (Light & Gold, 2000).

Light and Gold (2000) argue that Bourdieu's view of cultural capital omits the occupational culture of business owners, that is, knowledge of and competency in entrepreneurship. The cultural capital of entrepreneurship is evident in the acquisition of informal knowledge about business from relatives who are in business (Kiyosaki & Lechter, 1998). The absence of exposure to the occupational culture of business owners, a form of cultural capital, disadvantages ethnic groups.

Financial capital and entrepreneurship

Financial capital, also referred to as economic capital, consists of income and wealth and is commonly institutionalised as property rights (Firkin, 2003; Light & Gold, 2000). Bourdieu (1986) argues economic capital is the root of all other forms of capital because of its

facilitatory role in converting one form of capital to another. Financial capital may be acquired from one's own resources, other people, institutions, and investors. The more financial capital entrepreneurs possess, the more they are able to grow their enterprises and economies. Financial capital has class and ethnic origins (Light & Gold, 2000). The business class generate financial capital and work to preserve this. Some ethnic groups save more and have more to lend coethnics; others have less.

Spiritual capital and entrepreneurship

Foley (2014) identifies eight forms of capital as a framework for analysing the invidious position of the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander economies of Australia. Foley's (2014) list comprises: (i) intellectual capital; (ii) spiritual capital; (iii) social capital; (iv) material capital; (v) financial capital; (vi) living capital; (vii) cultural capital; and, (viii) experiential capital. On all counts, Foley (2014) finds that Aboriginal entrepreneurs experience deficiencies, which underpin a nation-wide focus on capacity building and partnerships inclusive of government, nongovernment and indigenous enterprise assistance (see for example, Collins, Morrison, Krivokapic-Skoko, & Butler, 2014). Disaggregation of entrepreneurial capital to the extent that Foley (2014) achieves is considered unnecessary for this thesis. Yet, spiritual capital seems an apt addition to the four main forms of entrepreneurial capital identified in the entrepreneurship literature.

In the Māori world view, people are simultaneously spiritual (wairua) and physical (tinana) beings, both immaterial and material in existence, with the spiritual preceding and enduring beyond the mortal condition (E. Best, 2005; Marsden, 1992). Māori identity, culture, rituals and social relations are imbued with the potency, agency, and efficacy of the spiritual dimension (Marsden, 1992). For Māori, this brings into consideration the idea that there are both material and immaterial dimensions of the Māori economy, Māori enterprise, and Māori entrepreneur (M. Henare, 2011; Henry, 2007; Henry & Pene, 2001; Spiller, Erakovic, Henare,

& Pio, 2010). The material dimension of the three levels of Māori entrepreneurship (economy, enterprise and entrepreneur) are readily accounted for in numerical terms. Yet, the immaterial dimension is unseen and less easily accounted for. One way to address the challenge of enumeration of the latter is the notion of spiritual capital.

As a successful entrepreneur and religious minister, Chu (2007) offers an eclectic view on spiritual capital that adapts principles from quantum physics (Csikszentmihalyi, 1993; Hawking, 2005) and capital markets (R. Cameron, 2009; Gardner, 2000). Chu (2007, p. 62) defines spiritual capital as “the use of inner assets such as imagination, intuition and persistence, all directed by intention and intensified by focus and an inner certainty of success.” According to Chu (2007) *flows* of spiritual energy from the cosmos manifest as spiritual assets within entrepreneurs. Chu (2007) classifies spiritual assets as being love, creativity, personality traits, guidance and intuition, and knowledge and skills. In this sense, spiritual assets are transcendental, intellectual, intangible and innate. When spiritual assets are identified, valued and activated by passion and intent, spiritual capital flows through entrepreneurs enabling success to be envisioned and received.

Verter (2014) presents a sociological analysis that views spiritual capital in the three forms of cultural capital articulated by Bourdieu (1986), that is: the embodied state; the objectified state; and the institutionalised state. In the embodied state, spiritual capital resides in the person and may be reflected in one’s position and disposition to religiosity, the consequence of experience, socialisation and preference (Verter, 2014). In the objectified state, spiritual capital exists in religious artefacts, texts and vestments (Verter, 2014). In the institutionalised state, spiritual capital relates to the power religious organisations use to legitimise and regulate the demand and supply of religious goods (Verter, 2014). Spiritual capital varies between mass forms (e.g., traditional religions) and restricted forms (e.g., spiritualism and alternative religions), with both conditioned by politics and history (Verter,

2014). The production and consumption of spiritual capital hinges on an investment of human capital (e.g., time and labour) and financial capital (e.g., donations) (Verter, 2014).

ENTERPRISE ASSISTANCE

Government intervention in market economies

Government intervention in a market economy is generally justified by either economic or political arguments, or both (Greene & Storey, 2010). Modern economies operate on the presupposition that markets and price signals provide the most efficient means to allocate available resources, direct entrepreneurial activity and produce the optimal number of firms (A. Smith, 1991; Storey, 1994). When markets fail, this provides economic reasons for governments to step in and attempt to restore the efficient operation of markets (Audretsch, Grilo, & Thurik, 2007; Jurado & Massey, 2011; Lattimore, Madge, Martin, & Mills, 1998). Additionally, policy makers need to be convinced that the benefits of intervening outweigh the costs and the market failure can be fixed by intervening (Storey, 1994).

While the rationale for government intervention is generally embodied within the notion of market failure, public policy is rarely expressed in these terms (S. C. Parker, 2009; Storey, 1994). Instead, the reason is underpinned by political ideology, political agreements, or to fulfil state obligations in domestic and international law. Political reasons for government intervention can include job creation, increasing foreign exchange earnings, overcoming economic disparities, achieving productivity gains, consumer choice, and voter appeal (Greene & Storey, 2010; Storey, 1994).

Once a decision is made to intervene, governments have two basic choices: a nonneutral (hands-on) stance or a neutral (hands-off) stance (Bollard, 1984, 1988; Jurado & Massey, 2011). A nonneutral position implies direct government support for industry and

enterprises. This approach uses firm-level policy to influence industry and enterprise performance. Examples of such policies include reducing compliance costs and increasing labour market flexibility (Bollard, 1988). Arguments in favour of hands-on enterprise support are typically based on employment and innovation contributions by enterprises and the disadvantages of small firm size (Bannock & Peacock, 1989; Bolton, 1971; Jurado & Massey, 2011). The argument against a hands-on approach is that it can artificially protect failing industries (Bollard, 1988; OECD, 1992).

A neutral stance implies indirect public support using macroeconomic policy to enhance market efficiency (OECD, 1992). The hands-off approach in Aotearoa New Zealand is associated with industry deregulation, corporatisation and privatisation of state-run enterprises since the mid-1980s (Jurado & Massey, 2011). Macroeconomic policy focuses on maintaining low inflation, reducing public debt, and removing market distortions (Roper, 2005). This approach centres on creating favourable conditions in which to do business (Bollard, 1988; World Bank, 2014). Smallbone and Welter (2001) argue that while political and economic policy reform are important, the role of social, cultural, and historical contexts in entrepreneurship cannot be ignored. Support infrastructure such as roads, utilities, and banks and enterprise culture are examples of relevant contextual factors in entrepreneurship (Grimes, 2009; World Bank, 2014).

The origins of public enterprise assistance

Enterprise assistance arose as an intermediary between the science and business communities. Firms were encouraged and assisted to adapt technological advances into their enterprises through a process known as technology transfer (Massey, 2006). The traditional form of technology transfer positioned the advisor as ‘expert’ and the client as the passive recipient of expert knowledge, which had a technical bias (Hjalmarsson & Johansson, 2003; Massey, 2006). Farm advisers, also referred to as extension agents, are an example of this paradigm

(Massey, 2006). The extension model in agriculture emphasises voluntary adoption of innovations considered beneficial for enterprises and industry (J. A. Coutts, 1994). The technology transfer (or extension) model has since become more participatory and collaborative, adopting a broader frame inclusive of non-agricultural management and organisational systems (Massey, 2006).

Management consultancy (generalists and specialists) emerged as an alternative model by which to facilitate access for enterprises to new knowledge (Chrisman, 2010; Massey, 1999). Management consulting originated from the work of Frederick Winslow Taylor and his invention of 'management science' (Taylor, 1998) (see Chapter 1). Taylor was followed by other management theorists including Mayo, Fayol, Maslow, Follet, Mintzberg, Porter, Drucker, among others (Robbins, Bergman, Stagg, & Coulter, 2009). The management consultancy paradigm emphasises human development, organisational learning, and facilitative approaches through client-initiated engagements (Massey, 2006; Sen, 1999; Senge, 2006).

Enterprise assistance is premised on the assumption that it is universally beneficial for entrepreneurs to adapt science and technology into their enterprises (Massey, 2006). While enterprise assistance may confer a private benefit to entrepreneurs through improved enterprise performance, firm improvements also yield a public benefit in terms of their contribution to the national economy (Greene & Storey, 2010; Harper, 1994). Thus, governments have been willing to fund enterprise assistance because of its public good element. As a public good, governments pay for enterprise assistance; as a private good, entrepreneurs pay (Massey, 2006). The enterprise assistance a country offers depends on the government's political ideology and economic policy as to whether enterprise assistance is conceived as more a private than a public good, or more a public than a private good (Massey, 2006; Storey, 1994).

While the economic theory of market failure might indicate where the line ought to be drawn between public and private enterprise assistance, the drawing of the line is ultimately a matter of political expediency (Greene & Storey, 2010). Entrepreneurship policy in Aotearoa New Zealand provides an example of this. Prevailing economic policy is predominantly hands-off or neutral where the aim is macroeconomic stability and engendering a business environment in which it is relatively easy to do business (Treasury, 2010; World Bank, 2014). In this context, the emphasis is on nonfinancial forms of enterprise assistance for small and medium enterprises (Jurado & Massey, 2011). Yet ironically, larger enterprises with established credentials in international trade and advanced technologies appear to enjoy greater access to financial assistance from government (Gaynor, 2014).

The United States of America has had public enterprise assistance policies longer than any other developed nation. This is led by the US Small Business Administration (SBA) formed in 1953 (Greene & Storey, 2010), although its origins trace to US government responses to the Great Depression (SBA, 2013, 2014). In the United Kingdom, small business policies emerged in the 1980s either as a response to high unemployment or as a pro-enterprise policy shift, or both (Greene & Storey, 2010). The US focus is more on access to finance, spending an estimated US\$51.5 billion (US\$174 per person) on enterprise support in 2005, the bulk of this in the form of subsidies, guarantees and loans (Greene & Storey, 2010). The UK focuses on soft forms of support (e.g., training and mentoring), spending an estimated US\$15.5 billion (US\$276 per person) (Greene & Storey, 2010).

Massey (2006) argues that the complexity of business, the rapidity of technological change, and preferences for participatory approaches requires a clearer delineation between traditional and modern approaches to enterprise assistance. She identifies a new form of change agent termed 'enterprise developer' for the task (Massey, 2006). An enterprise developer is neither extension agent nor consultant; is neither wholly public nor wholly

private. Enterprise developers are a blend of both paradigms, drawing on multiple disciplines and processes to assist enterprises and industries achieve their goals (Massey, 2006).

Designing public enterprise assistance

Where a nonneutral industry policy applies, Mole and Bramley (2006) suggest a hierarchy of four key choices in terms of the design of publicly funded enterprise assistance. First, what is the purpose (rationale) of the assistance? Second, who delivers (private, public, quasi) the assistance? Third, how is assistance to be rationed (price, timing, sector, or market)? Fourth, what type of support (generic, personalised, internet-based) is to be offered? Greene and Storey (2010) add two further considerations: how assistance is to be integrated into existing programmes and how assistance is to be funded (taxation, users, or donations).

Table 3.1 illustrates Mole and Bramley's (2006) framework of policy choices, drawing on examples of enterprise assistance from Chapter 1. All of the permutations Mole and Bramley (2006) identify are evident here in Aotearoa New Zealand. Mole and Bramley (2006) admit that the significance and quality of these choices are not assessed because such choices are subject to political and policy processes. In respect of the delivery agent, policy choices include setting up a new entity or working through existing entities, delivery within a public-private partnership, a mix of local and national provision, and monopolistic or competitive provision (see Table 3.1) (Mole & Bramley, 2006).

Table 3.1 Policy design choices for enterprise assistance delivery

Provider	Examples		Provider
Specific	NZMT	MBIE	Non-specific
Public	IRD	FoMA	Private
National	NZTE	EDA	Local
Monopolistic	MFAT	MBFS	Competitive

Note: NZMT (New Zealand Māori Tourism); MBIE (Ministry of Business, Innovation and Employment) IRD (Inland Revenue Department); NZTE (New Zealand Trade and Enterprise); EDA (economic development agency); MFAT (Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade); MBFS (Māori Business Facilitation Service).

Lattimore et al. (1998) identify three broad approaches for enterprise assistance design: (i) ensuring the institutional environment (i.e., macroeconomic policy, regulation, taxation, labour markets, and enforcement) provides favourable conditions in which to do business; (ii) mass dispersion of generic enterprise assistance information via the internet; and (iii) rationing limited enterprise assistance to eligible enterprises. Governments are constrained by cost, information technology and capacity to assist every business that may have legitimate unmet enterprise assistance needs. For instance, it is estimated that only around five percent of small businesses access Commonwealth government enterprise assistance in Australia (Lattimore et al., 1998). Internet-based delivery may cost-effectively extend the reach of nonfinancial assistance, but delivery of financial assistance is difficult in this mode (Lattimore et al., 1998).

Enterprise assistance for small enterprises may be justified on the basis of their contribution to competition, innovation, and job creation, and because of size disadvantages (Lattimore et al., 1998; Storey, 1994). Intervention on size alone, however, has the potential to distort entrepreneurial behaviour; other reasons for intervening are necessary (Lattimore et al., 1998). Moreover, small enterprises are highly variegated. Some are highly innovative, grow rapidly, and generate numerous jobs; many, however, do not (Lattimore et al., 1998; MED, 2010).

While deficiencies in management capability are widely claimed as contributing to small business failure (Bolton, 1971; Chetwin & Smith, 1995; Massey et al., 2004; Te Puni Kōkiri, 1997b), publicly funded management training may not be a justifiable response (Lattimore et al., 1998). This is because of the tenuous connection between training and enterprise performance and the transaction costs of engaging in training (e.g., search, direct and opportunity costs) (Storey, 1994). Selection bias can also frustrate training efforts if capability deficient entrepreneurs and enterprises elect not to take-up training because they over or underestimate transaction costs or the perceived value of training (Lattimore et al., 1998). Training subsidies beyond those available through the education system may be justified in limited circumstances such as for disadvantaged groups (Curtin, 1996; Lattimore et al., 1998).

External advice is another way in which entrepreneurs may deal with management capability deficiencies. Entrepreneurs, particularly during the early stages of business, typically use accountants, banks and lawyers for advice, rather than specialist advisers (Lattimore et al., 1998; Lewis, Massey, Ashby, Coetzer, & Harris, 2005). While private sector advisory services may improve uptake by making part of their price contingent upon performance, such an arrangement is less workable with public advisory services. Subsidies for specialist external advice may be justified where spillover benefits are evident in, for example, industry-wide innovations (Lattimore et al., 1998; S. C. Parker, 2009).

A common claim is that small enterprises experience additional difficulty accessing finance through formal capital markets, including banks, investors and other financial intermediaries (Groves, 2000; NZIER, 2002; SRG, 2011; Storey, 1994; White, 1999). This is mainly because capital providers perceive small and new enterprises as higher in risk, and therefore, more costly to service (Storey, 1994). Lattimore et al. (1998) argue that an efficient capital market should address many of the access to finance concerns. Beyond this faith in the capital markets, government intervention might more appropriately be directed toward

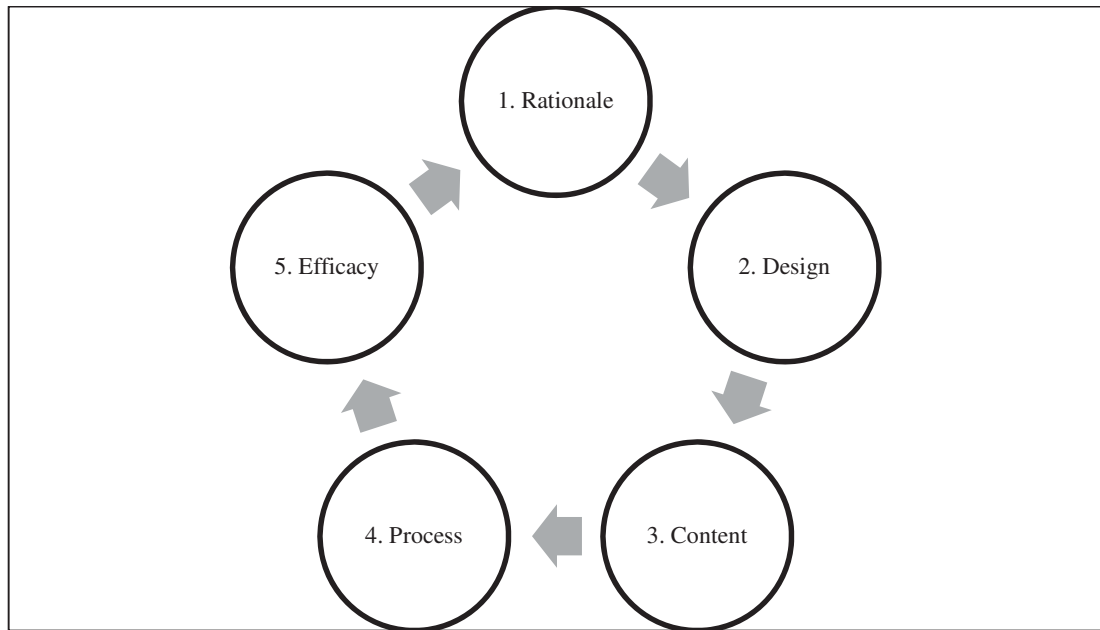
removing impediments for the capital markets to provide small and new enterprises with finance rather than act as a provider or underwriter itself (R. Cameron, 2009; Lattimore et al., 1998; Mika, 2010b). Some enterprises may be unprepared for the process of obtaining outside finance (Lattimore et al., 1998). An investment readiness intervention may be warranted (e.g., New Zealand Trade and Enterprise's Better By Capital scheme) (Joyce, 2013). In other cases, the capital markets seem willing to find innovative ways to supply small enterprises with capital, including disclosing how loan risk is calculated (Rogoff, 2007).

One of the consequences of governments intervening in public enterprise assistance is engendering demand for similar treatment from unintended quarters (Lattimore et al., 1998). A broad rationale should minimise this possibility. Another effect of public enterprise assistance is distortions to business incentives (Lattimore et al., 1998). For example, where eligibility is linked to firm size, some entrepreneurs may restrict growth efforts in order to qualify. A major design challenge with subsidies is thus ensuring the right firms receive assistance and assisted firms acquire the additional assistance they would not have obtained in the absence of the subsidy (Lattimore et al., 1998; Storey, 1998; Wren & Storey, 2002).

A model of public enterprise assistance

A model of public enterprise assistance is discernible from the public policy literature, with Lattimore et al. (1998), Massey (2006), and Greene and Storey (2010) major contributors. The model contains five key elements, connecting in clockwise fashion, starting from rationale (see Figure 3.1). The rationale for enterprise assistance hinges on political ideology and economic theory. The rationale forms the basis of government policy, which triggers an allocation of public resources in the government's budget and parliamentary appropriations (Boston et al., 1996).

Figure 3.1 Model of public enterprise assistance



The second element in the model is the design of enterprise assistance. Initial programme design is likely to occur together with the formulation of rationale and policy. Design is carried out by public agencies and their advisors, public and private, although final design will have had political consent because public funds are at stake. Design is organised and implemented in the content and process stages. Content, the third element, describes the forms of enterprise assistance. Depending on the scope of the assistance, this may include one or more of information, advice, facilitation, training, grants, and finance (Massey, 2006; Storey, 1994). Content is dependent on design, but manifests in process. Process is the way in which programme providers (e.g., advisors and associated entities) and participants (e.g., entrepreneurs as clients) engage in the process of enterprise assistance (Hjalmarsson & Johansson, 2003). Process typically includes the following steps: client engagement; service provision; monitoring; follow-up; and subsequent service provision (Lattimore et al., 1998).

Efficacy relates to the effect of enterprise assistance on entrepreneurs, enterprises, industries, government and the economy (Ahmad & Hoffman, 2007). Efficacy influences rationale, either sustaining, modifying, or leading to the termination of assistance. While the model in Figure 3.1 illustrates the logic of public enterprise assistance, it does so without

reference to Māori entrepreneurship. Yet, the model provides a basis against which to discuss Māori-specific enterprise assistance design and delivery.

Public enterprise assistance as service-level encounter

Few studies provide theoretical explanations of enterprise assistance at the level of the entrepreneur. An exception is Hjalmarsson and Johansson (2003), who examine public advisory services as service-level encounter, consistent with neo-Austrian economic theory (Kirzner, 1973). Neo-Austrian theory views enterprise assistance as a microeconomic phenomenon centering on the subjective exchange between entrepreneurs as client and advisors as providers. This contrasts with neoclassical economic theory that views public enterprise assistance as a macroeconomic intervention. Hjalmarsson and Johansson's (2003) analysis focuses on the power relations between client and advisor, which they explain using two concepts: client identity and clientification inspired by Foucault (1977, 1978, 1983).

Hjalmarsson and Johansson (2003) define client identity as the client's conceptualisation of themselves in relation to outside advisors. This appears in three forms. First, the anti-client in which the client perceives themselves as a non-receiver because use implies some inadequacy on the client's part. Second, is the consultant-modifier in which the client redefines services to their purpose. Third, is the ideal-client who resembles the neoclassical portrayal of the 'needy-client' and the advisor as expert (Hjalmarsson & Johansson, 2003; Massey, 2006). Public enterprise assistance targeted at anti-clients can expect poor uptake. Consultant-modifiers can be expected to manipulate assistance. Ideal-clients can be expected to treat public enterprise assistance as 'expert' knowledge.

Clientification involves two types of power-relations: (i) objectifying power-relations; and (ii) subjectifying power-relations. Objectifying power-relations position the entrepreneur as the object of advice; in other words as advice-taker, which can lead to resistance. Subjectifying power-relations position the entrepreneur as the subject of advice, maintaining

control over their own ideas and directing the advisory process in fulfilment of their particular needs (Hjalmarsson & Johansson, 2003). Hjalmarsson and Johansson (2003) argue that subjectifying relations offer a superior approach to public enterprise assistance, consistent with neo-Austrian theory. They further suggest that coupling financial and nonfinancial assistance objectifies clients, reinforcing knowledge and power asymmetries, which can lead to client resistance (Hjalmarsson & Johansson, 2003). The subsidisation of enterprise assistance, however, equalises power and subjectifies clients by giving entrepreneurs choice over whether or not to use given forms of public enterprise assistance.

An alternative explanation of the service-level encounter between enterprise assistance provider and entrepreneur is offered by the marketing literature, specifically in the concept of service-dominant (S-D) logic (Vargo & Lusch, 2008). Service-dominant logic positions *service* as the fundamental concept in customer-supplier exchanges, which emphasise collaborative experiences and the use of competencies as the preferred way to solve customers' problems (Lusch & Vargo, 2006). Service occurs in a process of co-creating value where customers and providers interact to customise products and services (Payne, Storbacka, & Frow, 2008). The limitation is that service-dominant logic in respect of the public sector is only a recent development (Osborne, Randor, & Nasi, 2012). Nevertheless, service-dominant logic offers scope to explore changes in public management with respect to enterprise assistance.

Service-dominant logic is encapsulated in 10 foundational premises, which confront established assumptions about marketing (Ballantyne, Williams, & Aitken, 2011). For a summary of the updated foundational premises see Vargo and Lusch (2008). Fundamentally, the *premises* suggest that service (rather than goods) is the basis of exchange; goods deliver service-value through their use; no value is created without the customer; value creation is oriented to the customer; and, co-creation is relational, integrative and experiential (Vargo & Lusch, 2008). Rather than being a paradigm, Vargo and Lusch (2008) regard service-dominant

logic as the impetus for a paradigmatic shift away from a transactional exchange of tangible goods to an interactive co-creation of service-value. A process-based view is central to the co-creation of value within service-level encounters (Payne et al., 2008). According to Payne et al. (2008), a process view of co-creation emphasises the need for longitudinal, dynamic, interactive provider-customer relations using routine and nonroutine resources.

Service-dominant logic suggests that a different management approach is needed in public management, one which creates experiential benefits rather than one concerned with producing goods (Osborne et al., 2012). Production and consumption of services thus occur simultaneously and feature cross-sectoral and interagency collaboration as co-producers of public services (Osborne et al., 2012). Osborne et al. (2012) argue that service-dominant logic makes more effective public services possible. This is because citizens and service-users are elevated as “essential stakeholders” in the co-creation of service-value (Osborne et al., 2012, p. 143).

Enterprise assistance is essentially a service, consisting of intangible benefits developed in the exchange between providers and entrepreneurs. A good-dominant (G-D) logic assumes enterprise assistance is determined by public sector agencies independent of the citizenry and service-users. A service-dominant logic assumes design, delivery, and evaluation of enterprise assistance are entirely dependent upon the active participation of the citizenry and service-users. Without service-user involvement, value creation is constrained. An example is the delivery of mentoring services. There is no mentoring without the mentee. A passive mentee as recipient of mentoring services is characteristic of good-dominant logic, and Hjalmarsson and Johansson’s (2003) idea of the needy-client. An active mentee in the sense of shaping service expectations, procedures, tasks and outcomes of mentoring is characteristic of service-dominant logic and Hjalmarsson and Johansson’s (2003) idea of consultant-modifiers. Further work is, however, needed to evaluate service-dominant logic’s application to enterprise assistance for Māori entrepreneurs.

Evaluating public enterprise assistance

Evaluating public enterprise assistance ranges from monitoring activity to the use of complex statistical techniques (Storey, 1998; Wren & Storey, 2002). Methodological complexity and depth depend on the purpose of the evaluation and available resources. Evaluation has become a prerequisite for sustaining public programmes (Davidson, 2005; Lunt, Davidson, & McKegg, 2003). Few enterprise policy evaluations, however, employ the more sophisticated techniques of Storey's (1998) 'Six Steps to Heaven' framework because of their complexity, access to data, costliness, and the opacity of policy intent. In one of the few local policy evaluations to apply such econometric techniques, Morris and Stevens (2010) measure the net economic benefits (e.g., scheme costs versus benefits) of government support for high growth enterprises. This was made possible by using Statistics New Zealand's longitudinal business database (Fabling, 2009). Limited official Māori business data constrains comparable studies for Māori enterprises (see Chapter 2).

One of the problems with evaluating enterprise assistance is the inability to observe what would have happened to enterprises that did not participate in assistance. This unobserved outcome is called the counterfactual (Morris & Stevens, 2010; Wren & Storey, 2002). Another imperative in evaluation is to compare 'like with like,' that is, ensuring participating and non-participating enterprises are demonstrably similar in character before comparisons can be drawn. To mitigate these challenges, Morris and Stevens (2010) use propensity score matching, among other methods. Propensity score matching helps ensure enterprises that receive assistance and those that do not have similar chances of receiving treatment.

Several academic, government- and provider-commissioned studies evaluate Māori entrepreneurs' participation in and outcomes from enterprise assistance. Battisti and Gillies (2008, 2009), for example, evaluate Poutama Trust assistance for Māori enterprises. They find that rising costs and economic conditions are key concerns for Māori enterprises. Suggested

changes to Poutama Trust services include keeping the focus on existing rather than new enterprises, specialised mentoring, inter-firm networking, and retaining advisory services (Battisti & Gillies, 2009).

Zapalska, Perry and Dabb (2003) study the relationship between conditions in the business environment (e.g., political, economic, and social) and entrepreneurial activity among export oriented Māori enterprises. Zapalska et al. (2003) suggest that enterprise assistance can enhance Māori business capability by providing access to support, motivation, role models, expert opinion, counselling, and access to opportunities and information. Reihana, Modlik, & Sisley (2006), using GEM data and interviews, find that sociocultural norms mixed with location-specific institutional factors significantly impact Māori enterprises. They maintain this necessitates a re-design of financial support and more effective educational and training strategies of relevance to Māori (Reihana et al., 2006). In these studies, commentary neither extends to the redesign of public enterprise assistance nor the experiences of Māori entrepreneurs in such assistance.

When enterprise assistance is free (involving no direct or indirect cost), the efficacy of the assistance matters to no one but the immediate participants. When enterprise assistance is partially or wholly funded by government, efficacy becomes a matter of public interest. In this instance, accountability for performance and cost increase in direct proportion to the amount of public funding involved in any provision of enterprise assistance. When publicly funded enterprise assistance is targeted to Māori, expectations about accountability and efficacy are higher again because of political sensitivities and a propensity for anti-Māori themes in the media (Boston et al., 1996; Kupu Taea, 2014; McCreanor et al., 2011).

GAPS IN THE LITERATURE AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Toward a theory of Māori entrepreneurship

Theoretical development of Māori entrepreneurship is still relatively nascent. Unmodified adaptation of Western entrepreneurship to Māori enterprises is no longer warranted or necessary for Māori economic progress (Davidsson, 2004; Devlin, 2006). Insufficient consideration is, however, given to indigenous views of entrepreneurship. The economic value of entrepreneurship is consequently emphasised in entrepreneurship policy directed to Māori enterprises. Māori and non-Māori scholars are advocating for other approaches to Māori entrepreneurship research centred on a Māori world view, Māori culture, values and practices (Dawson, 2012; M. Kawharu, Tapsell, & Woods, 2012; Keelan & Woods, 2006; T. R. Love, 2004a).

While Māori entrepreneurship in Aotearoa New Zealand predates European contact (pre-1769), Māori entrepreneurial adaptation and innovation encountered a protracted hiatus between 1850 and 1900 as a consequence of systematic colonial dispossession and subjugation (R. Walker, 2004). Māori land-based enterprises operate under an institutional regime, which struggles to rectify historical land-loss with contemporary commercial imperatives (Kingi, 2004). Predominately urban based Māori self-employed and Māori enterprise owner-operators are increasingly turning to entrepreneurship out of choice. They are taking skills acquired in industries historically dominated by Māori as labourers and tradespeople and converting their knowledge into entrepreneurial enterprises. Māori entrepreneurs are slowly emerging in knowledge-based industries requiring a different set of skills, knowledge and attributes (Biasiny-Tule, 2014).

The blueprint for Māori entrepreneurship has hitherto been a non-Māori, Western, or Pākehā one. Treaty settlements have reinvigorated Māori entrepreneurial aspirations, but capacity and competing priorities constrain tribal choices as to the support they provide tribal

entrepreneurs. The challenge for Māori is to decide what they want to be and how they want to be as Māori—not a straightforward undertaking (O'Regan, 2014). While Treaty settlements are stimulating an economic and cultural transformation in Māori society, Māori entrepreneurs are expected to play a part. The problem is whether or not extant theory of Māori entrepreneurship is ready for the task. The literature is not conclusive on this point.

The role of public enterprise assistance in Māori entrepreneurship

Entrepreneurial capabilities are established in the literature review as a determinant of entrepreneurship. Entrepreneurial capabilities manifest within five forms of capital: social capital, human capital, cultural capital, financial capital, and spiritual capital. Enterprise assistance induces entrepreneurial capabilities. Enterprise assistance comprises financial and nonfinancial forms of assistance originating from public and private sources. Enterprise assistance is conveyed as firm-level (microeconomic) interventions with national-level (macroeconomic) implications. Public enterprise assistance is regulated by policy; private enterprise assistance by price. Indigeneity in entrepreneurship policy is interpreted as satisfying customary (noneconomic) obligations and overcoming disadvantage (poverty) which threaten to disrupt mainstream economic modalities, principally, economic growth.

Few studies make an explicit connection between Māori entrepreneurship and entrepreneurial capabilities. While some literature links specific forms of capital to Māori entrepreneurship (e.g., social capital, human capital or financial capital) (P. Best & Love, 2011; Bourdieu, 1986; Mika, 2010a; Warren, 2009; Yates, 2009), none analyse Māori entrepreneurship in terms of the five primary forms of entrepreneurial capital. Public enterprise assistance is typically justified on the basis of capability deficiencies among Māori entrepreneurs (e.g., management and financial capabilities) (Te Puni Kōkiri, 1999a; Waitangi Tribunal, 1993). Thus, enterprise assistance is reasoned as a capability building process. Disparities in capability are typically based on comparing Māori entrepreneurial capabilities

with those of Pākehā. Little consideration is given to defining entrepreneurial capabilities from a Māori perspective or valuing pre-existing Māori capabilities. This thesis seeks to understand how enterprise assistance influences entrepreneurial capabilities, individually and collectively, among Māori entrepreneurs.

An ideal model of enterprise assistance for Māori entrepreneurs

Presently, the academic literature inadequately explains the role of government in Māori entrepreneurship generally, and the participation and experience of Māori entrepreneurs in publicly funded enterprise assistance in particular. Debate about the role of government in entrepreneurship is old and vexing. There are well-established political and economic reasons why governments can and do intervene in their economies to support entrepreneurs and the manner in which they do this. While the status and maturity of an economy influences decisions about the role of government, so too do political ideology, constitutional arrangements, historical and cultural contexts, and value judgements.

The role of government in entrepreneurship in Aotearoa New Zealand generally follows the pattern of public policy of other developed nations adapted to local circumstances, resources and needs. Public policy in respect of Māori entrepreneurship in Aotearoa New Zealand generally follows that of the general population of entrepreneurs and enterprises. Yet, the review of Māori development in the previous chapter and enterprise assistance in this chapter suggests some uncertainty about the basis for and design of publicly funded enterprise assistance for Māori entrepreneurs. Several studies identify the general need for enterprise assistance, but few explicitly discuss the rationale for this and the principles that ought to influence design of publicly funded enterprise assistance for Māori entrepreneurs. This thesis seeks to address this gap. It does this by exploring Māori entrepreneurs' experiences of enterprise assistance and their views on the role of government and an ideal model of enterprise assistance for Māori.

Research questions

Three research questions emerge from the literature to guide the research in this thesis. The questions are: (i) what is the theory of Māori entrepreneurship as it relates to enterprise assistance? (ii) what is the role of publicly funded enterprise assistance in Māori entrepreneurship? and (iii) what is the ideal model of enterprise assistance for Māori entrepreneurs? The first question enquires into the nature of Māori entrepreneurship and how this shapes perceptions of enterprise assistance. The second research question seeks to understand the role of public enterprise assistance in Māori entrepreneurial activity. The third question seeks to meld evidence of what enterprise assistance does with normative views about what enterprise assistance could look like for Māori entrepreneurs. The next chapter outlines the methods used to answer these questions and their basis in research philosophy.

Chapter 4 Methodology

This chapter outlines the philosophy and assumptions behind the research approach and methods used in this thesis. Kaupapa Māori is positioned as the dominant research philosophy. This approach allows for other perspectives from a Western frame to be considered and incorporated where appropriate. The effect of kaupapa Māori theory on research design, implementation, and ethics is discussed. The research in this thesis is exploratory, inductive and critical in nature. The chapter discusses qualitative research theory and practice in relation to the use of semi-structured interviews and the recruitment of participants. The use of a pilot study, university ethics approval, and qualitative data analysis are discussed. The chapter explains the use of Nvivo software to code and analyse interview transcripts and concludes with an overview of the interview questions. With any discussion of research philosophy one inevitably encounters two key terms, epistemology and ontology. Otherwise called a paradigm or world view, epistemology refers to a theory of knowledge, a way of explaining how we know what we know (Crotty, 1998). Ontology refers to the study of what things exist and how they exist, that is, the study of 'being' (Creswell, 2009; Crotty, 1998).

INDIGENOUS METHODOLOGIES

Indigenous theorising concerns indigenous peoples' efforts to explain their existence using indigenous theory, knowledge and culture (Marsden, 1992; L. T. Smith, 1999). Indigenous theorising is cognisant of other theoretical traditions, including civil and human rights, and critical theory, among others (Bishop, 1996; L. T. Smith, 1999). A key challenge for indigenous peoples is to decide what elements of Western theory and culture can usefully be applied within the process of recovering indigenous lives, components of which include identity, language, culture, and social, economic and political institutions (L. T. Smith, 1999).

Indigenous methodologies flow from tribal epistemologies and ontologies (Edwards, 2005; King, 1992; Kovach, 2010). They are bound to and originate from indigenous relations with tribal lands, histories, culture, language and protocols (Higgins, 2004; Matāmua, 2006). Commonalities do exist among indigenous epistemologies that legitimise indigenous research methodologies (Durie, 2003, 2011). Some of the salient features of indigenous methodologies include: (i) research is inherently relational; (ii) research ought to benefit indigenous peoples; (iii) indigenous methods and protocols are appropriate; and, (iv) indigenous research is considered subjective because of its metaphysical epistemology (Henry, 2011a; Powick, 2003). Conventional research methods thus require adaptation and explication because non-indigenous and indigenous methodologies have different origins. Indigenous methodologies require consistency with indigenous values, ethics and knowledge. In terms of methods this can mean establishing relationships with and the support of elders and gathering knowledge by dialogue, story and conversation (Irwin, 1994; Kovach, 2010).

Three broad approaches to indigenous theorising are evident in Māori research: (i) Māori-centric theorising; (ii) Western-centric theorising; and (iii) integrationist theorising. A Māori-centric approach draws primarily upon *mātauranga* Māori (traditional Māori knowledge), *tikanga* Māori (Māori culture), and *reo* Māori (Māori language) to conceptualise Māori ideas, notions and propositions. The most prevalent of these methodologies is kaupapa Māori research (research that accords with Māori philosophy) (G. H. Smith, 1997).

A Western-centric approach privileges Western knowledge and methods because desired technologies may originate from a non-indigenous knowledge base. This approach is premised on modernism (substituting indigenous for non-indigenous knowledge) and realism (indigenous development occurs within dominant political, economic and social institutions). An example is unmodified use of Western medicine by Māori to treat Māori.

A third approach is integrationist theorising. This approach attempts to blend Māori-centric and Western-centric ideologies because Māori development is assumed to be a product

of both Māori and Western theoretical traditions. The thesis of Māori succeeding *as* Māori in te ao Māori (Māori society) and te ao Pākehā (Western society) proposed by Durie (2003), exemplifies integrationist theorising that has a Māori-centric bias. Durie's (2003) thesis has been highly influential in Māori public policy throughout the first decade of the new millennium (ACEA, 2013; Ministry of Education, 2009; Pihama & Penehira, 2005).

Durie's (2003) proposition of Māori succeeding in both Māori and Pākehā societies can be traced to a much earlier lament by Sir Apirana Ngata. In this, Ngata implores Māori to hold fast to their identity *as* Māori, but utilise Pākehā knowledge and methods for their material wellbeing (Kora, 1965). While the initial frame in Durie's (2003) proposition is a Māori-centric one, the expectation is that Māori would also pursue success in non-Māori fields of development. A similar rationale underpins this thesis. The underlying methodology is kaupapa Māori research, whilst adapting Western methodologies, consistent with an integrationist approach to indigenous theorising.

KAUPAPA MĀORI RESEARCH

Marsden (1992) defines *kaupapa* as the fundamental principles from which deeds flow (Royal, 2003). *Kau* means to become apparent to the senses while *papa* means to be grounded (Royal, 2003). Kaupapa Māori theory is, therefore, based on the Māori world view, which itself derives from the Māori creation stories (see Chapter 2) (Harris et al., 2013; Marsden, 1992; Royal, 2003). Because of colonial influences on Māori society, L. T. Smith (1999) suggests that kaupapa Māori research has both political and academic aims. In her view, these are: (i) to persuade Māori of the merits of Māori research; (ii) to increase Māori involvement in research; and (iii) to evolve new ways of researching (L. T. Smith, 1999). Kaupapa Māori research is commonly viewed from two perspectives. First, as critical theory, which sets out to uncover and overturn oppressive institutions. Second, as constructivism, which allows

Māori to define the world based on Māori epistemologies and Māori social interactions (Eketone, 2008).

Kaupapa Māori research is an indigenous methodology that emerged from Māori education and health research, and Treaty of Waitangi claims research (Durie, 1998a, 1998b; M. Durie, 1999; Durie, 2001b; Hohepa, Cram, & Tocker, 2000; L. T. Smith, 1999; D. Tapsell et al., 2007). Kaupapa Māori research is increasingly prevalent in academic and applied research in the social sciences and humanities, including business (Henry, 1999; Henry & Pene, 2001; Hohepa et al., 2000; Hutchings, Potter, & Taupo, 2011; Pihama, 2001; Powick, 2003; D. Ruwhiu & Wolfgramm, 2006; G. H. Smith, 1992, 1997).

Kaupapa Māori research methods are relevant to Māori entrepreneurship for the same reasons that they are relevant in other domains of Māori development. That is because they work (Bishop, 1996; Cram et al., 2002; Eketone, 2008). Kaupapa Māori embraces Māori identity, culture and institutions placing Māori people and their needs, preferences and aspirations at the centre of the research effort (Mika & O'Sullivan, 2014). Kaupapa Māori research allows Māori to influence the aims, design, conduct and outcomes of research and how these are shared (Henry, 2012). Kaupapa Māori theory and practice thus constitute important elements of Māori cultural capital (G. H. Smith, 1997, cited in Bishop, 2008). Kaupapa Māori research is the principal framework in this thesis because the research is research about Māori, by Māori, and for Māori and others.

Kaupapa Māori challenges non-Māori researchers and the mainstream research community to assess the value of Māori research and Māori research methodologies through a kaupapa Māori theoretical lens. This is to be achieved in two ways. First, by assuming the legitimacy of Māori social, political, historical, intellectual and cultural beliefs, experiences and practices (Bishop, 1996). In other words, to be Māori, to think Māori, to act Māori and to speak Māori are accepted as valid and legitimate expressions of Māori ontology (G. H. Smith, 1997). Second, kaupapa Māori research is premised on Māori self-determination as being vital

to Māori development (Durie, 1995; Mikaere, 2000; G. H. Smith, 1997). This presupposes Māori participation in all stages of research affecting Māori as a minimum, and Māori leadership and control over Māori research as an ideal (L. T. Smith, 1999; Te Awekotuku, 1991). These approaches provide some assurance that research will accord with Māori expectations and ease Māori fears about research. Māori leadership of the research does not negate non-Māori contributions. Bishop (1996) argues that non-Māori researcher participation is vital because Māori research and capability needs demand it. Non-Māori researchers should, however, be comfortable within Māori environments (Bishop, 1996).

The application of kaupapa Māori research methods does not guarantee an error-free Māori research experience. Using this method, however, increases the chances of getting it right. Being a Māori researcher is insufficient for kaupapa Māori research; familiarity with and affinity for a Māori paradigm are necessary (Irwin, 1994, cited in L. T. Smith, 1999). Henry (2011a, 2012) suggests three propositions as a barometer to ascertain whether or not one's research accords with kaupapa Māori research principles: (i) is it research for, by and with Māori? (ii) does the research validate Māori language and culture? and (iii) does the research empower Māori people? Put simply, kaupapa Māori research ought to be culturally safe and transformative (Hohepa et al., 2000; Irwin, 1994). Culturally safe research can mean operating under the guidance and support of respected elders while satisfying obligations for academic rigour (Irwin, 1994). The capacity for research to be transformative lies in its use of Māori institutions, knowledge, culture and language (Hohepa et al., 2000).

L. T. Mead (1996), cited in Powick (2003) identifies Māori ethical principles for the conduct of research involving Māori: (i) *kia aroha* (respect and compassion); (ii) *kia kanohi-ki-te-kanohi* (face-to-face); (iii) *whakarongo* (listen, observe, then engage); (iv) *manaakitanga* (generosity); (v) *kia āta haere* (tread carefully); (vi) *mana tangata* (uphold the mana of people); and (vii) *kia māhaki* (be humble). Holding to these kinds of ethical principles helps protect Māori (the researcher and the researched) from the negative connotations of research

(Powick, 2003). E. T. Durie (1999) stresses the need for Māori research to heed additional principles of ethicality including informed consent, confidentiality, beneficence (generosity), nonmaleficence (avoiding causing harm), honesty, integrity and sensitivity. Hudson (2004) considers that tikanga Māori (Māori culture) and mātauranga Māori (Māori knowledge) provide the basis for Māori ethics using concepts derived from the Māori world view (see Figure 2.1) (Marsden, 1992).

A limitation of kaupapa Māori research, Panoho (2006) suggests, is its essentialising tendencies. Essentialism, in this sense, refers to the essential attributes of kaupapa Māori research (Māori knowledge, language, culture and ethics) and efforts by Māori to vigorously uphold them. This characteristic may be attributed to protective measures against misrepresentation and misappropriation of Māori knowledge and methods (A. T. P. Mead, 1994; L. T. Smith, 1999). Consequences of essentialism are rejection of Western knowledge and methods, in-group bias and exclusion of non-essentialists (Sumner, 1959). Panoho (2006) supports the broadening of kaupapa Māori research as suggested by L. T. Smith (2005) and Bishop (2005).

WESTERN RESEARCH PHILOSOPHY

Western research philosophy is relevant to this thesis because of the hybrid nature of Māori entrepreneurship operating within both Māori and non-Māori development paradigms (see Chapter 2). The issue is deciding which elements of Western research philosophy are conducive to a Māori research frame.

In Western research, debate on how best to conduct research oscillates between two opposing world views: logical-positivism and phenomenological inquiry (Bourgeois, 1979; Patton, 1990). Logical-positivism uses quantitative and experimental methods to deductively test theory, having its roots in the scientific method (Dane, 1990). Phenomenological inquiry

uses qualitative and naturalistic methods (viewing phenomena in their natural settings) to inductively build theory (Klass, 2008; Patton, 1990). Crotty (1998) further outlines the different paradigms in his discussion of objectivism, constructionism, and subjectivism as varied epistemologies associated with social science research.

Objectivism suggests that the world and its contents have discoverable meaning independent of human awareness (Crotty, 1998). Objectivism is associated with positivism, which holds that truth requires verifiable evidence obtained through systematic, empirical and quantifiable research methods. Constructionism holds that knowledge is socially constructed through human interaction with the world (Crotty, 1998; Eketone, 2008). Thus, people construct meaning and interpret the world and its phenomena in varied ways because of cultural and temporal differences (Crotty, 1998). Subjectivism is related to three other theories of knowledge: (i) structuralism—knowledge derives from structures which order human activity, and which are apparent in language; (ii) poststructuralism—knowledge is historically constituted and has multiple interpretations; and (iii) postmodernism—rejection of objectivism as knowledge is conceptually constructed (Crotty, 1998). In subjectivism, meaning is derived without the researcher interacting with given phenomena, relying instead on culture, religion and other knowledge as cues. Hedonism, the idea that people ought to maximise net pleasure, is an example of subjectivism (Behrman, 1988).

A more recent Western epistemology is pragmatism. Pragmatism obviates methodological prejudice because of its flexibility and adaptability of methodologies and methods that have the best chance of answering a given research question (Creswell, 2009; Patton, 1990). Pragmatism is eclectic, melding and mixing elements of epistemology, theory, methodology and method because no singular approach will do (Creswell, 2009). Thus, reality and truth are both independent of (realism) and yet dependent on (idealism) the mind. Pragmatism employs inductive and deductive reasoning and qualitative and quantitative methodologies (Bourgeois, 1979). Moreover, pragmatism is not without regard for the social,

cultural, political, and economic context and implications of research (Creswell, 2009; Denzin, Lincoln, & Smith, 2008).

Of these Western epistemologies two have most relevance to this thesis: constructionism and pragmatism. Constructionism implies meaning and truth is to be discovered through interaction between the researcher and research participants. A constructionist viewpoint is reinforced by the cultural and professional empathy between the researcher and participants. An objective appraisal of the causal relationship between enterprise assistance and enterprise performance is a feasible line of inquiry, but not one entertained by this thesis. Instead, the focus is on the socially constructed meanings and interpretations Māori entrepreneurs ascribe to enterprise assistance based on their experiences and perceptions of it. The aim is to identify a theory of Māori entrepreneurship as it relates to enterprise assistance before embarking on empirical assessments of causality. This is consistent with the exploratory nature of the thesis.

Kaupapa Māori research is generally consistent with pragmatism. The pragmatist paradigm acknowledges alternative philosophies, methodologies and methods as offering viable research designs (Creswell, 2009). Moreover, pragmatism accepts research occurs within political, social, cultural and economic contexts. This is relevant given the significance of the State, self-determination and socioeconomic disparities to Māori development (see Chapter 2). Thus, a kaupapa Māori research philosophy, integrated with Western pragmatism is applied in this thesis. Kaupapa Māori research is the overriding framework because the research is research by Māori, with Māori, for the benefit of Māori and others. Kaupapa Māori locates the inquiry within Māori epistemology, Māori ontology, and Māori methodologies. Pragmatism acknowledges the thesis is located within Western institutions of the state, markets, globalisation and science. While kaupapa Māori research has essentialising tendencies, Māori entrepreneurship operates within modern economies that demand pluralistic

outlooks and capabilities (Davies, 2007; Panoho, 2006). Indigenous theorising, methodologies and methods are supported by adding pragmatism to a kaupapa Māori research frame.

Beyond Western epistemology are its methodological traditions and their capacity to sensitively enquire into cultural contexts, including indigenous contexts. Western researchers can and do conduct research with sensitivity to cultural contexts, but this is an ongoing process of learning about indigenous world views and adapting Western methodologies in response (see for example, Schroeder, 2014; Simonds & Christopher). Such sensitivity is apparent, for example, in the use of reflexivity in research, cross-cultural research and participatory action research. Reflexivity, while a contested notion, refers to “the continuous process of self-reflection that researchers engage in to generate awareness about their actions, feelings and perceptions” (L. Anderson, 2008; Hughes, 2014, cited in Darawsheh, 2014, p. 561). At the level of the researcher, reflexivity may be used as a recursive way to establish “transparency in the researcher’s subjective role” throughout the research process, thereby adding to the credibility and rigour of research (Darawsheh, 2014, p. 561). In qualitative research, non-indigenous researchers like Goff (2007) and Colliver (2011) are using participatory action research to sensitively engage in collaborative research with indigenous communities on environmental issues in Australia. In quantitative research, entrepreneurship scholars are calling for cross-cultural methods that go beyond mere country comparisons to better understand underlying patterns in sub-cultures (Engelen, Heinemann, & Brettel, 2009). Engelen et al. (2009) recommend for instance, as part of a seven step framework, that cross-cultural researchers engage in-country researchers to mitigate against ethnocentrism.

QUALITATIVE RESEARCH

Qualitative research facilitates exploratory inquiry, seeking insight about the important variables and their relations (Creswell, 2009; Patton, 1990). In the academy, qualitative

research is revolutionising research in the social sciences and humanities, where interpretive methods are encouraging cross-disciplinary research (Denzin & Lincoln, 2013). Yet, qualitative research encounters resistance from policy makers who demand positivist and evidence-based research (Denzin & Lincoln, 2013; Lunt et al., 2003). Christians (2013) argues that positivism ought to be displaced by a more ethical interpretivist paradigm where the expectation is that research ought to do some good. This view accords with the beneficence implied within kaupapa Māori research theory (G. H. Smith, 1997). While positivist, empirical and deductive research offers the possibility of explaining what is going on, inductive and qualitative research is essential to explaining why it is going on (de Vaus, 1991). The implication is that inductive and deductive methods are necessary for a complete understanding of phenomena (Bourgeois, 1979). One approach that draws on the strengths of both in integrative ways is mixed methods research (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2011). In mixed methods research, qualitative may precede quantitative enquiry, and vice versa. Alternatively, both may be used simultaneously in transformative ways (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2011). Where little is known about a social phenomenon, or a novel approach to a problem is contemplated, qualitative and inductive methods may come first, as a basis for theory-building (Bourgeois, 1979).

A qualitative research design is applied in this thesis. This is because the thesis is characterised by understudied phenomena, accords with the preferences of the researcher and the methodological tendencies of similar studies, and because of its capacity to embrace a Māori world view (Moore, Blight, & Meehan, 2006; Reihana et al., 2006; Te Puni Kōkiri, 2013d). The research in this thesis is thus exploratory, inductive and phenomenologically oriented (Patton, 1990). Quantitative methods may be recommended as part of subsequent research depending on the findings and results of this and other related studies. The principal method of data collection is interviews because the intention is to ascertain the meaning of experiences of publicly funded enterprise assistance from the perspective of Māori entrepreneurs as participants, service-users and clients of such assistance. Empirical

assessment of the effect of enterprise assistance on enterprise performance is not a feature of this thesis as the research is neither evaluative nor deductive at this juncture (Bourgeois, 1979).

As an interpretivist and naturalistic method with its roots in cultural anthropology, ethnography is increasingly appearing in the study of entrepreneurship (Neergaard & Ulhøi, 2007). Ethnography describes a method of enquiry in which the researcher is both participant and observer, immersing and assimilating oneself in and of the context in order to understand the 'goings on' from the viewpoint of the participants. According to Johnstone (2007), ethnography in entrepreneurship research may involve a combination of observation, unstructured interviews, and written accounts of people, places and activities in order to ascertain meaning and implications for policy, practice and teaching. The great advantage of ethnography is the richness of the qualitative data produced. The disadvantage is that the fieldwork is typically extensive, protracted and focuses on a small sample. Three factors limit the use of ethnographic methods in this thesis. First, the time required for the method is beyond the scope of the thesis. Second, the focus is on obtaining the views of a diverse cross-section of participants rather than indepth understanding of a smaller group. Third, the research is a study of participants' perceptions rather than their actual interaction with enterprise assistance. Thus, observation and document analysis are omitted for these reasons.

RESEARCH PARTICIPANTS

There are an estimated 21,500 Māori enterprises of various kinds in Aotearoa New Zealand (Nana et al., 2011a). The problem of access to official data on Māori enterprises for research is discussed in Chapter 2. With qualitative research the quality rather than quantity of participants is more important. A mix of purposive and criterion sampling methods are used to identify and recruit participants (Patton, 1990). Both are nonprobability sampling methods where the intention is not to infer generalisations, but to "gain insight, uniqueness and

meaning” (Tinirau & Gillies, 2010, p. 4). Purposive sampling recruits participants based on the researcher’s judgement, while criterion sampling adds three qualifying characteristics for participation: (i) self-identification as a Māori entrepreneur; (ii) active in business; and (iii) previous experience with publicly funded enterprise assistance (Patton, 1990). Whilst participant selection is non-specific as to industry, locality, assistance type, gender, business lifecycle stage and entrepreneurial type, a diverse cross-section of participants was sought.

Poutama Trust, a Māori-specific provider of enterprise assistance, agreed to help identify prospective interview participants using their client database. Thirteen of the 14 entrepreneurs interviewed were identified through Poutama Trust. Poutama Trust staff identified clients they considered fit the criteria and might be willing to participate. Clients were supplied with information about the research and the researcher’s contact details. Clients who expressed interest in participating were contacted and interviews arranged. Interviews were held in Auckland, Hamilton, Rotorua, Kawerau, Palmerston North, Otaki and Wellington.

Key informants are included in the thesis to provide additional insights based on their experiences. Key informants are participants who have relevant knowledge because of their association with Māori enterprises and knowledge of enterprise assistance. With the above criteria in mind, purposive sampling was used to engage key informants. Eleven of the 25 interview participants are key informants (see Table 4.1). Coincidentally, eight of the 11 key informants are active Māori entrepreneurs, either self-employed, enterprise owner-operators, or communal Māori enterprise leaders. Thus, 21 of the 25 interviews are with active Māori entrepreneurs.

Table 4.1 Interview participants

No	Acronym	Gender	Māori enterprises	Participant	Locality	In business
1.	BL	M	Entrepreneur	Business owner	Auckland	Yes

No	Acronym	Gender	Māori enterprises	Participant	Locality	In business
2.	CE	M	Consultant	Provider	Wellington	Yes
3.	DL	F	Consultant	Provider	Wellington	Yes
4.	GP	M	Entrepreneur	Business owner	Palmerston North	Yes
5.	JN	M	Entrepreneur	Business owner	Auckland	Yes
6.	JB	M	Entrepreneur	Business owner	Wellington	Yes
7.	JM	F	Consultant	Business leader	Auckland	Yes
8.	JS	F	Informant	Policy maker	Wellington	No
9.	JW	M	Informant	Provider	Wellington	No
10.	KN	F	Entrepreneur	Business owner	Auckland	Yes
11.	LG	M	Entrepreneur	Business owner	Auckland	Yes
12.	LR	M	Entrepreneur	Business owner	Hamilton	Yes
13.	MA	F	Entrepreneur	Business owner	Rotorua	Yes
14.	MX	M	Entrepreneur	Business owner	Auckland	Yes
15.	NF	M	Informant	Provider	Wellington	Yes
16.	PS	F	Entrepreneur	Business owner	Auckland	Yes
17.	RB	M	Entrepreneur	Business owner	Auckland	Yes
18.	RH	M	Entrepreneur	Business owner	Auckland	Yes
19.	RJ	M	Informant	Provider	Wellington	Yes
20.	RK	F	Informant	Provider	Kawerau	Yes
21.	RP	M	Informant	Business leader	Rotorua	Yes
22.	SK	M	Informant	Business leader	Auckland	Yes
23.	TO	M	Entrepreneur	Business owner	Auckland	Yes
24.	TT	F	Informant	Provider	Wellington	Yes
25.	WD	M	Informant	Business leader	Rotorua	Yes

ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

The research is conducted in accordance with ethical guidelines approved by Massey University's Human Ethics Research Committee. The Massey University ethical code sets out basic human rights for participants, including: respect; harm minimisation; informed consent; privacy and confidentiality; avoidance of deception and conflicts of interests; cultural sensitivity; and justice (Massey University, 2010). The code requires that researchers adhere to and incorporate the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi. This suggests sensitivity to Māori rights and preferences, engaging Māori at all stages of the research, and taking appropriate advice. The code permits participants to speak Māori should they wish. Consultation with tribal elders, Māori businesspeople and Māori academics was undertaken for this thesis. Their advice shaped the nature and scope of the thesis and guided aspects of the research process.

A full ethics application was submitted to Massey University's Human Ethics Committee. This included information sheets, consent forms and interview schedules (see Appendices B and C), and approval was subsequently obtained (see Appendix D).

INTERVIEW PROCEDURES

Information sheets and consent forms were developed for Māori entrepreneurs and key informants. The material difference is in the interview questions. Separate interview questions recognise the different roles Māori entrepreneurs and key informants play in enterprise assistance. Questions put to Māori entrepreneurs emphasise their experiences of enterprise assistance as clients while informants' questions emphasise their roles as business leaders, policy makers and providers. In retrospect, distinguishing between entrepreneurs and key informants was unnecessary because most informants are active Māori entrepreneurs (see Table 4.1).

In practice, Māori entrepreneurs and key informants were broadly asked the same questions (see Figure 4.1). Interview questions are arranged in Figure 4.1 in the order in which they appear in the interview schedules and asked in the interviews. An (E) next to a question in Figure 4.1 indicates a question drawn from the Māori entrepreneur's interview schedule (Appendix B), and (I) indicates a question from the key informant's interview schedule (Appendix C). Questions that appear in both schedules appear only once in Figure 4.1.

Participants were supplied with an information sheet before the interviews (see Appendices C and D). At the interview, participants were asked to sign consent forms confirming they had read and understood the purpose and conditions of the research and their rights in this process. This worked well because participants had the opportunity to clarify the research aims, conditions of participation, and discuss concerns. Participants also agreed at this time for interviews to be recorded.

Figure 4.1 Interview questions

- | |
|---|
| <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Tell me about why you got into business? (E) 2. Tell me about your association with Māori enterprises? (I) 3. How do you define Maori enterprise/Maori business? (I) 4. In what ways do you think Māori culture influences how you see and run your business? (E) 5. What should the role of government be in enterprise assistance for Māori? (E) 6. Should iwi contribute to enterprise assistance for iwi members? Why, or why not? (E) 7. Who do you think should deliver enterprise assistance for Māori? (E) 8. What kinds of enterprise assistance should be provided for Maori enterprises? (E) 9. How should enterprise assistance be delivered for Māori? (E) 10. Please describe the business needs you think Māori enterprises have? (I) 11. Please describe the kinds of enterprise assistance you have used? (E) 12. In what ways does your organisation help Māori address these business needs? (I) 13. In what ways is Māori culture incorporated into enterprise assistance for Māori? (I) 14. What do you think could have been done differently to make the assistance more effective? (E) 15. Please describe how you think the effectiveness of enterprise assistance for Māori is measured? (I) 16. In what ways do you think the assistance has helped your business? (E) 17. What do you think makes the most difference for Māori in terms of enterprise assistance? (I) |
|---|

Interviews were informal and relaxed, allowing participants time and space to share their thoughts, experiences, ideas and questions. Rapport was established by early questions inviting participants to share their background stories. Participants were encouraged to share insights about where they came from (in terms of whakapapa and place), growing up, and how and why they came to be entrepreneurs.

Māori ethical considerations are reflected in the interview protocols. These protocols include: (i) the use of *karakia* (prayer in Māori) before attending and at the start of interviews as a way to provide cultural safety and spiritual acknowledgement; (ii) the opportunity for interviews to be conducted in Māori and English as participants preferred; (iii) the use of *koha* (gifts) to show respect; and, (iv) the sharing of *kai* (food). Traditionally *kai* is the final act in rituals of encounter, removing spiritual and physical distance between hosts and visitors and helping establish rapport (Karetu, 1992; Tauroa & Tauroa, 1986). The use of *koha*, while nominal, was an expression of appreciation for participants' time, knowledge and *manaakitanga* (generosity) as the interviews were often hosted by participants at their place of work.

English was the main language of the interviews. Māori was spoken during *karakia* and introductions and briefly at other times by participants and the researcher. *Karakia* was used in most but not all cases. In some instances, participants initiated the interview immediately after formalities. Participants were receptive and appreciative of *karakia*. *Karakia* and other Māori rituals of encounter are an emerging practice in Māori entrepreneurship research (Tinirau & Gillies, 2010). Yet, in other areas of social science research such as justice, health and education, use of *karakia* and other *tikanga* appears more commonplace, especially when dealing with sensitive subject matter (Edwards et al., 2005).

PILOT STUDY

Pilot studies are a common way to help test and refine research procedures and develop confidence and competency in research methods (Cooksey & McDonald, 2011). A pilot study was employed to pretest interview procedures and refine the interview schedules.

Following ethics approval in September 2012, four interviews were conducted between December 2012 and February 2013 in Rotorua and Palmerston North; two with key informants and two with Māori entrepreneurs. The full range of research procedures outlined in this chapter was applied in the pilot. This included explanations of the information sheet, obtaining signed consent forms, recording interviews and adherence to Māori protocols and university ethics guidelines. One of the interviews was transcribed. As a result of the pilot, modifications were made. These included changes to accommodate interviews with more than one participant present, changes to the interview questions and their sequencing, and increased emphasis on conducting interviews in a quiet place to minimise data loss from noise.

In addition to pretesting participant interviews, meetings were held with policy makers and providers of enterprise assistance. The purpose of these meetings was to understand the state of publicly funded enterprise assistance, identify current trends in policy and research, and to seek assistance with identifying participants. Meetings were held with the Ministry of Social Development, Ministry of Māori Development, and Poutama Trust. Poutama Trust was later formally approached for support with recruiting participants.

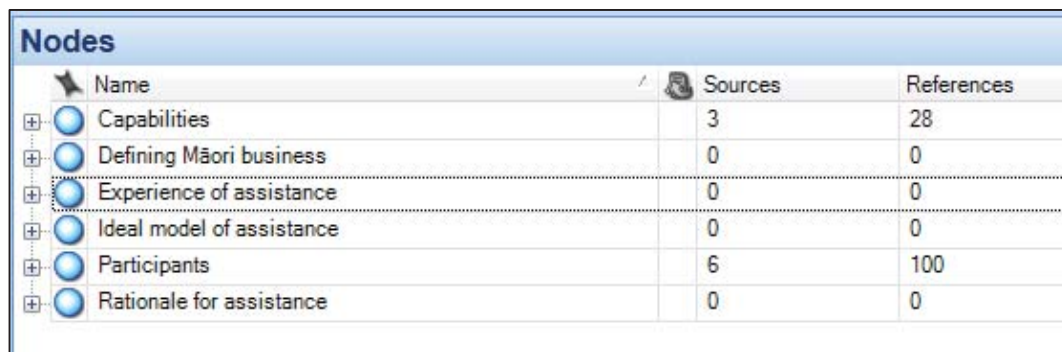
DATA ANALYSIS

Interviews were recorded using a digital voice recorder, which were then transcribed by the researcher using a digital transcription module. Transcripts were supplied to participants for checking. Some made minor changes. Twenty three interview recordings and transcripts were

uploaded to and coded using Nvivo. Nvivo is an advanced software programme that facilitates electronic coding of unstructured, mainly qualitative, data.

Nodes (the classifications for groups of data) were developed based on interview transcripts rather than predetermining these categories. The use of sub-nodes was limited to minimise complexity and duplicate coding of transcripts. The coding structure in Figure 4.2 serves four objectives: (i) consistency with the research purpose, interview questions and theory; (ii) an accurate representation of the transcripts without predetermining meaning; and (iii) sufficient coding to allow for subsequent analysis; and, (iv) an initial framework for presenting the findings in Chapter 5.

Figure 4.2 Transcript node structure from Nvivo



Name	Sources	References
Capabilities	3	28
Defining Māori business	0	0
Experience of assistance	0	0
Ideal model of assistance	0	0
Participants	6	100
Rationale for assistance	0	0

The coding structure is ordered around the main research questions of the thesis. That is: (i) the theory of Māori entrepreneurship; (ii) the role of enterprise assistance in Māori entrepreneurship; and (iii) the ideal model of enterprise assistance for Māori entrepreneurs. Moreover, the coding structure is consistent with the model of public enterprise assistance in Chapter 3 and Māori enterprise development in Chapter 2. No distinction was made between key informant and Māori entrepreneur interviews; they were coded together because they were asked broadly the same questions.

Chapter 5 Findings

This chapter reports on the findings of the interviews conducted with Māori entrepreneurs and key informants using the methods and questions described in Chapter 4. Interpretation of the findings falls to Chapter 6. Entrepreneurs and key informants (i.e., providers, policy makers, advisors and business leaders) are referred to as ‘participants’ in this chapter with attributions indicated by way of two letter acronyms to preserve participant confidentiality (see Chapter 4 for participant profiles). In some instances, the broad role of the participant (e.g., entrepreneur, provider, recipient, client, policy maker) is mentioned to contextualise a participant’s views. Frequency tables are used to indicate the proportion of participants holding particular views. Proportionality does not, however, equate with significance; one participant’s view may be just as significant, or more so, than the many in this exploratory study.

The chapter is arranged in three parts: (i) participants’ background stories; (ii) perceptions of enterprise assistance; and (iii) an ideal model of enterprise assistance. The first part outlines participants’ backgrounds and their coming to be entrepreneurs. This part also includes participants’ views on definitions of Māori business and Māori methods of doing business. The second part presents participants’ views on Māori business needs, and the utility and efficacy of enterprise assistance. The third part describes participants’ views on an ideal model of enterprise assistance for Māori entrepreneurs, including the roles of government and iwi in this.

PARTICIPANTS’ BACKGROUND STORIES

Twenty-one of the 25 participants interviewed are active Māori entrepreneurs (see Table 5.1). Most participants (18) operate service-based enterprises mainly business advisory and

management consultancy. Participants' enterprises are engaged in a range of other services, including retail, media, tourism, entertainment, design, investment, and health and social services. Manufacturing constitutes the next main business activity (7 participants). This includes building and construction, engineering, and garment making. This is followed by three participants with involvement in primary-based enterprises (i.e., fishing and farming).

Table 5.1 Participants' business roles

No.	Indicative participant views	Frequency
1.	Māori entrepreneurs	21
2.	Small and medium sized enterprises	19
3.	Service industry-based enterprises	18
4.	Business advisors and business mentors	7
5.	Manufacturing-based enterprises	7
6.	Māori enterprises with Pākehā co-owners	5
7.	Māori provider representatives	4
8.	Post-settlement governance enterprises	2
9.	Policy makers	1
10.	Urban Māori authority	1

Most participants (19 firms) are involved in small and medium Māori enterprises (i.e., those with 19 or fewer employees) with nine of these having only one or two employees. Most participants' enterprises are constituted as companies (18 firms). Five Māori enterprises have Pākehā business partners. Two participants are involved in post-settlement governance entities (PSGEs). One participant works for an urban Māori authority, but has outside roles with his whānau business.

When asked to describe their backgrounds participants typically shared their tribal affiliations, the places in which they were raised, early family experiences, schooling, and work lives before sharing the reasons for their going into business and association with Māori

enterprises. Four main findings about participants are evident from these preliminary comments: (i) pride in being Māori; (ii) overcoming adversity; (iii) re-engaging with te ao Māori; and (iv), the importance of reciprocity. These and related themes are discussed next.

Being Māori

Participants were asked about what being Māori means to them and their enterprises. Participants characterise their being Māori in three main ways: (i) whakapapa; (ii) identity; and (iii) Māori language and culture. Table 5.2 indicates the breadth of views expressed about being Māori among participants.

Table 5.2 Being Maori

No.	Indicative participant views	Frequency
1.	Whakapapa mentioned by participants	9
2.	Being Māori of high importance in later life	6
3.	Re-engaging in Māori language and culture	6
4.	Acknowledging their mixed heritage as important	5
5.	Being Māori of less importance when younger	4
6.	Māori (and iwi) politics can be problematic	3
7.	Intangible benefits of being Māori	1

Whakapapa (genealogy) reveals itself in the identity of participants in various ways. Nine participants speak about their tribal affiliations and tribal territories in specific terms. One participant describes his whakapapa as affirmation of his identity and his decision to live and work in his tribal territory: “[T]his is the tūrangawaewae [homeland]. I whakapapa to the [local iwi] [JB].” Some participants readily acknowledge their mixed heritage, which includes Chinese, Australian, Irish, and Pākehā (New Zealand European) ancestry. Although pride in identifying as Māori is a prominent feature, participant’s dissociation from *te ao* Māori (the

Māori world) when young and their ongoing effort to reconnect with tribal roots in later life are evident:

[Mum] came to Wellington and married dad who's Australian, Pākehā. And we were raised in Wellington; so away from home. Disconnected away from tikanga Māori in the way our family behaved [DL].

For some participants, being Māori was not a significant feature of their childhoods. For instance, one participant attended an ethnically diverse city school where cultural differences were understated and she was oblivious to her identity as Māori [DL]. Other participants were raised in homes where the Māori language and culture were not an everyday reality, or at least not actively conveyed to the children. As some participants explain, overt expressions of Māori culture were not socially acceptable in their parent's era, to the extent that some participants were actively discouraged from speaking Māori in the home [JN, KN, TO, LR]. While deprived of elements of Māori language and custom from an early age, participants are now actively reconnecting with their identity as Māori, expressing joy and pride in their indigenous heritage. Participants are re-engaging with whānau, hapū, iwi and marae, studying Māori, adorning their offices with images of *tīpuna* (ancestors) and reciting whakapapa as a natural part of any social exchange.

Being Māori has both strengths and weaknesses according to participants. Some of the strengths that participants describe include: access to Māori networks and Māori markets; extrapolating their persona as Māori as an expression of their personal and business brand; and a way of living and doing business that is uniquely Māori (discussed more fully later in this chapter). One participant explains his identity as constituting a brand which offers intangible benefits:

What being Māori gives me is what I call brand equity. It gives me something special that most people overseas don't have and that's all it gives me. Nothing better, something special and something unique [MX].

Being Māori means having an inseparable connection to land and operating under the oversight of one's ancestors as an incentive for ethical practice; "but we don't need reminding" quips one participant [JB]. Four participants draw attention to the influence of Māori politics, particularly in relation to their work with tribes [NF, TO, BL, JM]. Māori politics, which stems from being Māori and association with Māori organisations, is regarded by these participants as an impediment, at times, to doing business. For instance, "[a colleague] didn't wanna get involved [in the tribal polity] because of all the political in-fighting [BL]."

One participant embraces Pacific and Asian cultures because that is the changing demographic of the city where the business is based [MX]. A Māori-only focus is not conducive to making money he suggests because making money requires one to "be friends with all the different ethnicities" [MX]. Similarly, while working in Australia for many years, another participant found that a multicultural outlook held sway there because of the numerous ethnicities represented. Returning to Aotearoa New Zealand has meant re-integrating as a part of the "family unit" which encompasses the extended family, marae, and iwi [GP]. Many other participants are actively rediscovering the Māori language and culture through formal training and education, prompted by their children and *mokopuna* (grandchildren) and community relationships [LR, JN, JM, TO, RH, RK].

Socialisation as Māori

The influence of family, education, work, community, and particular people on participants' outlook and work with Māori enterprises is evident in their background stories. Table 5.3 summarises some of these influences. Four participants discuss being raised in impoverished circumstances as part of large families, single parent homes, and in rural settings or a combination of these. These circumstances were not necessarily disadvantageous. Instead such adversity seemed to add resolve to participants' entrepreneurial ambitions:

... i tipu au i waenganui i nā, i te ao pakihi. I te wā i kai mātau ko tērā te kōrero e pā ana ki te pakihi [...I grew up amongst it, in the business world. When we ate that was what we talked about, business]. Yes, so... we were a very poor family so my father worked his guts out to be able to set up his own business [TT].

I lived in constant stress as a early childhood [sic], when I grew up I learnt to cope with, now that I'm an adult, I learnt to cope with massive amounts of stress [TO].

Table 5.3 Aspects of socialisation

No.	Indicative participant views	Frequency
1.	Professional work life	17
2.	Overseas experiences are influential	11
3.	Tertiary study has been influential	11
4.	Other people cited as influential	10
5.	Trade and industry qualifications	7
6.	Work-related events have been influential	7
7.	Tradespeople as work life	5
8.	Raised in impoverished circumstances	4
9.	Study at a wānanga	3
10.	Artisans as work life	3
11.	High school highest qualification	1

Participants spoke about their formal educational experiences in polarising terms. Education was both a marked feature of some of their professional, work and business lives culminating in tertiary study. For others, formal education ended with high school being a less than agreeable experience. Despite finishing school in the fourth form, one participant later became a secondary school teacher on the basis of his building and business experiences: “I became a high school teacher which I thought was unbelievable... I spent more time being a teacher than I did at secondary school [NF].” Another found his high school arithmetic surprisingly adequate to run a multimillion dollar enterprise [JN]:

[O]ne of the funniest things was that I got 34 or 36 percent in School C maths, because what I do now is a multimillion dollar business... but that maths I learned at 36 percent is actually the maths you need to run a business... I always pinch myself or have a bit of a laugh about that [JN].

Others found the class room environment a source of phobia, uninteresting, unhelpful, or were discouraged because of a learning disability, or simply found they were not good at school preferring to concentrate on other things like sport and business [LR, JN, TO, RH]:

I said at the start of the year with the accounting teacher, what we'll do is I'll sit in the back of the room and I won't annoy the class or upset the class, I'll just do my own mahi [work] and you can fail me at the end of the year. And she agreed to that. And when I was in the back of the class in accounting I started my first business, which was, I did parties... I was making more in that hour of accounting up the back organising that than she was making in her pay [TO].

While education might have ceased for some participants with secondary school, learning continued through self-directed learning and on-the-job experience. This commitment to learning eventually culminated in successful turns as mature tertiary students for two participants [LR, JN]. Studying later in life has been a revelation for some participants. One completed a Master of Business Administration, despite being stricken with fear about going to university [LR]. The completion of a masters through a wānanga where the teaching was delivered through his marae brought one participant closer to his whānau, his hapū, and his language and culture [JN]. A self-confessed “global adventurer” entered tertiary study later in life leading this participant into a career in Māori economic development [RJ].

Participants found that formal education had not adequately prepared them for entrepreneurship and business. When returning from his overseas experience, one participant joined the family fishing business [CE]. He had six weeks to learn accounting and company law. The feat was accomplished, but it seems such condensed experiential learning is not uncommon with participants' initial forays into business. Upon converting her talent for fashion into a business, one participant was loath to discover that design comprised only a

small part of the business [KN]. Moreover, the talent itself (competitive fashion) had to be overhauled to conform to market demands (commercial fashion).

Although varied, participants' work lives may be grouped into three categories: professionals; tradespeople; and artisans. The professionals are typically university-trained participants whose present roles include company directors, managers, business advisors, consultants and public servants. These participants work in finance, investment, law, management, administration, accounting, and marketing, and governance roles, as well as in public sector management. Tradespeoples' jobs include paving, farming, and building mostly acquired through on-the-job training and practical experience. The artisans enter jobs based on innate talent, and with sustained application their talents and abilities are later converted into enterprises of their own. Examples of this scenario include dance, design, and sport. Although participants tend to describe their core trade in understated terms, their initial 'trades' (professional and practical) have invariably maintained an indelible imprint on their working and business lives. For instance, one participant still sees himself as a welder despite growing, together with his wife, a large engineering firm [LR]. Another views himself as a grocer who started out as a produce filler and now owns and manages a large supermarket [JN].

Overseas experiences, both short and long term, have been influential for at least 11 participants. After studying in the United States, one participant was enticed by his initial employer to stay on and did so for another eight years [SK]. Another worked in England for two years after studying in Aotearoa New Zealand [CE]. Still another backpacked through Asia, Africa, the Middle East and the United Kingdom, running various businesses along the way [TO]. Three others travelled the world, one as an entertainer [MX], another as a professional sports person [RH], and one a tour guide [RJ]. One participant worked as a contractor in Australia for many years before returning home to help a family member's

business [GP]. Shorter trips have also had an impact, with one participant's work overseas leading to meetings with other successful businesspeople [KN].

Being an entrepreneur

Participants were asked about why they got into business. Responses to this question are distinguished by becoming an entrepreneur (the process) and being an entrepreneur (the state). Participants became entrepreneurs in four main ways: (i) by accident; (ii) by choice; (iii) by invitation; and, (iv) by necessity (see Table 5.4).

Table 5.4 Becoming an entrepreneur

No.	Indicative participant views	Frequency
1.	Active entrepreneur	22
2.	Entrepreneur by accident	8
3.	Entrepreneur by choice	7
4.	Entrepreneur by invitation	7
5.	Entrepreneur by necessity	2
6.	Former entrepreneur	2
7.	No involvement in business	1

The most common pathway into business is the ‘accidental entrepreneur’ who feels that they simply stumbled into business by chance. These include: a business advisor; an engineer; a grocer; an enterprise facilitator; an entertainer; and a director in a construction company [DL, LR, JN, NF, MX, and RB]. Entrepreneurship for these and other participants emerge through helping friends (e.g., to write a business plan or renovate a marae), one’s employment (e.g., community development work), trying out new things (e.g., from machine work to welding), and encouragement from family to commercialise one’s talent (e.g., fashion).

Entrepreneurs by choice are those who purposefully set out to start and run their own business. Seven participants fall into this category. One participant realised that it was not only possible for him to become an owner-operator in his industry but that he was good at what he did [JN]. Other examples include: self-employment as a builder [NF]; a company linking fashion and fabric [PS, LG]; consulting as a lifestyle choice [RK]; converting one's talent in sport into a business [RH]; and winning a tender to manage the town pool [TO].

Entrepreneurs by invitation are those who are asked to join or establish a business by family and friends. Seven participants exemplify this approach. One was asked by his father to help another son's business [GP]. A second was invited to join the family fishing business after studying and working in a related field [CE].

Necessity is the fourth way into entrepreneurship. This is where participants start and run businesses because they see few alternatives, or the alternatives are unappealing. One example of this is a tourism enterprise:

[I]t's a business that our kuia [grandmother] sort of left with us... there was no other way of making a living. There, farming was too hard, fishing was too hard... it just seemed like farming people [tourists] was easier than farming sheep [JB].

Being an entrepreneur is described by participants in terms of their entrepreneurial philosophy, in particular the need for and the uniqueness of the entrepreneurial mindset. Expressions of entrepreneurial philosophy are summarised in Table 5.5.

Table 5.5 Being an entrepreneur

No.	Indicative participant views	Frequency
1.	Customer orientation is important	14
2.	Entrepreneurial mindset is important	12
3.	Success is a key motivation	11
4.	Markets influence business vision	6
5.	Personal brand is important	2

The desire to be successful is a common sentiment among participants. Self-employment and diverse work experiences provide participants with outlets for their creativity, passion and desire to be successful. Success is viewed as a process rather than a destination recalls one participant: “I read an article on a flip over calendar thing, and the quote was ‘success is a journey not the destination.’ I was about 12 years old and that’s been my mantra ever since [LR].” For another, failure is reasoned as learning and a requisite for survival and success [TO]. Another participant considers a large part of success is simply turning up; being present when opportunities appear [MX]. Linked to this, the participant describes people as representations of a brand, with each brand offering unique experiences [MX].

The entrepreneurial mindset is not about finding an opportunity, it is choosing which of them to pursue because, to the entrepreneur, there are so many [NF]. One participant emphasises the importance of knowing one’s own mind or viewpoint. This participant characterises an entrepreneurial mindset as having an opportunities-bias, whereas a business mindset is a more ordered approach to business [NF]. An employee mindset is characterised as having an ‘entitlements’ view [NF]. Some businesspeople are unaware of the difference, until this is pointed out by a mentor, advisor or through training, or some other experience [NF, LR, JB]. Knowing the difference is important because it governs to some extent the trajectory of the business and its needs.

Defining Māori business

Participants were asked about how they define Māori business. Responses reveal a number of characteristics that distinguish Māori businesses (see Table 5.6). Key features are: (i) values; (ii) ownership; (iii) self-identification; (iv) self-determination; (v) life cycle and firm size; and (vi) profit distribution, among others.

Table 5.6 Defining features of Māori business

No.	Indicative participant views	Frequency
1.	Māori values are a defining feature	13
2.	Ownership by Māori, with 50 percent or more shares	12
3.	Self-identifying and self-determining	4
4.	Lifecycle and firm-size are influential	4
5.	Māori <i>in</i> business versus Māori business	4
6.	Profit distribution within Māori collectives	4
7.	Whakapapa connection	3
8.	Māori products	3
9.	Business is business, no difference is discernible	3
10.	Collectives are Māori enterprises by default	3
11.	Statutory Māori enterprises by default	3

Participants identify values and ownership as the main characteristics of Māori business. Māori values influence perceptions of Māori business by Māori and non-Māori. Māori values also shape the way people are treated, decisions are made, and disputes resolved within Māori enterprises [JM, TT].

Fundamentally Māori businesses are businesses owned by a Māori person or by Māori people, with five participants maintaining that at least 50 percent Māori ownership qualifies one as a Māori business. This 50 percent threshold accounts for husband and wife businesses where one or the other is Māori [DL]. Self-identification as a Māori enterprise is viewed as an expression of Māori self-determination [JM, RJ]. Enterprises that own communal Māori assets such as Māori trusts and incorporations are classed by participants as Māori businesses by virtue of their legislative basis, communal ownership of assets and distribution of profits to a specified segment of the Māori community [WD, JM, NF].

Not all participants consider Māori and non-Māori enterprises to be different. Some hold the view that businesses are the same irrespective of the ethnicity of the entrepreneur. Participants suggest that there is another class of Māori business, that is, Māori *in* business. These are small and medium enterprises, characterised by individual ownership, with no distinctly Māori product or service [NF, RK]. Their primary motives for being in business are to make money, deliver a quality service, and lifestyle [GP, NF, MX, CE, and RK].

A Māori way of doing business

Participants were asked whether or not there is a Māori way of doing business. Two broad responses sum up participants' views (see Table 5.7). On the one hand, "business is business" [WD]. This means that there is no discernible difference in the way in which Māori do business—all businesses are universally expected to generate a profit for owners and perform well. On the other hand, participants argue that there are material differences in the way in which Māori do business linked to the idiosyncrasies of Māori culture and identity.

Table 5.7 Māori ways of doing business

No.	Indicative participant views	Frequency
1.	A preference for collectivism	10
2.	Māori values shape Māori business	8
3.	Rural and urban differences are a factor	3
4.	Permanence of Māori communal enterprises	2
5.	Business life cycle influences Māori enterprises	2
6.	Success is about balancing Māori values	2
7.	Business is business	1
8.	Change in mindset for business is imperative	1
9.	Māori entrepreneurship is a lifestyle choice	1

A Māori way of doing business seems predicated upon three main things: (i) a preference for collectivism; (ii) an intergenerational imperative; and (iii) Māori values. A preference for collectivism is apparent within tribal enterprises that own Māori assets [WD, RP, RB, BL], but also appears in the whānau orientation of individually owned Māori enterprises [JW, LR, JB, DL, NF]. The “key driver in collectively owned [enterprises]... is intergenerational asset ownership, [that] is, retention of the asset for future generations” [WD]. Another participant describes this as operating “in perpetuity” which manifests in the long planning horizons commonly adopted by Māori enterprises:

[F]rom an enterprise point of view, there has to be longer term planning... So the longer term is in excess of a hundred years. So there's a sort of theme that... says there's no point in planning so far ahead, but that's not true for Māori cause we operate in perpetuity [JM].

Collectivism in business manifests in other ways, including: networking and relationships; participative decision-making; leadership, governance and management; and, expectations of consultation [JM, NF, RK, RJ, CE].

Eight participants comment on the role of Māori values in doing business. The first principle is that “Māori are determined to survive as a people,” which operates concurrently through the “expression of kaupapa” or Māori values, principles and philosophies [DL]. In pragmatic terms, this participant suggests that *kaupapa* (principles) are given expression through *tikanga* (practices) [DL]. Achieving balance between kaupapa and tikanga can be challenging:

So many of our Māori businesses are failing... we were seeing that generosity was killing them. The desire to give expression to manaakitanga [generosity] with their staff, with their whānau, with the local marae [village complex]... was just putting such a strain on the businesses... they weren't giving expression or equal consideration to other kaupapa such as kaitiakitanga [stewardship] and trying to get those balances [DL].

This duality ideal is implied within the application of kaupapa Māori principles to business, in which Māori values mediate profit and wealth motives to achieve a more balanced set of outcomes [DL, JM, JB, MA, RK]. A Māori way of doing business and being a Māori business ought to constitute an aspirational standard of excellence in business argues one participant, a standard which he is endeavouring to meet [LR].

Another participant acknowledges his Māori identity, but simultaneously holds the view that Māori are “citizens of the world” [JB]. This means cultural practices are naturally performed when appropriate, but is not something that is imposed upon people and situations where it might not be expected, appreciated or understood [JB]. For another participant, Māori values provide an alternative way of resolving disputes because the principles are not embedded in a rule book or legalities, but within the people themselves [JM]. Tikanga Māori (cultural practices), *āhuatanga* Māori (cultural traditions) and kaupapa Māori (cultural principles) provide an alternative paradigm for doing business [JM]. For example, Māori values introduce a whānau orientation to business where the enterprise is akin to a family within the “bounds [and] disciplines of running a good business” [LR]. This is reflected in how visitors are received and feel about the business:

For our significant guests coming to [our business] we do a full pōwhiri. I had a Japanese client in here who didn't stop shaking for about 15 minutes. He was absolutely gobsmacked. [LR].

Māori values in business can be subtle. The use of *hongi* (pressing of noses), remembering to take a small offering of food to a meeting, and other practices resonate with Māori and non-Māori because they engender positive environments in which to do business [RK, MA]. In another instance, a participant speaks about how Māori values influence conduct within communal Māori enterprises:

I'm chairman of a couple of companies and we... own Māori assets... [W]e will have a karakia; we will have a short mihi. It's accepted without question that if a relative of ours has passed away, we will be at the tangi. It's probable that one of our

colleagues... from the company will attend... So that sort of whānaungatanga does permeate Māori owned businesses... Is that is a different way of doing business? I don't know. Certainly there is a different tenor to the meetings [WD].

THE EXPERIENCE OF ENTERPRISE ASSISTANCE

The second part of this chapter describes participants' experiences and perceptions of enterprise assistance in five areas: (i) Māori business needs; (ii) forms of assistance; (iii) the role of Māori culture in enterprise assistance; (iv) how Māori are engaged in enterprise assistance; and (v) the effect of enterprise assistance for participants and their enterprises.

Business needs

Participants were asked about their business needs. Business needs contribute to reasons for seeking enterprise assistance, establish expectations as to outcomes, and guide enterprise assistance provision. Two key findings are apparent. First, participants suggest Māori entrepreneurs consistently seek help with four main needs: (i) finance; (ii) networks; (iii) markets; and (iv) advice. Second, participants suggest that the business life cycle influences Māori business needs and the characteristics of Māori entrepreneurship.

Table 5.8 sets out a précis of participants' views on the business needs of Māori enterprises. Participants' responses are discussed in terms of: (i) causes of business needs; (ii) nonfinancial business needs; and (iii) financial business needs.

Table 5.8 Māori business needs as identified by participants

No.	Indicative participant views	Frequency
1.	Financial assistance needs	12
2.	Readiness for accessing finance	5
3.	Business life cycle determines business needs	3
4.	Networking with other businesses	2

No.	Indicative participant views	Frequency
5.	Unawareness of business needs	1
6.	Market access	1
7.	Technical advice	1
8.	Collectivising Māori assets	1
9.	Commercialisation advice	1
10.	Community support	1

Participants attribute Māori business needs to the business life cycle, discrepancies between present and desired resources, a lack of information, insufficient readiness for business, and the entrepreneur's mindset. Not all entrepreneurs are aware of their business needs or accept that they have any [JB]. The business life cycle is used by some participants to categorise Māori enterprises and their business needs between start-up enterprises, established enterprises, distressed enterprises, and growth enterprises [JW, JM, TO]:

The start-up business, it's really about the fundamentals. You know, have they done their market research, competitor analysis, all of those things. The... other part of the life cycle where the business is going into growth mode... So there are different ways and different types of assistance needed at different times [JW].

Participants identify the lack of connectivity between Māori enterprises and their business environments as giving rise to nonfinancial business needs. These kinds of business need are generally resolved by 'soft' forms of enterprise assistance such as facilitation. Examples of these business needs include: help with accessing market opportunities [CE]; technical advice and information [JW]; collectivisation of Māori land [TO]; commercialisation of new technology [SK]; networking with other enterprises [DL, MA]; and access to community-based social and business support [DL].

Participants identify strongly with the need for financial assistance. Financial business needs are ongoing and vary in degree and purpose with the business life cycle [JM].

Participants' financial business needs range from small loans to propositions for multimillion dollar investments [JB, BL]. Some finance needs of Māori entrepreneurs include: (i) working capital [NF]; (ii) project financing for construction [JB]; (iii) purchasing equipment [RB, BL]; (iv) forming international supplier arrangements [PS, LG]; and (v) sourcing raw materials [KN]. The need for finance is particularly acute among new and smaller enterprises [CE, WD, TO]. Finance is among the first business needs Māori enterprises articulate when approaching providers of enterprise assistance [JW].

Several participants argue that an entrepreneur's readiness to secure finance from the market place is the real need, rather than the finance itself, as there is no shortage of finance for good ventures [JN, JS, TO, JM]. The issue lies in matching suppliers of capital with entrepreneurs [JS]. Māori business needs in this respect are concerned with how to shape a value proposition, validating the proposition through market research, presenting propositions to financiers, and the knowledge and support to secure such finance [JM, TO, RK].

Forms of enterprise assistance

Participants describe receiving and providing a plethora of enterprise assistance that readily fall within the six main forms of enterprise assistance inferred from theory (see Chapter 1). These forms are: (i) information; (ii) advice; (iii) facilitation; (iv) training; (v) grants; and (vi) finance (see Figure 5.1, which lists only those forms participants specifically mention).

Figure 5.1 Forms of enterprise assistance

Information	Advice	Facilitation	Training	Grants	Finance
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Compliance • Business • Management • Industry • Books • Online • Generic • Māori-specific • Industry-specific 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Planning • Strategy • Feasibility • Community • Startup • Financial • Legal • Consultants 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mentoring • Marketing • Finance • Operations • Culture • Interagency • Governance • Management • Networks 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Be Your Own Boss • Vouchers • Management • Business • Startups • Collectives 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Enterprise allowance • Business • Capital • Research • Exporting • Marketing • Philanthropy 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Friends • Family • Bank loans • Credit union • Angels • Bootstrapping • Mana enterprises

Table 5.9 indicates the extent to which participants refer to the various forms of enterprise assistance. Grants, particularly Poutama Trust grants, are commonly cited. For participants, grants make capital investment decisions easier, reduce business costs, and help achieve business goals [RJ, JB]. Some grants enable access to advice and research. Grant application processes could be difficult for first-time applicants and grants needed to be carefully accounted for [WD, KN]. Philanthropic funding was identified by one participant as useful in the early stages of his enterprise [MX]. The Enterprise Allowance, a government grant associated with the Be Your Own Boss programme, was identified by participants as useful [NF, DL, RK]. Some participants argue grants should be accompanied by more support to ensure compliance and effectiveness [DL, TT]. Some participants express reservations about financial assistance, equating grant-usage with unjustified indulgence in public funding; something with which the participants do not wish to be associated [LG, LR].

Table 5.9 Enterprise assistance used by participants

No.	Indicative participant views	Frequency
1.	Poutama Trust grants and services	19
2.	Icehouse training	5
3.	Chambers of commerce	3
4.	Self-managed learning	2
5.	Family advice and support	2

No.	Indicative participant views	Frequency
6.	Business consultants	2
7.	Māori business networks	2
8.	BIZ training (now defunct)	2
9.	Be Your Own Boss (BYOB)	2
10.	Philanthropic grants	1

Eleven participants identify various forms of training as valid forms of enterprise assistance. New Zealand Trade and Enterprise’s former Biz training was used by Māori trusts and incorporations in particular [DL, RK]. Few, if any participants, have interacted with its replacement, a voucher scheme. Be Your Own Boss (BYOB), a short business course for unemployed persons exploring self-employment, was adapted by one participant for Māori entrepreneurs in her district [DL]. Five participants refer to experiences with the Icehouse, an Auckland based entrepreneurship training provider [TO, MX, MA, TT]. Three participants support the Icehouse method but argue that its provision needs to be extended [TO, MX, TT]. Another participant is less enthusiastic about the Icehouse approach to engaging Māori and its cost [TT]: “It’s just this huge big basket of stuff; no one can afford it, no one’s got the time to go on it, and they don’t need that lovely swag of... stuff [JS].” Two participants emphasise their desire for investment in education and training by iwi and communal Māori enterprises:

[T]he best dividend you could ever receive is an education... but again how to achieve it, how do you ensure that every child born into your tribe is educated? [RP].

Nine participants express views linked to facilitation, which encompasses mentoring, networking, and assisting with access to resources. Mentoring as facilitation includes the arrangement of interagency support for Māori enterprises [DL]. Participants use publicly funded mentoring during start-up, expansion, for help with problem solving, confidence building, and advice on compliance, particularly taxation. One participant found generic

mentoring (e.g., finance and marketing) insufficient for her needs [KN]. Instead, industry-specific mentoring was preferred. For another, mentoring on the basics of business was enthusiastically greeted as a major advance on prior knowledge:

[T]he problem that I had was when I first started my business in 2005-06 I didn't know anything. I didn't know what an invoice was. I didn't know whatever. So I reached out and I got... hooked up with an accountant down there who basically was like: this is what GST is, this is what an invoice is [RH].

Networking describes help to facilitate participation in business networks, including Māori business networks, chambers of commerce and industry specific networks [DL, MA, RJ, RK]. One participant makes use of facilitation to connect Māori entrepreneurs within the same industry (e.g., food and beverage sector), which in some cases evolves into formal business networks or clusters [RJ]. Māori business networks were commonly cited as positive fora for Māori entrepreneurs. Yet, they are largely informal and voluntary, and therefore, not widely available. Participants mention chambers of commerce as somewhat unappealing, citing the absence of an identifiably Māori dimension, not representative of their intended market, and the unsuitability of the timing of some events [DL, MA, and RK].

Advice is sought from a wide range of formal and informal sources, including paid advice such as consultancy, and nonpaid advice such as family, friends and associates. For instance, one participant is thankful that he is able to consult his mother and father as the “voice of reason” [GP]. Smaller and newer enterprises are generally constrained in their ability to pay for professional advice. Insufficient resources to pay for advice do not dampen demand, but do inhibit supply [JM]. When participants pay for professional advice they are exacting and are also critical when the quality of such advice does not meet their expectations. Two participants illustrate the point:

There are so many consultants... that have a model that [they] try and jam down every business they come across. And models are the most dangerous things for SMEs because... there are very few models that go across multiple businesses [LR].

And then there's a place... [i]t's about a \$7,000 fee to help prepare some financials. In the end, we just said "nah." [MA].

In terms of acquisition and use of information, self-managed learning features in the experiences of several participants with two citing books and online sources as integral to this. Participants attribute their preferences for self-managed learning to a love of reading, a sense of independence, and a disdain for formal education. Over time, however, most participants expand their sources of information to include conversations with experienced businesspeople, workplace training and tertiary education. For one provider, the condition of the information matters: "So really it's definitely for me quality information and the timeliness of that information so that the business owner can make an informed decision [JW]."

Access to finance

Participants identify various forms of finance for business, including the use of grants as credit guarantees [RJ], small business loans [TT], personal loans from credit unions for self-employed members [RK, JW], and historical loan and grant providers such as Community Employment Group and Mana Enterprises [JB] (see Table 5.10). These forms of finance originate mainly from public sources.

One participant is adamant that funding and advice do not mix, as entrepreneurs become fixated on funding [NF]. Another participant considers funding, facilitation and research to be the ideal combination because all three are needed by Māori enterprises [JS]. Participants comment that Māori enterprises are generally undercapitalised, lacking sufficient capital to meet their needs. Undercapitalisation can arise through bad credit history (e.g., overdue debts), a lack of equity (e.g., because of an absence of home ownership) and because the scale of the venture demands more cash than is available [CE]. Undercapitalisation leads entrepreneurs to search for capital from formal and informal sources.

Table 5.10 Access to finance

No.	Indicative participant views	Frequency
1.	Māori Women’s Development Incorporated loans	4
2.	Proving market demand helps financing	3
3.	Mixing finance and advice is supported	2
4.	Credit unions are a possible source of business finance	2
5.	Some grants are used as credit guarantees	1
6.	Earlier schemes (e.g., CEG and Mana) were useful	1

Some participants perceive finance as a supply-side problem, that is, factors affecting the availability of finance [JB, RB, and BL]. Others maintain access to finance is impeded by entrepreneurs being inadequately prepared; that is, a demand-side problem [JW, RK]. Participants identify a range of factors that increase the chances of obtaining finance. These include: (i) a well-defined value proposition (e.g., robust business plan) [RK, JW, DL]; (ii) evidence of market demand (e.g., letters of intent from customers) [TO]; (iii) a clear strategy [WD]; (iv) awareness of compliance obligations [JW]; (v) the right mindset [NF]; (vii) financial management knowledge, competency and disciplines [JB]; and (viii) expression of kaupapa Māori principles in business [DL].

Fostering Māori engagement in enterprise assistance

Two broad approaches to engaging Māori entrepreneurs in enterprise assistance are evident. First, a non-specific demand-driven approach where providers neither directly target Māori enterprises, nor actively recruit Māori entrepreneurs. In this approach, Māori enterprises are viewed as part of the general economy, with specific methods of engagement deemed unnecessary because the provider has an industry, outcome or regional focus which is inclusive of Māori on these terms [CE]. Participants associate this approach with mainstream enterprise assistance delivered through central and local government agencies, for example,

New Zealand Trade and Enterprise and economic development agencies (EDAs) linked to local government. Second, is a Māori-specific approach where providers actively engage Māori enterprises because this is what these organisations are set up and funded to do. Participants cite Poutama Trust, Māori Women's Development Incorporated and the Māori Business Facilitation Service as examples.

Mainstream providers tend to work with larger, iwi-based corporates and communal Māori enterprises. This method of engagement tends to exclude Māori small and medium enterprises [CE, RJ]. The lack of mainstream provider engagement with Māori enterprises is decried by one participant:

[W]e went through the whole merging... [in the agency] and what came out the other end was, I think of necessity at the time, was a one-stop shop for everyone. There wasn't a specific Māori team there, which I was very disappointed at... after a couple of years, I said where's our engagement with Māori? It's just gone! [CE].

The participant observes that paradoxically offshore trade officials embrace the distinctive contribution of Māori enterprises more than domestic officials:

[W]hen I've been on missions with Māori trade groups the provision of service from our... [trade] staff overseas has been sensational... it strikes to the core, which is a wonderful dichotomy... all the NZT&E offices around the world... they get quite excited [when a Māori enterprise arrives]... because it is the point of difference [CE].

Participants characterise the Māori-specific approach as flexible, agile, and culturally compatible, which facilitates engagement with Māori entrepreneurs [CE, RJ, JW]. Enterprise assistance on this basis is viewed as transformational [JW], emphasising human relationships as the linchpin in assistance. The focus among Māori providers is on working with “low hanging fruit,” that is, the more numerous, smaller, less well-resourced Māori entrepreneurs [TT].

Neither mainstream nor Māori-specific providers are, however, immune from criticism. One participant found that the Māori-specific assistance threatened her reputation because of late payments to third-parties [KN]. She also would have preferred industry-specific mentoring, but this could not be accommodated [KN]. In some instances, advice is inappropriate because it assumes entrepreneurs have the means for implementation, which may not be the case for start-up enterprises [KN, TO]. Access to public funding relies heavily on the ability to write proposals, awareness of officials, and access to timely and accurate information—skills and networks that take time and money to acquire [KN]. Another viewed “form-filling... [as] a deficit model; it says prove to me that you want the money. The opportunity lens says, I think there is something here but let’s talk about it [JM].”

Participants perceive a gap in enterprise assistance for mid-sized Māori enterprises because the trade agencies are working primarily with larger entities [RJ, CE]. Another gap is assistance for post-settlement governance entities because few if any public providers are assisting these entities [RP].

Methods of enterprise assistance provision described by participants include: personal (e.g., face-to-face) and impersonal (e.g., online) methods; and working with individuals (e.g., one-to-one) and groups (e.g., clusters). Māori entrepreneurs prefer personal over impersonal provision but use both [TO, RJ]. Face-to-face contact facilitates meaningful relationships with Māori entrepreneurs and helps providers to assess applications for assistance:

[I]t’s kanohi-ki-te-kanohi [face-to-face] once they’ve provided us with the information [TT].

Working with groups constitutes a large part of enterprise assistance provision according to participants [JW, RJ, and NF]. This includes facilitating industry ventures (e.g., tourism), building enterprise capabilities, and facilitating relationships with overseas business partners [RJ, JW, NF, DL]. Group work with Māori enterprises efficiently extends provision

beyond individualised and localised help [RJ]. Although some providers are geared toward group work, others are constrained from doing so by policy settings, necessitating policy revision or some acceptable degree of circumvention:

So in that regard our mentor got that group together and went through the business fundamentals with them... [I]t's important for us to be able to adapt [so] the business owner [can] participate [in] a small cluster [JW].

Coordination of provision, including Māori-specific enterprise assistance providers, is a concern for several participants [DL, JW, RJ, and TT]. Some of the priorities are: addressing gaps in service provision; ensuring assistance reaches those in need; and reducing duplication and waste [TT, JW, and RJ]. While participants observe increased coordination efforts between advisory oriented services (e.g., MBFS) and funders (e.g., Poutama Trust and MWDI) [JW, RJ, TT], there appears to be some room for improvement:

And you're looking at NZT&E, TPK through MBFS, Te Tumu Paeroa, New Zealand Māori Tourism, FoMA [Federation of Māori Authorities], Poutama. We almost need to get into that room and say well, you do this, we'll do this, you do that [CE].

The importance of follow-up was discussed among participants. Follow-up refers to monitoring of outcomes and rendering additional assistance. Follow-up is described as being useful in terms of accountability, assessing client satisfaction, and monitoring compliance with funding assistance [TT, JW, CE]. Follow-up assistance is desirable because Māori enterprises' needs change over time. Follow-up and evaluation of services involve a trade-off, however, because they divert limited resources away from provision [RJ, CE]. In some cases, recipients continue to contact providers after agreed services are completed [JW]. This unfunded activity is accepted by providers and funders as constituting goodwill [NF, JW].

Criteria for enterprise assistance represent conditions of access and use. Some examples include: minimum turnover and time in business as entry criteria [RJ, RK]; and asking clients to produce a business plan and attend a tax seminar before service provision

[JW]. Criteria may be relaxed or their satisfaction deferred in circumstances where a venture is particularly promising or a distressed enterprise requires urgent attention [KN, JW]. In these situations, one participant finds that private sector advisors are more able to adjust their pace of delivery to suit entrepreneurs [JW].

Culture and enterprise assistance

Participants were asked about whether or not there is a role for Māori culture in enterprise assistance for Māori. Two participants firmly believe there is a role for Māori culture in enterprise assistance provision because “culture is a... huge point of competitive advantage for Māori business [JS]” and “we have a flair so we should be using it [TT].” Other participants believe Māori culture is implied in interactions with Māori as recipients of enterprise assistance [RJ, SK, RK]:

[I]n terms of Māori, the principles of what made Māori successful in their own environment will make them successful in every other environment. It's the principle of whānaungatanga [relationships], of manaakitanga [generosity] [SK].

One participant argues that cultural understanding and compatibility between provider and recipient contributes to a more satisfactory exchange [JW]. Moreover, the process must be imbued with a high degree of authenticity and trust to avoid repelling Māori [JM]. Māori can be defensive because of misgivings about the intentions of a provider or manner of provision [JM]. Other providers attempt to mitigate such negativity by clarifying the purpose of assistance, enlisting a local champion and consulting Māori enterprises and communities [NF, RK, DL]. Consultation needs to be genuine and adequately resourced to be effective [DL]. Although Māori enterprises warrant bespoke enterprise assistance, engaging Māori in design and delivery is discretionary; while good to do it is not always done [CE].

Enterprise assistance efficacy

Participants were asked about the effect of enterprise assistance for them and their enterprises. Responses are discussed in terms of three areas: (i) macro-level (policy, markets and institutions) perspectives; (ii) micro-level (enterprise) effects; and (iii) how efficacy is understood and measured.

From a macro-level perspective participants suggest that enterprise assistance has not worked: “[A]nything we’ve done has not worked; just not effective [JM].” The perceived failure of macro-level policy is evident in Māori business failure rates, limited Māori participation in mainstream enterprise assistance, and ongoing Māori socioeconomic disparities [JM]. Verifying these claims, one participant suggests, is constrained by the absence of official data on Māori businesses [JS]. Two participants advocate for a more holistic view of enterprise assistance efficacy, one that incorporates multiple dimensions of Māori wellbeing—social, cultural, economic and environmental [DL, JM].

At the firm-level, participants find that Māori enterprises enjoy some success, although they acknowledge scope for improvement [JW, JB, TO, JM]. Indicators of firm-level efficacy of enterprise assistance include: (i) the quality and timeliness of information; (ii) improved decision-making and confidence; (iii) provider responsiveness; and (iv) reduced unemployment [JW, JB, TO]. In terms of aspects for improvement, participants report: (i) frustrations with form-filling [JM]; (ii) uncertainty pertaining to public funding [KN]; (iii) inappropriate engagement methods [DL]; (iv) insufficient customisation of assistance to Māori needs [RK]; (v) costliness of some services for which charges apply [MA]; and (vi) insufficient industry-specific knowledge and assistance [KN].

Participants suggest changes to enterprise assistance provision, including: (i) considering a Māori-specific system of enterprise assistance [JB, RP]; (ii) benchmarking enterprise assistance [JS, JW]; (iii) reduced form-filling [KN, JM, CE]; (iv) holistic

performance measures [DL, JM]; (v) resurrecting elements of previous assistance [JB, NF]; and (vi) extending public funding to individually owned Māori enterprises [KN, NF, RJ]. Several participants argue that the Māori economy is too small to wait for a major shift in policy and funding to support Māori-specific enterprise assistance [JM, SK, WD]. A pragmatic response is to work within what assistance is available, given prevailing political and economic settings [SK].

The basis for evaluation and its methods in respect of enterprise assistance for Māori is contested. One participant suggests that rather than evaluate outcomes, which can be hard to measure, a more useful approach is to test the validity of the model of enterprise assistance [CE]. This means scrutinising the principles underpinning assistance rather than expending limited resources gathering evidence on arbitrary outcomes (e.g., estimates of foreign exchange earnings attributed to assistance) [CE]. One study estimates that for every dollar of public funding invested into a particular form of assistance, the programme generates five dollars of economic benefit [JW].

Participants were asked what forms of enterprise assistance they considered made the most difference for Māori enterprises. On the one hand, providers, policy makers and business advisors (i.e., key informants) suggest soft forms of enterprise assistance—information, advice, facilitation, and training—made the most difference [CE, RK, NF, RJ, SK]:

Everyone immediately says money. I don't think it is... Find out what they need. It's not money. It's advice, it's networks, it's relationships, it's expertise, it's in-market experience, it's war stories [CE].

You know I think they think money... I think... it [is] actually; it's probably more networking and embedding skills for you to be able to do what you need for your business [RK].

On the other hand, Māori entrepreneurs single out financial assistance as making the most difference [GP, JB]: “it’s definitely the funding. So being a Māori in business it’s quite hard for us to get funding with no capital [GP].” Māori entrepreneurs perceive finance as a

necessity; key informants perceive it as desirable. As one participant suggests, both views are valid because hard and soft forms of assistance are necessary at different times [CE].

AN IDEAL MODEL OF ENTERPRISE ASSISTANCE

Participants were asked about whether or not an ideal model of enterprise assistance for Māori entrepreneurs is discernible. Because of the focus on publicly funded enterprise assistance, participants' views were sought on the roles of government and iwi in enterprise assistance for Māori entrepreneurs. This section concludes with a summary of the features of an ideal model.

The role of government

Table 5.11 summarises participants' views on the role of government. The first three rows of Table 5.11 indicate participants' support or otherwise for government involvement, while rows four to 18 describe the basis for and direction of government intervention. When taken together, rows one and two suggest twenty-two participants are supportive of government having some role in enterprise assistance for Māori entrepreneurs. Four participants qualify their support for the role of government; one is undecided and a response from one is not discernible.

Table 5.11 The role of government

No.	Indicative participant views	Frequency
1.	Support	18
2.	Qualified support	4
3.	Undecided	1
4.	Funding role	5
5.	Leadership role	5

No.	Indicative participant views	Frequency
6.	Assistance should not be a ‘handout’	3
7.	Māori are contributors to the economy	3
8.	Not provision	2
9.	In proportion to Māori population	2
10.	Status quo - sufficient assistance available	1
11.	Better organisation	1
12.	PSGE support	1
13.	Small nation	1
14.	Partner with Māori	1
15.	Efficiency of provision	1
16.	Facilitation help	1
17.	Māori disadvantage	1
18.	Overcoming fear of help-seeking	1

The following views are illustrative of support for the role of government:

Of course. They don’t just have a role; I think they have a responsibility [KN].

Look, I think that the government should be assisting Māori businesses to the extent that it’s assisting other businesses of the same nature [WD].

Um, well, why not? We’re citizens and taxpayers the same as anybody else [JB].

Multiple reasons justifying government intervention are evident, including: (i) Māori contributions to the national economy; (ii) more effectual provision of assistance is possible; (iii) alleviating Māori disadvantage; and (iv) the need to partner with Māori and others because of the comparably small size of the nation [JM, JS, SK, MA, JW, TT, RJ]. Participants caution, however, against Māori becoming dependent on Crown funding [NF, WD]. They counsel also against being trapped by circuitous public policy arguments such as evidence of market failure (e.g., Māori experience disadvantage in capital and labour markets), urging instead a market

opportunity argument (e.g., Māori have a contribution to make but are limited by resources) [JM, JS]. Moreover, participants caution against Māori adopting an entitlement mentality where assistance is viewed as a ‘handout’ [GP, SK, LG]. Instead, participants urge prudence and mutual obligation between Māori and government in respect of enterprise assistance [SK, JB].

Participants offer varying viewpoints on the nature of the government’s role (see Table 5.11). One participant comments on the scale of assistance: “I’d like to see the support be proportional to the [Māori] population [JW].” Some argue government ought to engage in policy and funding [BL, DL, GP, CE, JS, KN] but not provision [GP, JB]. Provision is best performed by nongovernment organisations and the private sector, working in conjunction with Crown entities [JW, GP].

There appears to be a gap in local government support for Māori enterprises [DL]. The local authority in one district consulted extensively with Māori on economic development and support for Māori enterprises [DL]. The consultation led to proposals for change, but faltered when the question of who was going to pay arose. Another council is interested in supporting local Māori entrepreneurs, but lacks awareness about Māori enterprises and how best to assist them [RK].

One participant finds that government perceptions of Māori enterprises are improving [JS]. The participant attributes this to the work of Māori Economic Taskforce (MET), its successor, the Māori Economic Development Panel (MEDP), Treaty settlements and to the achievements of communal Māori enterprises [JS]. Other arguments that are changing perceptions about Māori entrepreneurs, include: (i) that the national economy depends on the Māori economy and Māori enterprises are contributing to Māori wellbeing [JM, JW]; (ii) customised approaches are appropriate because Māori enterprises are not synonymous with non-Māori enterprises [CE]; (iii) Māori culture constitutes a form of competitive advantage for Māori and non-Māori enterprises internationally [JS, MX, CE]; and (iv) the growth

potential lies within Māori small and medium enterprises—tribally and individually owned—because these enterprises hold 70 percent of the Māori economic asset base [TO].

The role of iwi

Participants were asked about the role of iwi (tribes) in enterprise assistance for Māori entrepreneurs. Responses are described in terms of: (i) support for the role of iwi, its basis and direction; (ii) reservations about iwi involvement in entrepreneurship; and (iii) the disconnection between social and economic entities within post-Treaty settlement iwi.

Table 5.12 indicates participants' views in support of the role of iwi in enterprise assistance for Māori entrepreneurs. Eighteen participants support iwi having a role in enterprise assistance for Māori, with many qualifying their views.

Table 5.12 The role of iwi

No.	Indicative participant views	Frequency
1.	Supportive	18
2.	Undecided	4
3.	Unsupportive	1
4.	Iwi resources are increasing	8
5.	Wealth creation and distributions for iwi	7
6.	Whānau support and iwi-networking	6
7.	Business support for iwi entrepreneurs	4
8.	Educational support for iwi members	3
9.	Job creation for iwi members	2
10.	Creating an enterprising culture among iwi	2
11.	Iwi as enterprises are growing	1
12.	Iwi should not do the job of government	1
13.	Iwi and business are disconnected	1

No.	Indicative participant views	Frequency
14.	A multicultural outlook is more appropriate	1
15.	It is for iwi to decide their role	1

Iwi have a role on the basis of their collective responsibility for their members, but have hitherto been constrained from doing more by resource limitations [JB]. Treaty settlements are enabling some iwi to support entrepreneurship among tribal members [JB, JW, RP, SK]. Some participants consider the focus for iwi ought to be generating jobs and wealth for iwi members [JW, RP, WD, RB, TT]. Other participants suggest iwi facilitate the bringing together of iwi entrepreneurs to share experiences and contribute their knowledge [KN, RB, LR]. Participants, particularly those with inactive or recently renewed relationships with their iwi, would value such an initiative [KN, LR]. One participant opined that iwi should replicate the private sector's use of client relationship management (CRM) systems to better understand members' talents and capabilities [JM].

There is potential for an increased role for iwi in international business (e.g., honey) argues once participant [RJ]. Facilitating iwi support for entrepreneurial ventures is, however, stifled by a tendency for tribes to be conservative [RJ]. Iwi will need to consider collaboration and interdependency rather than independence as a viable pathway for economic development because resource limitations persist despite Treaty settlements [RP, SK, JB]. Moreover, participants suggest collaboration with government and Pākehā enterprises will help reduce risk and provide scale [TO, RH, RJ].

One of the main barriers to growth within iwi, suggests one participant, is not resources, but politics [TO]. Tribal politics are regarded by some participants as vexing, urging separation between politics and business within iwi-based enterprises [NF, RK, TO, WD]. To expedite iwi involvement in entrepreneurship, one participant proposes a business development "dream team" to coordinate various forms of support for communal Māori

enterprises [TO]. Sustainably funding such a service is problematic, however, because public funding favours research over enterprise development [TO].

One participant suggests iwi set aside a small portion of funds that they can afford to lose for investment in entrepreneurial activities [JN]. Other participants suggest iwi go further by assisting Māori entrepreneurs with access to finance, including offering loans, equity, and guarantees [NF, JW, RJ, TT, JM, RK]. Some participants feel procurement policies that favour tribal members are desirable [LR, RB]. Other participants feel that tribal members ought to be supported to develop into leadership positions within tribal enterprises [KN, JM, CE]. One participant maintains, however, that a policy of ‘best person for the job’ ought to prevail within tribal enterprises [TO]. Several participants suspect that post-settlement enterprises will increasingly concern themselves with formulating equitable distribution policies, lest iwi create new grievances for themselves [RP, WD, TO].

Table 5.13 Non-support for the role of iwi

No.	Indicative participant views	Frequency
1.	Undecided	4
2.	Unsupportive	1
3.	Iwi should not do the job of government	1
4.	Iwi and business are disconnected	1
5.	A multicultural outlook is more appropriate	1
6.	It is for iwi to decide their role	1

Table 5.13 indicates participants’ reservations about the role of iwi in enterprise assistance. Chief arguments against iwi involvement relate to differences in views about the proper role of iwi and their resource limitations. Some argue that the role of iwi is intergenerational wealth creation rather than risking tribal assets on entrepreneurial ventures [MX, WD, RP]. Another suggests that “iwi shouldn’t try and be little governments [WD].”

Others comment that iwi would probably provide more assistance if Treaty settlement quantum's had been closer in value to the losses incurred [JB, JW, SK]. Instead, iwi must prioritise between social and commercial developments, within the context of an intergenerational wealth imperative and resource limitations [JM, RP, JB, WD]. Another suggests that iwi entrepreneurs will pursue opportunities regardless: "...the hustlers are going to do it whatever right. They're just gonna do it [RH]."

Over a decade has passed since the first large Treaty settlements were concluded. Several participants now feel that some post-settlement governance entities have erred in strictly adhering to corporate business models [RB, BL, LR]. The separation between social and commercial arms has created an artificial divide which some participants are finding difficult to traverse. For instance, on the one hand, the social arm may see merit in an iwi-based business venture, but the resources to make such an investment are locked inside the commercial arm whose mandate is strictly commercial. On the other hand, commercial arms are often entrusted with hard-won Treaty settlement assets which must be prudently managed for future generations. This makes start-up enterprises decidedly unattractive investment options because of their high risk [WD, RP]. Yet, participants maintain that a more balanced and integrative approach between the social and commercial entities within iwi is needed [RK, RB, BL, WD, RP].

Features of an ideal model of enterprise assistance

Eighteen participants believe there is an ideal model of enterprise assistance for Māori entrepreneurs and offer suggestions as to its form. Table 5.14 summarises participants' views.

Table 5.14 An ideal model

No.	Indicative participant views	Frequency
1.	Yes, there is an ideal model	18

No.	Indicative participant views	Frequency
2.	Undecided	3
3.	There is no ideal model	2
4.	Multiple assistance in one provider	2
5.	Support Māori business networks	2
6.	Tendering support for Māori entrepreneurs	2
7.	Māori designed solutions are needed	1
8.	More private sector involvement in public-private models	1
9.	Poutama Trust and iwi as a combined model	1
10.	Investment readiness assistance	1
11.	Hui among Māori to discuss options	1
12.	Three stages: planning, funding, mentoring	1
13.	Culturally appropriate case management	1
14.	Support for post-settlement enterprises	1
15.	Economic focus within whānau ora agencies	1
16.	Providers must understand Māori	1
17.	Support existing models that work	1
18.	One-size does not fit all	1

Not all participants are convinced that an ideal is feasible or necessary. Three participants are undecided about whether or not an ideal model exists. Two participants imply that no change is needed because current methods represent the ideal. Some of their views follow:

No there isn't. But I think there are good models out there. And I think... the nature of that support and engagement must change all the time [CE].

I've not seen one. It's hard to conceive of one... It's gotta understand the Māori... market... the Māori differentiation, cultural network, personal, historical... [WD].

I don't believe there is an ideal model because like I said before not one model fits all... I would say we're doing it now [NF].

[M]aybe the bigger question is, have you currently identified everyone who you think needs help... You need a [Sir John] Kirwan... to translate the needs [RH].

Most participants maintain that an ideal model is desirable and describe its features. These include: (i) building on existing methods that work [CE]; (ii) Māori leadership and involvement in design and delivery [LR]; (iii) support for mixed models, including combining financial and nonfinancial assistance, over longer periods [JS]; (iv) an increasing role for the private sector, in collaboration with government and iwi [JW]; (v) an emphasis on readiness to compete in the market place [JM]; (vi) the importance of relationships, networking and collaboration [CE, SK]; (vii) extending the scope for assistance to include post-settlement enterprises [RP]; and (viii) adopting a panoptic view of business encompassing social, cultural, economic, and environmental goals [DL, JM]. Several participants' views are illustrative:

I think a big part of a model... is tino rangatiratanga. And it has to start with us designing our own solutions. I don't believe one-size fits all [DL].

I think the ideal model here in New Zealand has to be one of collaboration because you gotta get scale. The ideal is whatever works to meet the risk [SK].

I would love it that in the [Whānau Ora] hubs that they're developing that they also have an economics arm as well [TP].

Imagine if it was something like this: Be Your Own Boss at the beginning, complete that, get a \$10k capital investment in your business, which is kind of the Enterprise Allowance stuff out of WINZ. And then assistance through a mentor to do a business plan, marketing plan, financial forecast. And then mentoring for that first 18 months. Get to two years, over \$60k, then get another \$10k from Poutama. And then whatever might happen [RK].

According to participants, some of the aims of an ideal model of enterprise assistance for Māori entrepreneurs ought to be: (i) increasing Māori entrepreneurs' comfort with risk, investment and finance [TT]; (ii) addressing the governance needs of communal Māori enterprises [TO]; (iii) preparing Māori entrepreneurs to access finance and other services from the public and private sectors [JM]; and (iv) helping Māori entrepreneurs keep themselves safe

from exploitative and illegal practices (i.e., financial scams and identity theft) [KN]. To be effective in these aims, participants suggest that enterprise assistance providers need to have favourable perceptions about Māori entrepreneurs and then render services with some understanding of and affinity for Māori culture [JW, JS, WD]. For their part, Māori entrepreneurs need to be sufficiently prepared to make use of enterprise assistance [JW, JM]. Other participants urge Māori entrepreneurs to be open to relationships with and help from non-Māori because the Māori economy is too small in the global context [SK, GP, JM, RH].

Chapter 6 Discussion

This chapter discusses the findings presented in the previous chapter. It examines the results with respect to previous research and the research questions posed by this thesis. Interpretation and analysis draws on theories of Māori development (see Chapter 2), entrepreneurship and enterprise assistance (see Chapter 3) to discuss ways in which the thesis contributes to knowledge of Māori entrepreneurship. Elements of a possible theory of Māori entrepreneurship as it relates to enterprise assistance are proposed. This is followed by discussion of the role of enterprise assistance in Māori entrepreneurship and a proposed *ideal* model of enterprise assistance delivery for Māori entrepreneurs. The chapter closes with a summary of the contributions to theory and method, limitations and recommendations for further research.

TOWARD A THEORY OF MĀORI ENTREPRENEURSHIP

The first research question of this thesis is: what is the theory of Māori entrepreneurship as it relates to enterprise assistance? Māori development is discussed in Chapter 2 and its relationship to entrepreneurship is discussed in Chapter 3. These explorations of entrepreneurship theory inform the interviews with Māori entrepreneurs, with their views presented in Chapter 5. This section adds to current knowledge by tentatively proposing elements of a theory of Māori entrepreneurship that incorporates theories of development, entrepreneurship and Māori entrepreneurs' experiences of enterprise assistance. In this thesis, Māori entrepreneurship theory is characterised by four factors: (i) entrepreneurs identifying as Māori; (ii) the influence of Māori indigeneity; (iii) Māori enterprise ownership; and (iv) Māori development. Māori development is defined here as the process of indigenous human development in Aotearoa New Zealand (see Chapter 2).

A series of propositions based on the data suggest a possible theory of Māori entrepreneurship. The propositions are testable in subsequent research, which should show whether or not the theory holds. The propositions are as follows:

- (i) That culture, identity and socialisation as Māori distinguishes Māori entrepreneurs from non-Māori entrepreneurs.
- (ii) That Māori entrepreneurship is a means of expressing indigenous self-determination, potentiality and substantive freedom.
- (iii) That Māori enterprises are defined primarily by Māori enterprise ownership and their operation according Māori values.
- (iv) That a Māori way of doing business is predicated upon principles of duality, collectivism, permanence and intergenerationality.
- (v) That Māori entrepreneurship is premised upon a Māori world view, but integrates within this elements of a Western world view.

These propositions are more fully discussed below.

Development theory and Māori entrepreneurship

Development theory posits self-determination (an indigenous right), potentiality (a condition of Māori cosmogony) and substantive freedom (a premise for human wellbeing) as legitimate ends of Māori entrepreneurship. At the same time, Māori entrepreneurship constitutes the means of achieving such ends. Māori entrepreneurship is thus a legitimate means of exercising self-determination, according to indigenous development theory (see Chapters 2 and 3). Beyond self-determination, the indigenous development literature advances poverty alleviation as a goal of indigenous entrepreneurship. Poverty alleviation privileges a 'deficit paradigm,' which assumes indigenous peoples are beset by disadvantage, perpetuating their

prejudicial treatment (Ford, Harris, Tyson, & Trotman, 2002). While a globally significant humanitarian challenge, poverty alleviation imposes a development modality from the outside rather than affording indigenous peoples the opportunity to define this for themselves (Cornell & Kalt, 1993). The function of enterprise assistance from this perspective is to enable Māori to be self-determining as indigenous peoples through entrepreneurship (Campbell-Stokes, 1998; Durie, 2002a; Foley, 2004).

A Māori development perspective similarly views entrepreneurship as inherently about realising Māori aspirations for self-determination, thereby incorporating Māori knowledge, identity, language and culture into entrepreneurial activity. Exercising Māori self-determination through entrepreneurship effects Māori potentiality, which becomes the purpose of enterprise assistance in respect of Māori entrepreneurship. Potentiality is defined here as aspirational human activity and fulfilment, which Māori term *te ira tangata*—the essence of humanity (see Chapter 2). Being Māori, according to Māori development theory, carries both individual and group rights and obligations as citizens and as iwi. Prevailing political and economic paradigms, which govern the institutional environment of entrepreneurship, imply a trade-off which favours individual over group rights. A Māori development perspective sees no such dichotomy. Instead, Māori entrepreneurs are contemporaneously associated with communal Māori enterprises and non-communal Māori enterprises. As discussed in Chapter 3, this is a significant departure from conventional entrepreneurship theory, which rejects noneconomic and ethnic elements in entrepreneurship implicitly adopting an ethnocentric stance (Davidsson, 2004; Devlin, 2006; Sumner, 1959).

According to economic development theory (see Chapter 3), enterprise productivity, innovation, survival and growth are primary expectations of enterprise assistance for Māori entrepreneurs. Economic development theory views Māori entrepreneurship as contributing to the Māori economy and to the national economy in terms of contributions to wealth, income, employment, production, and taxation (Davies, 2007; Frederick & Henry, 2004; Minniti,

2011; Nana et al., 2011a; NZIER, 2003). In this sense, economic development separates means (entrepreneurship) from ends (economy). This is an incomplete view of Māori entrepreneurship, however, because Māori development outcomes are incidental considerations or not considered at all. Additionally, outcomes of entrepreneurial activity are narrowly defined as being primarily economic.

The role of enterprise assistance, according to human development theory, is to afford Māori entrepreneurs the capabilities to pursue the kinds of entrepreneurship they value and to contribute to various states of Māori wellbeing. Sen's (1999) human development theory suggests that it is for Māori to determine what constitutes valued forms of entrepreneurship, rather than extraneous agents. Human development theory defines capabilities broadly as the necessary antecedents that make entrepreneurship possible and worthwhile (Gries & Naude, 2011). Such capabilities include good health, education, living conditions, resources, knowledge, and political, economic and cultural institutions that enhance human freedom and agency—a much broader array of concerns than are contemplated within present conceptions of enterprise assistance (Alkire, 2005a, 2005b).

Sen (1999) equates capabilities with substantive freedoms to achieve valued states of wellbeing, which Sen names functionings because the function of freedom is to enable an expansion of one's freedoms. Sen (1999) distinguishes between constitutive and instrumental roles of freedom, with the constitutive role referring to human freedom as a valued 'end' and the instrumental role of freedom as an effective 'means' to promote and achieve human freedom. Thus, freedom for Sen (1999) is both means and ends in human development. According to Sen (1999), therefore, Māori entrepreneurship is a 'capability,' that is, the ability for Māori to achieve valued states of human wellbeing, having both instrumental (means) and constitutive (ends) qualities.

The perspectives of Māori entrepreneurs

Māori entrepreneurs in this thesis contribute to theory development with their views on what it means to be Māori, to be a Māori enterprise and to do business in a Māori way, which intimate characteristics of Māori entrepreneurship (see Chapter 5). Material characteristics of Māori entrepreneurship include: the use of the Māori language and culture; identifying as Māori; and, early-life socialisation as Māori.

Māori entrepreneurs in this thesis suggest that their identity and socialisation as Māori varies over their lifetimes. This thesis finds that as entrepreneurs mature, their cultural affinity with being Māori moves from a passive to an active presence. This is reflected in their increasing efforts to learn the Māori language and to apply Māori culture in their personal and professional lives (see Chapter 5). A peculiarity in the census bears this out, with Māori people identifying as Māori in two ways: by their descent from a Māori person (ancestry); and by identifying with the Māori ethnic group (ethnicity) (see Chapter 2). Māori entrepreneurs infuse Māori ways of knowing (epistemology), being (ontology), and doing (methodology) in business as both their cultural identity (ancestry) is acknowledged and known and their cultural affinity (ethnicity) as Māori grows (Gillies et al., 2007; Henry & Pene, 2001; D. Ruwhiu & Wolfgramm, 2006).

The findings suggest that human experience cultivates an entrepreneurial mindset. An entrepreneurial mindset here refers to a propensity for opportunity seeking, commercial exploitation of opportunities, and resilience and success in this endeavour (Hunter & Kazakoff, 2012). A Māori entrepreneurial mindset incorporates Māori indigeneity into this mix, with both favourable and unfavourable consequences (Davies, 2007; Mika, 2014a). Māori indigeneity refers to the qualities of being of the indigenous people of Aotearoa New Zealand (see Chapter 2 for more on ‘being Māori’ and Chapter 3 on ‘indigeneity’). In their background stories, Māori entrepreneurs relate the importance of educational, work and travel experiences to their being entrepreneurs. The results suggest that active entrepreneurship

contributes more than does formal education to an entrepreneurial mindset. Such experiential learning includes lessons of failed enterprises, solvency pressures, and adjusting as enterprises grow.

Some Māori entrepreneurs argue that acquiring an entrepreneurial mindset is possible; others suggest that its presence is innate, arriving with birth (see Chapter 5). The debate about whether entrepreneurs are born or made is a recurring theme in entrepreneurship discourse (Daley, 2013). Māori entrepreneurs in this thesis associate entrepreneurship with an unstructured approach to business as distinct from an enterprise owner-operator, whom they associate with a more structured approach. This is consistent with entrepreneurship theory, which distinguishes between small business owners and entrepreneurs on the basis of the latter's penchant for innovative and strategic activity in business (Carland, Hoy, Boulton, & Carland, 1984, cited in Hunter and Kazakoff, 2012).

Despite being an elusive policy problem, the findings suggest that two key features substantially define what a Māori enterprise is. They are Māori enterprise ownership and the application of Māori values in the enterprise. A Māori enterprise is, therefore, a business that is predominantly owned by Māori and operates according to Māori values (Harmsworth, 2009). A Māori enterprise that administers collectively owned assets and is constituted under Māori-specific legislation (e.g., Māori Land Act 1993) is assumed to be a Māori business because of its institutional designation, asset class and communal nature (Henry, 1997; Kingi, 2004). Māori enterprises, therefore, comprise communal and non-communal forms. Ownership appears to be, however, the decisive factor in setting Māori enterprises apart from non-Māori enterprises. While the consensus among Māori entrepreneurs and the literature is that 50 percent or more ownership by Māori qualifies as a Māori enterprise, an alternative view suggests a lower threshold is more legitimate because the 50 percent level excludes enterprises with a sizeable minority indigenous stake (e.g., 20-49 percent indigenous ownership) (Foley, 2013; Mika, 2013a). The thesis finds a degree of consistency in the

characteristics that define Māori enterprises between the literature and Māori entrepreneurs' perceptions of this. This points to the possibility of resolving data limitations within the existing framework of official business statistics, that is, self-identification as a Māori enterprise and modification of industry codes.

The findings suggest that a Māori way of doing business is predicated upon principles of duality, collectivism, permanence and intergenerationality. Duality is evident in the countervailing ideas of protection versus development of indigenous heritage, and in modernity versus contingency theories of indigenous development (see Chapter 2) (Hindle & Moroz, 2009; Peredo et al., 2004). The duality principle is a central challenge of Māori entrepreneurship, expressed in terms of the balancing of cultural and commercial imperatives (Fox, 1998; Harmsworth, 2009; Zapalska et al., 2003). Duality can be perilous for some, yet most Māori entrepreneurs seem to cope, evidenced by apparent growth in the Māori economy (Nana et al., 2011a). Māori entrepreneurs in this thesis identify two ways in which duality is managed. The first is to prioritise solvency and positive cash flows ahead of cultural obligations that may extend an enterprise beyond its means. This is consistent with the trade-off mentality of Western entrepreneurship theory. The second is to equalise Māori values by offsetting one against the other. The balancing of manaakitanga (an ethic of generosity) with kaitiakitanga (an ethic of stewardship) is an example of this. A fundamental Māori value used to maintain balance in pre-European Māori entrepreneurship is *utu* (reciprocity, recompense, revenge) (see Chapter 3) (Waa & Love, 1997). Māori entrepreneurs may still employ *utu* to balance cultural and commercial imperatives, but little research exists to support this (Mika, 2014a).

Collectivism is found to be a feature of Māori entrepreneurship (see Chapter 5). Māori entrepreneurs' preferences for collectivism are expressed in terms of tribal affiliation, socialisation as Māori, and the use of Māori values in business. Collectivism in Māori entrepreneurship is supported by the Māori development literature outlined in Chapter 2

(Harmsworth, 2005; Tinirau & Gillies, 2010; Warriner, 1999). The results of this thesis, however, portend fragility within tribal collectivism. Tribes are struggling to meet their members' expectations for *intra*-tribal interaction, particularly among those with dormant tribal affiliations. This circumstance is exacerbated for tribes' whose members are domiciled mainly outside traditional tribal territories (Statistics New Zealand, 2006, 2013b). Nonetheless, the results indicate that a spirit of collectivism prevails in Māori entrepreneurship. At the same time, however, collectivism coexists with individualism within Māori entrepreneurship. Māori entrepreneurs are members of both collective and individual enterprises, which Fang (2003) suggests is possible when a non-linear world view is adopted (see Chapter 3).

Permanence is another feature, which Māori entrepreneurs in this thesis associate with the enduring notion of the tribe (see Chapter 5). That is to say, tribes exist so long as that is what its members wish to be (O'Regan, 2014). Permanence is, therefore, an extension of tribal affiliation, which itself is an element of one's cultural identity (see Chapter 2). Given the permanency of tribes, doing business in a Māori way implies long term business relationships that systematically instil within them Māori processes of acculturation (Mika, 2014b; Solomon, 2010; Tinirau & Gillies, 2010). Common instruments of acculturation in Māori entrepreneurship include *pōhiri* (welcome ceremony), *mihi* (greetings) *karakia* (incantations), *waiata* (song), *haka* (dance), *kai* (food) and agreements that accord with Māori values (see Chapters 2 and 5 for examples).

Consistent with the concept of sustainable development, the findings of this thesis indicate that balancing the needs of current and future generations is a material consideration for Māori entrepreneurs (Barrow, 2006; Welford & Gouldson, 1993). This is reflected in the long range planning horizons of Māori enterprises, measured in terms of generations (see Chapters 2 and 5). Thus, the term intergenerationality is coined by this thesis to refer to Māori entrepreneurs' commitments to the wealth and wellbeing of current and future generations.

Wealth and wellbeing for Māori entrepreneurs are not mutually exclusive measures of enterprise performance. Instead, they imply multiple dimensions of performance, inclusive of social, cultural, economic, environmental and spiritual outcomes (Dawson, 2012; M. Henare, 2011; Spiller et al., 2010). In this way, intergenerationality is related to the principles of duality, collectivism and permanence.

THE ROLE OF ENTERPRISE ASSISTANCE

The second research question directing this thesis is: what is the role of publicly funded enterprise assistance in Māori entrepreneurship? In keeping with the exploratory nature of the thesis, this question enquires as to the nature of Māori entrepreneurs' experiences of enterprise assistance, their perceptions of what enterprise assistance does for them and the perceived effect that the assistance has on them as entrepreneurs and their enterprises.

The results of this thesis suggest that publicly funded enterprise assistance performs three roles in respect of Māori entrepreneurship. The first role of enterprise assistance is to satisfy the firm-level business needs of Māori entrepreneurs as clients. The second role of enterprise assistance is to build the entrepreneurial capabilities of Māori entrepreneurs. The third role of enterprise assistance is to enable Māori enterprises to develop. Implicitly, there is a fourth role, and that is addressing the institutional-level business needs of Māori enterprises. Institutional-level business needs include productivity, innovation, property rights, structures, and general business education (MEDP, 2012b; NZIER, 2003; Reihana et al., 2006). Because institutional change depends on entrepreneurship policy rather than enterprise assistance such needs are not considered here (McKay, 2011; NZIER, 2003; Te Puni Kōkiri, 2013b).

The first role of enterprise assistance

Māori entrepreneurs engage in enterprise assistance to satisfy firm-level business needs, with both the literature (see Chapters 2 and 3) and entrepreneurs (see Chapter 5) identifying finance, networks, markets and advice as common needs. The satisfaction of firm-level business needs constitutes the first role of publicly funded enterprise assistance for Māori entrepreneurs. Māori entrepreneurs' experiences and perceptions of publicly funded enterprise assistance comprises four key dimensions: (i) need—reasons for help-seeking; (ii) form—the kinds of assistance used; (iii) provision—provider and client interactions; and (iv) efficacy—the effects of enterprise assistance. These four dimensions accord with the model of public enterprise assistance developed in Chapter 3 (see Figure 3.1).

The results from this thesis show that Māori entrepreneurs use all six forms of enterprise assistance inferred from theory (i.e., information, advice, facilitation, training, grants and finance) (see Chapter 5). Of these, Māori entrepreneurs single out finance as an ongoing challenge. According to the Māori development literature (Chapter 2), Māori entrepreneurs are constrained in their access to finance for several reasons, including: their credit history; limited 'means' at their disposal; few social contacts with 'means;' and, limited access to the resources of communal Māori enterprises (Dickson, 2010; Groves, 2000; Hawkins et al., 1999; McCabe, 2012; Mika, 2005a, 2010a; White, 1999). Not surprisingly then, Māori entrepreneurs in this thesis rank the efficacy of financial assistance ahead of nonfinancial assistance.

Economic theory suggests that efficient capital markets should solve most 'solvable' problems with respect to access to finance (R. Cameron, 2009; Lattimore et al., 1998; SRG, 2011; Storey, 1994). Evidence of market failure is thus a prerequisite for public intervention (Storey, 1994). In addition to the finance itself (debt and equity), the need for finance among Māori entrepreneurs has two additional contributing factors: entrepreneur's readiness for the process of obtaining finance (a demand-side problem), and misunderstandings among

providers about Māori entrepreneurship (a supply-side problem). Few Māori entrepreneurs in this thesis advocate adding new publicly funded suppliers of finance for Māori entrepreneurs. Instead, Māori entrepreneurs suggest strengthening existing Māori-specific providers and encouraging innovations in non-specific mainstream providers.

The results indicate that the mixing of financial and nonfinancial assistance is contentious. Financial and nonfinancial assistance are generally offered separately in the public sector, yet private sector financial institutions are increasingly offering nonfinancial assistance (OECD, 2002). For example, banks are offering clients business seminars, including financial incentives for their successful completion. Entrepreneurship theory suggests the mixing of financial and nonfinancial assistance risks skewing an entrepreneur's behaviour in favour of financial assistance, displacing nonfinancial assistance (Hjalmarsson & Johansson, 2003). There are, however, instances where mixing financial and nonfinancial assistance occurs with good intent, although evidence of the effect of offering both together is less readily available. Three examples are identified in this thesis: (i) the Enterprise Allowance, a capital grant linked to completion of the Be Your Own Boss programme; (ii) the use of mentoring to help reduce the risk of loan default; and (iii) provision of business advice and grants together by Poutama Trust (Curtin, 1996; Hawkins et al., 1999; Mika, 2010a). The inference is that finance given without nonfinancial assistance creates risks for providers, and nonfinancial assistance without finance impedes Māori entrepreneurship.

According to Hjalmarsson and Johansson (2003) publicly funded enterprise assistance is a subjective exchange between provider and client with clients adopting one of three personas: (i) anti-client, where uptake of enterprise assistance is negated because its use implies inadequacy; (ii) consultant-modifier where the client redefines provision of enterprise assistance to their purposes; and (iii) the ideal client where the client is needy and the provider is perceived as an expert. The findings indicate that Māori entrepreneurs exhibit all three client personas (see Chapter 5 for examples). An example of the 'anti-client' are Māori entrepreneurs

who avoid uptake of enterprise assistance because its usage is perceived as an unwarranted indulgence in public funds, or because they are unaware that they themselves have legitimate business needs. In one instance of the ‘consultant-modifier,’ the provider and the entrepreneur together modify enterprise assistance to suit the client rather than the client alone. The results of this thesis suggest that a consultant-modifier can become an anti-client if the provider is unable meet the entrepreneur’s needs because of policy or capacity limitations, and few alternatives exist. Most Māori entrepreneurs, however, resemble Hjalmarsson and Johansson’s (2003) ‘ideal’ client.

Another of Hjalmarsson and Johansson’s (2003) propositions is that power-relations influence client-provider interactions (see Chapter 3). In this thesis, power-relations which position the provider as expert and the entrepreneur as advice-taker are associated with non-specific mainstream providers. Power-relations which place control of enterprise assistance interactions with the entrepreneur are associated with Māori-specific providers. The results suggest that Māori-specific providers exhibit cultural empathy through inclusion of Māori as suppliers of enterprise assistance and the use of Māori culture in the delivery of enterprise assistance. Non-specific mainstream providers tend not to actively engage Māori because an industry, regional or national focus is assumed to also adequately capture Māori entrepreneurs (see Chapters 2 and 5). The results in this thesis also suggest that Māori entrepreneurs prefer targeted, personal and group delivery modalities imbued with Māori culture, which they associate with Māori-specific providers. Providers can demonstrate these traits by adopting a favourable predisposition toward Māori and developing cultural, relational and technical competencies.

A favourable predisposition toward Māori makes consultant-modifier relations, in which the entrepreneur is directing enterprise assistance to their purposes, more likely. Māori development theory supports this (see Chapter 2). For example, Māori educational research shows that a favourable predisposition by non-Māori teachers toward their Māori students in

class contributes to higher Māori academic achievement in mainstream schools (Bishop, Berryman, Cavanagh, & Teddy, 2007; Bishop, Berryman, Tiakiwai, & Richardson, 2003). Mainstream health, social service, and business service provision similarly benefit from Māori knowledge, culture and methods in terms of Māori participation and outcomes (Cram et al., 2002; M. Durie, 1999; Mika, 2006, 2008; Office of the Auditor General, 1998; Te Puni Kōkiri, 2004b, 2013c; Webster, 1998). An example of this is the overseas outposts of Aotearoa New Zealand's trade development agency. Overseas trade officials, in contrast to their domestic colleagues, exhibit a favourable predisposition toward Māori entrepreneurs. Māori entrepreneurs attribute this to the appeal of Māori culture in offshore markets as a point of difference for enterprises and products from Aotearoa New Zealand (see Chapter 5).

In addition, the results suggest three key provider competencies matter to Māori entrepreneurs: (i) cultural competency; (ii) relational competency; and (iii) technical competency. Cultural competency implies knowledge of the Māori language, culture and development and an ability to apply this knowledge (see Chapter 2). Chapter 5 describes several ways in which Māori culture influences provider-client interactions, but rigid conformance to tikanga is not one of these. Cultural formality varies depending on the circumstances, the preferences of the participants, and how well they know each other.

Relational competency suggests that providers ought to be able to engage Māori entrepreneurs in accordance with Māori values, customs and expectations. For example, the results show Māori entrepreneurs value reciprocal exchanges of manaakitanga and whānaungatanga as *mana*-enhancing. This means that a provider can expect the hospitality, generosity and support that they show Māori entrepreneurs as clients to be reciprocated in some way. This thesis also suggests that enterprise assistance should be viewed as part of a long term relationship rather than as short term one-off interventions. This implies neither withdrawing enterprise assistance too soon nor maintaining it longer than necessary. Some Māori entrepreneurs caution against long term use; others view enterprise assistance as a

necessary 'bridge' to building confidence in business. Cultural and relational competencies are of little consequence if the first role of enterprise assistance—satisfying firm-level business needs of Māori entrepreneurs—is not addressed. Technical competency matters to Māori entrepreneurs because providers must be able to deliver what they promise. The results of this thesis indicate that this is not always the case, with some assistance perceived as inappropriate, irrelevant, or untimely (see Chapter 5).

Evaluating the efficacy of enterprise assistance is important for reasons of accountability, establishing firm-level results, and assessing contributions to Māori development. On the one hand, Māori entrepreneurs readily perceive firm-level benefits, but offer little specificity as to their precise nature. On the other hand, Māori entrepreneurs perceive mainly negative macro-level outcomes for Māori because of persistent socioeconomic disparities and comparably lower access, uptake and use of mainstream enterprise assistance (see Chapter 5).

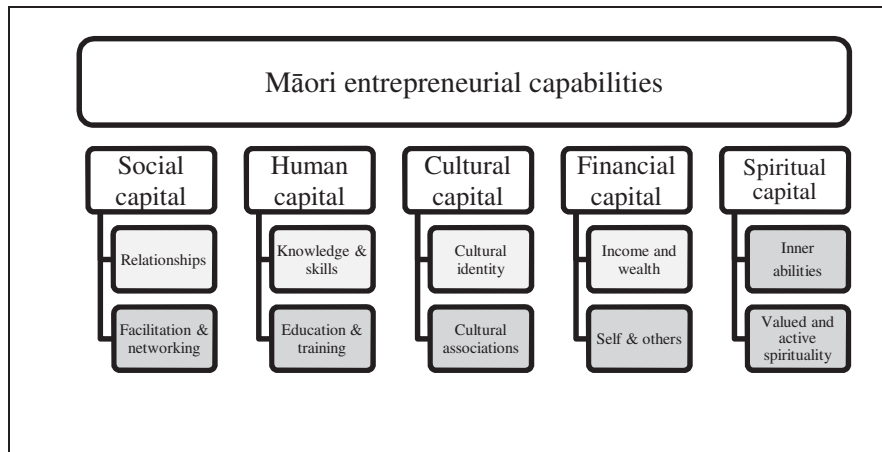
The use of sophisticated evaluative techniques discussed in Chapter 3 is constrained by limitations of data, complexity and capacity. The tendency, therefore, is to rely on qualitative rather than quantitative measures of value and impact (Battisti & Gillies, 2008; Moore et al., 2006; Te Puni Kōkiri, 2013d). Contrary to evaluative orthodoxy, this thesis suggests two changes in tactics for evaluation of enterprise assistance for Māori entrepreneurs. The first is to emphasise evaluation of the principles underpinning enterprise assistance. In evaluative terms, this means favouring process (how things work) over outcomes (results) evaluation because outcomes are generally more difficult and costly to measure and divert valuable resources from provision (Davidson, 2005; Patton, 1990). The second is to amplify efficacy by including social, cultural, economic, environmental and spiritual dimensions. Such an expansive view of efficacy is consistent with the idea of holism implied in Māori measures of economic success (S. Awatere, 2008; M. Henare, 2011).

The second role of enterprise assistance

Enterprise assistance effects change in Māori entrepreneurship by building Māori entrepreneurial capabilities. This constitutes the second role of publicly funded enterprise assistance in Māori entrepreneurship. Entrepreneurial capabilities, extensively discussed in Chapter 3, are modified in this thesis by the characteristics of Māori entrepreneurship, the nature of Māori enterprises, and Māori entrepreneurs' experiences. This modified view is referred to as Māori entrepreneurial capabilities. Interestingly, 'capabilities' appears not to have made its way into the lexicon of entrepreneurship policy in the way that it features within the academic literature. What the results do suggest is that entrepreneurial capabilities are an implied consequence of publicly funded enterprise assistance. Because of this, analysis starts with the construction of a conceptual framework for Māori entrepreneurial capabilities, enabling an assessment of the data to be made.

A conceptual framework for Māori entrepreneurial capability development, integrating Māori indigeneity with the five forms of entrepreneurial capital (see Chapter 3), is presented in Figure 6.1. Māori entrepreneurs may possess some or all of these capabilities in varying degrees. The framework starts with the overarching category of Māori entrepreneurial capabilities. Below this are the five sub-categories of social capital, human capital, cultural capital, financial capital, and spiritual capital. The next row of lightly shaded boxes identifies core properties of the parent forms of capital: relationships, knowledge and skills, cultural identity, income and wealth, and inner abilities respectively. The row of more darkly shaded boxes below this identifies principal activities that induce entrepreneurial capabilities. These activities represent the interception point for enterprise assistance; that is, where interventions seek to build entrepreneurial capabilities.

Figure 6.1 Māori entrepreneurial capability development framework



The framework assumes that enterprise assistance addresses deficiencies (i.e., gaps between current and desired capability) in entrepreneurial capabilities. This thesis suggests that Māori capability needs are established during interaction between providers and entrepreneurs. A further assumption is that developing entrepreneurial capabilities is primarily about human development, and in particular, the capacity for entrepreneurs to learn. This is supported by the findings, in which Māori entrepreneurs identify learning (experiential and structured) as fundamental to their roles as entrepreneurs. Māori culture is influential in defining Māori entrepreneurial capabilities. Yet, culture maybe somewhat of a ‘mixed blessing,’ either constraining or enabling entrepreneurship (Light & Gold, 2000; Mika, 2014a; Sumner, 1959). Māori entrepreneurial capabilities are next discussed in relation to enterprise assistance.

Social capital is constituted within group relations. For Māori entrepreneurs, social capital consists of kinship relations within whānau (extended family), hapū (subtribe), iwi (tribe) and the Māori community, and non-kinship relations (e.g., friends, peers, church, professional and voluntary associations). The relationship between enterprise assistance and social capital in Māori entrepreneurship is evident in five ways: (i) the merits of soft forms of enterprise assistance (e.g., information and advice); (ii) the value of networks and networking for Māori entrepreneurs; (iii) collaboration between Māori and non-Māori enterprises; (iv) the

balance between public and private enterprise assistance; and (v) the importance of whānau support (see Chapter 5 for examples). Whānau support includes parental, spousal and tribal support for Māori entrepreneurs.

Human capital manifests within an individual's physical and mental capabilities, exhibited as knowledge, skills and physical attributes that derive from being a Māori entrepreneur. The following themes are illustrative: (i) the value of human capital to Māori entrepreneurs; (ii) human capital needs of Māori entrepreneurs; and (iii) the importance of education (see Chapter 5 for examples of these). Human capital enables Māori entrepreneurs to extract value from other capabilities. For instance, a grant (financial capital) is valued because it allows the purchase of needed equipment, but it is advice and training (human capital) that converts the equipment into a valuable resource.

Cultural capital is embodied within the person and their material cultural artefacts and institutions. For Māori entrepreneurs, this means knowledge and practice of tribal lineage, knowledge and possession of Māori arts, crafts, and foods, and association with institutionalised cultural capital such as tribal mores and fora. These are derived from being Māori and socialisation as Māori (see Chapters 2 and 5). Māori cultural capital is a key element of the theory of Māori entrepreneurship. For instance, the research suggests that sustainability in business is to be achieved by the expression of kaupapa Māori (Māori philosophy) through tikanga Māori (Māori customs), subject to financial constraint. The financial constraint is expressed within the principle of kaitiakitanga (stewardship), rather than as some numerical threshold. Kaitiakitanga conditions the entrepreneurial mindset to long term performance and survival, limiting the possibility that cultural values might cause the enterprise to underperform.

Financial capital is constituted in income and wealth, which for Māori includes access to ethnic and non-ethnic forms of credit and wealth, formal and informal, communal and non-communal. Māori entrepreneurs in this thesis suggest that financial capital is a common and

ongoing challenge at all stages of the business lifecycle (see Chapters 2 and 3). Some of these capability challenges include: (i) the undercapitalisation of Māori enterprises; (ii) a liquidity gap in Māori development described as a situation where there is insufficient internal capital in the Māori economy to address the entirety of Māori development goals and needs; (iii) the financial vulnerability of Māori social enterprises given their reliance on government funding; and (iv) the merits of mixing of financial with nonfinancial assistance.

Spiritual capital in its embodied, objectified and institutionalised state seems evident within Māori entrepreneurial capabilities. Māori entrepreneurs embody spiritual capital through their cultural identity, acknowledgement of the spiritual realm, and a belief system that elevates spirituality as fundamental to wellbeing (Durie, 1998b). Embodied spiritual capital relies on objectified spiritual capital represented symbolically and physically in traditional Māori arts, crafts, carvings, images, texts, and garments and their application in modern commercial settings. Spiritual capital in its institutionalised state is evident in the array of Māori religious organisations (e.g., Ratana and Ringatū) and the inculcation and practice of Māori religious rituals within Māori enterprises and entrepreneurial processes (H. Morrison, Patterson, Knowles, & Rae, 2012). An example of this is the use of karakia (prayer) before and after business meetings and the rituals of engaging and receiving visitors (Morgan & Mulligan, 2006; Mulligan & Tuuta, 2003; Salmond, 1987; Tinirau & Gillies, 2010). Chu's (2007) idea of harnessing, valuing and activating flows of spiritual energy resonates with the metaphysical foundations of the Māori world view (Henry & Pene, 2001) and its capacity to enliven business practices and entrepreneurial processes with spirituality (Spiller, Pio, Erakovic, & Henare, 2011).

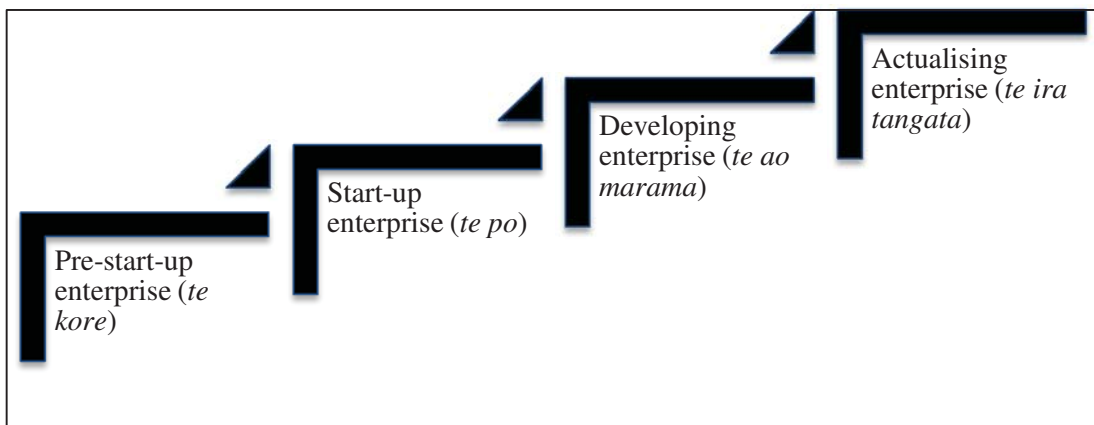
Māori entrepreneurs' experiences in this thesis support the premise that enterprise assistance effects change in Māori entrepreneurial capabilities. A limitation of the proposed framework, however, is that it does not fully explain how this change occurs. The framework is useful for interpreting capabilities as a determinant of Māori entrepreneurship. It does this

by identifying and classifying capabilities in terms of their Māori and non-Māori features and relating these to the business needs of Māori entrepreneurs. Additionally, the Māori entrepreneurial capability framework (Figure 6.1) is consistent with development theories of entrepreneurship. For example, Māori development theory suggests entrepreneurial capabilities enable Māori entrepreneurs to be self-determining and to contribute to Māori development on terms Māori consider right and appropriate for them. In this sense, Māori are free to engage in entrepreneurship and learn from their experiences.

The third role of enterprise assistance

Enterprise assistance effects change in Māori entrepreneurship by enabling Māori enterprises to develop. This constitutes the third role of publicly funded enterprise assistance in Māori entrepreneurship. Enterprise assistance does this by influencing the state of Māori enterprises and their capacity to develop. Using the poutama theory of human development as outlined in Chapter 2, a second model is devised that classifies Māori enterprise progress by the main periods of Māori cosmology (see Figure 6.2).

Figure 6.2 Poutama model of Māori enterprise development



The poutama model of Māori enterprise development resembles conventional notions of business lifecycles (Bygrave & Zacharakis, 2014; Daft, 2013; McMahon, 1998). Their

similarity lies in the mirroring of periods of human experience to enterprise development (Penrose, 1952). Beyond this, however, the differences are stark but not immediately apparent. The model assumes that firm-level business needs vary over time from occasions of intense need during the upward climb of each level to periods where no support is needed as plateaus are reached. This suggests two things about enterprise assistance. First is the possibility of predicting corresponding enterprise assistance. Second is that enterprise assistance ought to be adaptive, continuous, and varying in intensity rather than a singular event.

Māori enterprise development in the poutama model is premised upon *te ao Māori* (a Māori world view), yet elements of *te ao Pākehā* (a Western world view) are evident. For example, both Māori and Pākehā technologies and methods are employed by Māori enterprises. A Māori world view means that various facets of Māori development are embraced by the poutama model. This includes a degree of comfort with multiple dimensions of Māori enterprise performance covering social, cultural, economic, environmental and spiritual impact (Durie, 2002a; M. Henare, 2011; K. Mataira, 1994; Spiller et al., 2010). Within the poutama model Māori enterprise development occurs within kinship and non-kinship settings (Harmsworth, 2009; Rotherham, 1991; C. Young, 1992) and culminates in *te ira tangata*, or the realisation of Māori human potential (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2006). The poutama model acknowledges that Māori enterprises sometimes regress (or digress) to previous stages or cease (M. Love & Love, 2005). Māori enterprises make adjustments as they learn (Tangaere, 1997).

Māori entrepreneurs' experiences in this thesis are consistent with this model. For instance, a scarcity of knowledge and resources when starting an enterprise is associated with *te kore*, the pre-start-up stage in the model. The process of overcoming such hurdles accords with the second and third stages, *te pō* (start-up) and *te ao marama* (growth). Moreover, Māori entrepreneurial resilience and success is associated with the fourth stage *te ira tangata*, that is, an actualising Māori enterprise (see Chapter 2, Table 2.5). Actualising in this sense means

an enterprise has reached a plateau, which permits the entrepreneur and the enterprise to be self-determining; entrepreneurial potentiality has been realised.

Material characteristics of Māori entrepreneurship influence the role of enterprise assistance in Māori enterprise development. These factors shape the theoretical construct of the Māori enterprise and its capacity to ascend the poutama. Conceptually and practically within the poutama model, Māori enterprises are engaged in a developmental process, which is governed by the capacity for organisational learning but from an indigenous perspective. Whereas Māori entrepreneurial capabilities focuses on the human element (Māori entrepreneurs), the poutama model focuses on the organisational context (Māori enterprises). A limitation of the poutama model is, however, that few studies have attempted to track Māori enterprises according to any kind of business lifecycle model, save Zapalska et al. (2003) (see Chapter 2). Further empirical research is needed to classify Māori enterprise development according to the poutama model and to address well-documented limitations of business lifecycle models (McMahon, 1998).

AN IDEAL MODEL OF ENTERPRISE ASSISTANCE

The third and final research question of this thesis is: what is the ideal model of enterprise assistance for Māori entrepreneurs? The purpose of this question is to reveal normative considerations of enterprise assistance design based on the experiences and perceptions of Māori entrepreneurs. By model, this section refers the five-stage process of public enterprise assistance adapted mainly from Lattimore et al. (1998) (see Figure 3.1, Chapter 3). The five stages are: (i) rationale; (ii) design; (iii) content; (iv) process; and (v) efficacy. The model informs institutional design of publicly funded enterprise assistance, without necessarily considering this from an indigenous or Māori development perspective.

The rationale for government assistance

The focus of the thesis is on publicly funded forms of enterprise assistance because of the scale of government activity, its institutional role as the legislature, and government's historical roles in the genesis of industry in Aotearoa New Zealand and with Māori as Treaty partners (S. Jones, 1990; R. N. Love, 1988). As enduring institutions of Māori society, the role of iwi in enterprise assistance is also considered (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2013d).

The results of this thesis reveal strong support for the role of government in enterprise assistance for Māori entrepreneurs. In fact, Māori entrepreneurs suggest that government has more than a role to play; it has a responsibility (see Chapter 5). The proper role of government, according to the research, is policy and funding, with provision performed elsewhere. This separation of roles is consistent with adherence to the 'funder-provider split' evident in public administration in Aotearoa New Zealand and Māori entrepreneurs' expectations that private providers are best placed to imitate market disciplines as to speed, quality and impact (Boston et al., 1996). Public providers, by contrast, suffer encumbrances of policy and bureaucracy constraining responsiveness in respect of enterprise assistance (see Chapter 5 for findings on this) (Andrews, Heinemann, Massey, Tweed, & Whyte, 2000; Te Puni Kōkiri, 1995, 1997a, 2004b). As a consequence, providers may adopt a flexible approach to programme and policy parameters in order to meet clients' needs as they see them (e.g., liberal interpretation of eligibility criteria or the assistance scope). For their part, clients may engage in 'consultant-modifier' behaviour to mould assistance to their needs.

An interpretation of the reasons that Māori entrepreneurs give for government assistance is set out in Table 6.1. Such reasons constitute elements of the rationale for government intervention and can be grouped into four categories: (i) constitutional, legal and rights-based arguments stemming from recognition of and provision for Māori indigeneity within the Treaty of Waitangi, and contemporary legislation, politics and policy; (ii) equity-based arguments linked to comparative socioeconomic deprivation, its colonial antecedents

and postcolonial effects; (iii) efficiency-based arguments in terms of market failure and effective use of public funds; and (iv) growth-based arguments. Growth-based arguments centre on the importance of the Māori economy to the nation’s overall economic performance, among other things.

Table 6.1 Rationale for government assistance

No.	Principle	Description
1.	Wellbeing	Māori enterprises contribute to improved Māori wellbeing, reduced social costs and increased economic benefits.
2.	Branding	Māori culture and Māori enterprises help differentiate Aotearoa New Zealand globally.
3.	Efficacy	Current and previous enterprise assistance has not worked for Māori at macroeconomic levels.
4.	Market failure	The market place is unlikely to provide for Māori enterprise assistance needs because risks and rewards are nonstandard.
5.	Matching	There is a mismatch between Māori enterprise needs and the capital markets and other forms of enterprise assistance.
6.	Interdependency	Aotearoa New Zealand economic growth depends on Māori economic growth.
7.	Institutions	More efficient delivery modalities are possible (e.g., combinations of enterprise assistance).
8.	Cost-benefit	The benefits of intervening outweigh the costs and private benefits outweigh public benefits of assistance.
9.	Diversity	Māori enterprises and their needs are different, with complex historical and contemporary antecedents.
10.	Timeframes	Changes in Māori entrepreneurial mindsets and capability take time.
11.	Potentiality	Māori enterprises have untapped potential but require investment to build capabilities and performance.
12.	Underdevelopment	Māori enterprises are less-developed than comparable non-Māori enterprises.
13.	Equality	As citizens Māori are entitled to no less assistance than others.

According to the Māori development literature in Chapter 2, Māori are subject to the prevailing political and economic paradigm governing State intervention in spite of their constitutional status as tangata whenua. Chapter 3 shows the prevailing paradigm in Aotearoa New Zealand to be a hands-off (neutral) economic policy. This neutral stance dictates the direction of entrepreneurship policy, the effects of which are assumed to fall equally upon Māori enterprises as they do non-Māori enterprises. This presumed effect alludes to the ‘level playing field’ metaphor in which all firms are assumed to experience equal opportunity irrespective of their “unchosen circumstances” (Arneson, 2002, p. 11). Unchosen circumstances are those characteristics over which people have no control. Examples include genetics, early-life socialisation, and the period and place into which one is born (Arneson, 2002). The level playing field metaphor implies entrepreneurship policy is undifferentiated by unchosen circumstances such as the indigeneity of entrepreneurs (Devlin, 2006). Yet, entrepreneurship policy is seen to vary by sector, industry, region, firm-size and lifecycle (Anderton, 2000; Rowe, 2005). Entrepreneurship policy differentiated by indigeneity conflicts with prevailing economic orthodoxy that maintains the ‘free-market’ is the best arbiter of firm performance and political sensitivities that value individual autonomy, agency and suffrage. Notwithstanding, this thesis suggests that Māori indigeneity warrants consideration in respect of differentiated entrepreneurship policy and enterprise assistance.

While common in Māori health and social policy, equity infrequently appears as an argument in Māori entrepreneurship policy and research (P. Dalziel, 1991; Devlin, 2006; Te Puni Kōkiri, 1997a, 1999a). The effect of equity-based arguments is to compensate for disadvantageous unchosen circumstances affecting Māori entrepreneurs (e.g., socioeconomic inequalities and loss of customary rights). Moreover, evidence suggests that Māori enterprises experience somewhat different development trajectories compared with non-Māori enterprises of a similar nature (Zapalska et al., 2003).

Efficiency-based arguments comprise two dimensions in this thesis: (i) perceived market failure in respect of provision of enterprise assistance for Māori entrepreneurs; and (ii) more efficient use of public funds through different institutional delivery modalities. Market failure is the dominant precondition for government intervention in market economies (S. C. Parker, 2009; Storey, 1994). Public benefit arguably runs a close second (Lattimore et al., 1998; Massey, 2006). Invariably, evidence of market failure is generally difficult to come by, and more difficult still with respect to Māori entrepreneurship. This is because of data limitations and because market failure is intuitively unappealing as a political manifesto (Storey, 1994). Thus, public enterprise assistance for Māori entrepreneurs on the basis of market failure is difficult to establish. In this thesis, Māori entrepreneurs and policy makers particularly *au fait* with the nuances of public policy on this matter circumvent the market failure thesis when advocating for Māori economic development for this reason (see Chapter 5). Instead, they refocus attention on Māori economic potential, which reconfigures public funding as an ‘investment’ rather than a ‘cost’ and emphasises savings from more efficient institutional delivery arrangements (e.g., coordination of multiple providers).

Growth-based arguments focus on Māori economic potential, the competitive advantages of cultural difference, and reduced social spending (NZIER, 2003). Māori development literature suggests that material gains are likely from a better performing Māori economy (MEDP, 2012b; Nana et al., 2011b). These gains are, however, subject to increased public spending on research, science, and innovation in the Māori economy (Nana, 2011; PwC, 2013). Differentiated entrepreneurship policy for communal Māori enterprises (e.g., Māori land-based enterprises) is easier to justify because their regulatory differences are more apparent when compared with non-Māori enterprises (Loomis et al., 1998; MLIG, 1996b; V. Winiata, 2008). The research suggests, however, that greater returns are likely from non-communal Māori enterprises (e.g., small and medium Māori enterprises), which hold 70 percent of the Māori economic asset base (MEDP, 2012b; Nana et al., 2011a).

The literature is inconclusive on the competitive advantages of Māori culture; some see merit in it, others are less certain (Barnett, 2001; Harmsworth, 2005; Harmsworth & Tahi, 2008; K. Jones, Gilbert, & Morrison-Briars, 2005; Schulze & Stokes, 2013; Warriner, 1999, 2007, 2009). Māori entrepreneurs in this thesis are more emphatic about the benefits of Māori culture in business, especially for Māori enterprises trading internationally (see Chapter 5).

One study concludes that Māori are net contributors to the national economy in terms of taxation and fiscal transfers (NZIER, 2003). A growing Māori economy should improve this further. Moreover, the conversion of negative into positive government spending on Māori development has previously been proposed as a way to redress divisive socioeconomic imbalances between Māori and non-Māori (R. N. Love, 1984a, 1984b; Rangihau, 1989; Te Puni Kōkiri, 1999b; W. Winiata, 1998). Enterprise assistance for Māori entrepreneurs on these terms represents a positive (as opposed to a negative) investment in Māori development with potential for net gains to government.

Private provision of enterprise assistance underpinned by public policy and funding is suggested by the research in this thesis. This implies continued support for the funder-provider split assumed to avoid ‘provider capture’ and the efficiency gains offered by the contestability of private provision (Boston et al., 1996; Scott & Gorringer, 1989). Unsurprisingly, public funding of enterprise assistance for Māori entrepreneurs is suggested by this thesis because the public benefits (accruing to society) appear to outweigh private benefits (accruing to entrepreneurs) (Massey, 2006) (see Table 6.1).

The role of iwi in enterprise assistance

Māori entrepreneurs were asked about the role of iwi in enterprise assistance for Māori entrepreneurs. Two key findings are pertinent. First, Māori entrepreneurs support iwi involvement in enterprise assistance, provided iwi are not viewed as a substitute for the role of government in this. This proviso cautions against iwi being cast as ready alternatives to

government because of apparent tribal wealth and resolution of Treaty claims. Second, tribes' separation of their political, economic and distributive functions, while adhering to corporate governance doctrines and Treaty settlement policy, is not conducive to tribal entrepreneurship (Harmsworth, 2009; Mika, 2005b). Māori entrepreneurs in this thesis suggest that the functional separation in tribal institutions inhibits the distribution of economic opportunities flowing from tribal wealth. The tension appears to stem from the dissociation between commercial and distributive activities within post-settlement governance entities (see Chapter 5).

Māori entrepreneurs suggest that tribes could provide several forms of enterprise assistance for tribal members. This includes financial assistance, business and educational support, intra- and inter-tribal networking, and facilitating relationships with government and private enterprise, locally and overseas. With tribes favouring their collective responsibilities, individualised assistance for tribal members to engage in entrepreneurship is limited by tribal capacities, traditions, and competing priorities; even among large well-established post-settled iwi (Ross, 1997; SRG, 2011). Given these results, a collaborative arrangement with government, nongovernment and private sector organisations for the provision of enterprise assistance for tribal entrepreneurs seems an appropriate direction for dialogue. Furthermore, this scenario limits the risk of duplication, utilises the strengths of the parties, and satisfies the business needs of entrepreneurially-inclined tribal members.

Principles of enterprise assistance design

Principles of enterprise assistance design are discernible from the results of this thesis. An interpretation of these principles based on the findings is set out in Table 6.2. Such principles constitute preconditions of enterprise assistance design for Māori entrepreneurs, although some limitations are apparent. For instance, some principles are imprecise, infer trade-offs, and exclude considerations of enterprise and market performance. They, therefore, suffer to

some extent the same limitation as Mole and Bramley's (2006) hierarchy of policy choices—sign-posts for choices are offered, but help with selection is not. Nevertheless, it is possible to construct from these principles an ideal model of enterprise assistance for Māori entrepreneurs in terms of its institutional form and delivery modality.

Table 6.2 Principles of enterprise assistance design for Māori entrepreneurship

No.	Principle	Description
1.	Independence	Enterprise assistance provision by Māori should be self-funding, with limited use of government funding.
2.	Adaptability	Enterprise assistance should be adaptable to Māori needs and learning styles (e.g., one-to-one, one-to-many).
3.	Multiplicity	Multiple forms of assistance should feature within a broad spectrum approach (e.g., research, facilitation and funding).
4.	Customisation	Enterprise assistance should be customised to match needs, including life cycle, rural-urban, local-international.
5.	Authenticity	Māori culture and language should be incorporated into forms and provision of enterprise assistance.
6.	Public-private	A greater role in provision of public enterprise assistance for Māori by nongovernment and private providers.
7.	Validation	Enterprise assistance design and delivery should be validated by Māori entrepreneurs as the intended market segment.
8.	Subsidisation	Enterprise assistance for Māori enterprises should be subsidised to some extent.
9.	Longtermism	A long term view is required because of the time taken to change mindsets and develop Māori enterprises.
10.	Social economy	The vulnerability of Māori service providers can be reduced through increasing their capacity for business development.
11.	Specialisation	Industry-specific knowledge and expertise should be available along with generic forms of enterprise assistance.
12.	Learning	Lessons about what works for Māori entrepreneurs ought to be established and shared.

An ideal model of enterprise assistance for Māori entrepreneurs consists of at least seven main elements: (i) enterprise assistance should operate within an entity substantially

owned and controlled by Māori; (ii) partial government funding; (iii) delivery by Māori together with nongovernment and private providers; (iv) a multiplicity of assistance is offered (e.g., financial and nonfinancial, generic and specialised, localised, national and international); (v) a focus on cultural authenticity, flexibility and responsiveness; (vi) long term rather than short term relationships with Māori enterprises; and (vii) assistance varies over time according to the changing needs of Māori enterprises and lessons about what works for Māori entrepreneurs. These elements of an ideal model accord with Māori-specific provision described earlier, and provide a basis for comparison with existing providers.

Presently, Māori-specific provision operates through governmental, quasi-governmental and nongovernmental organisations delivering various forms of enterprise assistance. Māori-specific enterprise assistance is highly variegated: some of it funded, some unfunded; some industry-specific, some limited in scope, while others have a broad purview (see Chapter 1). Within this milieu, two providers that closely resemble the ideal model are Poutama Trust and Māori Women's Development Incorporated (MWDI). Both are Māori owned and controlled entities; partially funded by government; where Māori culture influences assistance design and delivery; and, include a mix of financial and nonfinancial assistance.

Poutama Trust was established in 1988 as a charitable trust from government and Māori funds to promote Māori business development by offering business grants, advice and networking assistance to eligible Māori entrepreneurs (Battisti & Gillies, 2008; Mika, 2013a; Poutama Trust, 2012). Material deviations from the ideal model for Poutama Trust relate to the absence of ongoing funding from government, the nonprovision of finance (debt and equity), and the extent of its local coverage. MWDI provides small business loans to Māori enterprises from government funding; one of the few nongovernment organisations to still retain such an arrangement with government (Benedict, 2010).

In 2006, Te Puni Kōkiri and other agencies explored the merging of Poutama Trust, Māori Business Facilitation Service (MBFS), and Te Tumu Paeroa (formerly the Māori Trust Office) to form Māori Business Aotearoa New Zealand (MBANZ). Legislation was required to effect the merger, but this aspect of the legislation was not supported (Mika, 2010a). Only provisions reforming the Māori Trust Office were enacted. MBFS continues to operate from within Te Puni Kōkiri—the Ministry of Māori Development (Jenkins et al., 2006). MBFS aligns with aspects of the ideal model, but also differs in several important respects. Most notably, MBFS is government funded and controlled, offering a single form of assistance (mentoring) as a short-term intervention.

Two disestablished Māori-specific enterprise assistance providers Māori entrepreneurs refer to in this thesis are the Māori Development Corporation (MDC) and Mana Enterprises. MDC initially offered debt to large scale Māori enterprises, but several poor investments dampened enthusiasm for high risk projects (Waitangi Tribunal, 1993; R. Walker, 2004). Mana Enterprises offered small business loans to Māori enterprises through tribal and nontribal intermediaries achieving some notable enterprise successes, but suffered through poor accountability (Te Puni Kōkiri, 1995). MDC was sold into private iwi ownership and the vote for Mana Enterprises was reassigned under the mainstreaming policy (Bennion & Linkhorn, 1993; Mika, 2010a; Parata, 1994; Te Puni Kōkiri, 1995). These early incarnations of Māori-specific models of enterprise assistance offer important lessons for enterprise assistance design, implementation and evaluation.

A CONCEPTUAL MODEL OF MĀORI ENTERPRISE ASSISTANCE

The next part of this chapter attempts to tie together the three main elements of the thesis into a conceptual model. The three elements are: (i) Māori entrepreneurship; (ii) enterprise assistance; and (iii) Māori development. For brevity, the model uses the term Māori enterprise

assistance, which is an amalgam of Māori entrepreneurship and enterprise assistance. The model is not exclusively concerned with Māori-only enterprise assistance, but inclusive of all forms of publicly funded enterprise assistance Māori entrepreneurs may use—whether derived from Māori-specific or non-specific mainstream providers. Drawing on development theory, two ways in which to conceptualise enterprise assistance in relation to Māori entrepreneurship are the constitutive view and the instrumental view; both feature here.

A constitutive view of enterprise assistance

To this point, the chapter mainly discusses the constitutive role of enterprise assistance. That is, elements of enterprise assistance are defined as static phenomena with intrinsic value. Understanding how enterprise assistance is constituted is important, but of equal import for Māori entrepreneurship theory is understanding of how one element relates to another in terms of dynamic cause and effect relationships. From an instrumental perspective enterprise assistance is viewed as a means of effecting change in Māori entrepreneurial capabilities, which in turn enable Māori enterprises to contribute to Māori development.

Figure 6.3 Constitutive elements of Māori entrepreneurship and enterprise assistance

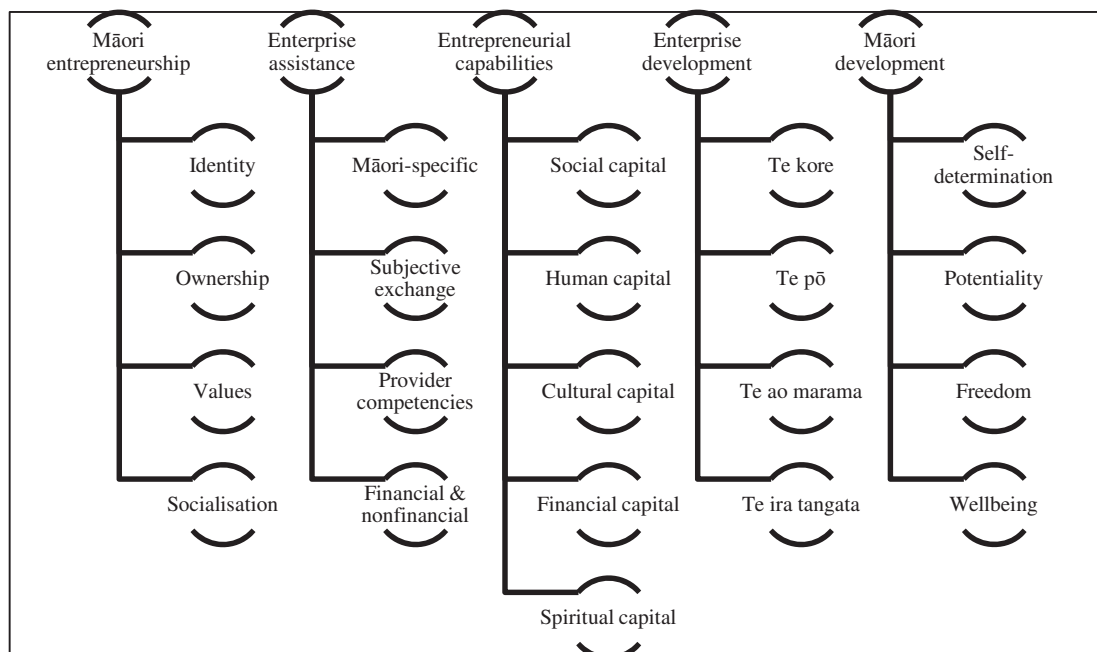


Figure 6.3 depicts a framework of the five constitutive elements of Māori enterprise assistance in this thesis: (i) Māori entrepreneurship (ii) enterprise assistance; (iii) Māori entrepreneurial capabilities; (iv) Māori enterprise development; and (v) Māori development. As a constitutive element, Māori entrepreneurship comprises identity as Māori, socialisation as Māori, ownership of enterprises by Māori, and the influence of Māori values in the way in which Māori do business. Important properties of enterprise assistance as a constitutive element are the role of Māori-specific providers, provider-client interaction as a subjective exchange, provider competencies (cultural, relational and technical), and a favourable predisposition toward Māori. Financial and nonfinancial forms of enterprise assistance enable firm-level business needs of Māori entrepreneurs to be met constituting the first role of enterprise assistance for Māori entrepreneurs.

As a constitutive element, entrepreneurial capabilities are a determinant of entrepreneurship, manifesting in five capabilities: social capital; human capital; cultural capital; financial capital; and spiritual capital. In this thesis, capabilities are redefined as Māori entrepreneurial capabilities, integrating within them Māori indigeneity and Western principles of entrepreneurship (see Figure 6.1). The building of Māori entrepreneurial capabilities constitutes the second role of enterprise assistance in Māori entrepreneurship. This mixing of epistemologies is notably expressed in the challenge of balancing commercial and cultural imperatives in business. Western entrepreneurship theory views this circumstance as a trade-off between mutually exclusive elements, with commerce displacing culture. Māori entrepreneurship theory views these elements as interdependent parts of an integrated process of decision-making in business; commerce is inclusive of and enveloped by culture.

Māori entrepreneurial capabilities effect Māori enterprise development by enabling a Māori enterprise to change from one developmental state to another. This constitutes the third role of enterprise assistance in Māori entrepreneurship. A Māori theory of human development (poutama theory) is used to describe Māori enterprise development as comprising four states,

analogous to periods of Māori cosmology: te kore (pre-start-up enterprise); te pō (start-up enterprise); te ao marama (growing enterprise); and te ira tangata (actualising enterprise) (see Figure 6.2). According to economic development theory, growth in Māori enterprises contributes to Māori development, primarily through the Māori economy in terms of contributions to production, income, employment, wealth, and taxation (see Chapter 3). Development theory consistently establishes self-determination, potentiality and freedom as the primary goals of Māori development and Māori entrepreneurship a means of achieving them. Finally, an expanded view of Māori wellbeing is inclusive of social, cultural, economic, environmental, and spiritual dimensions.

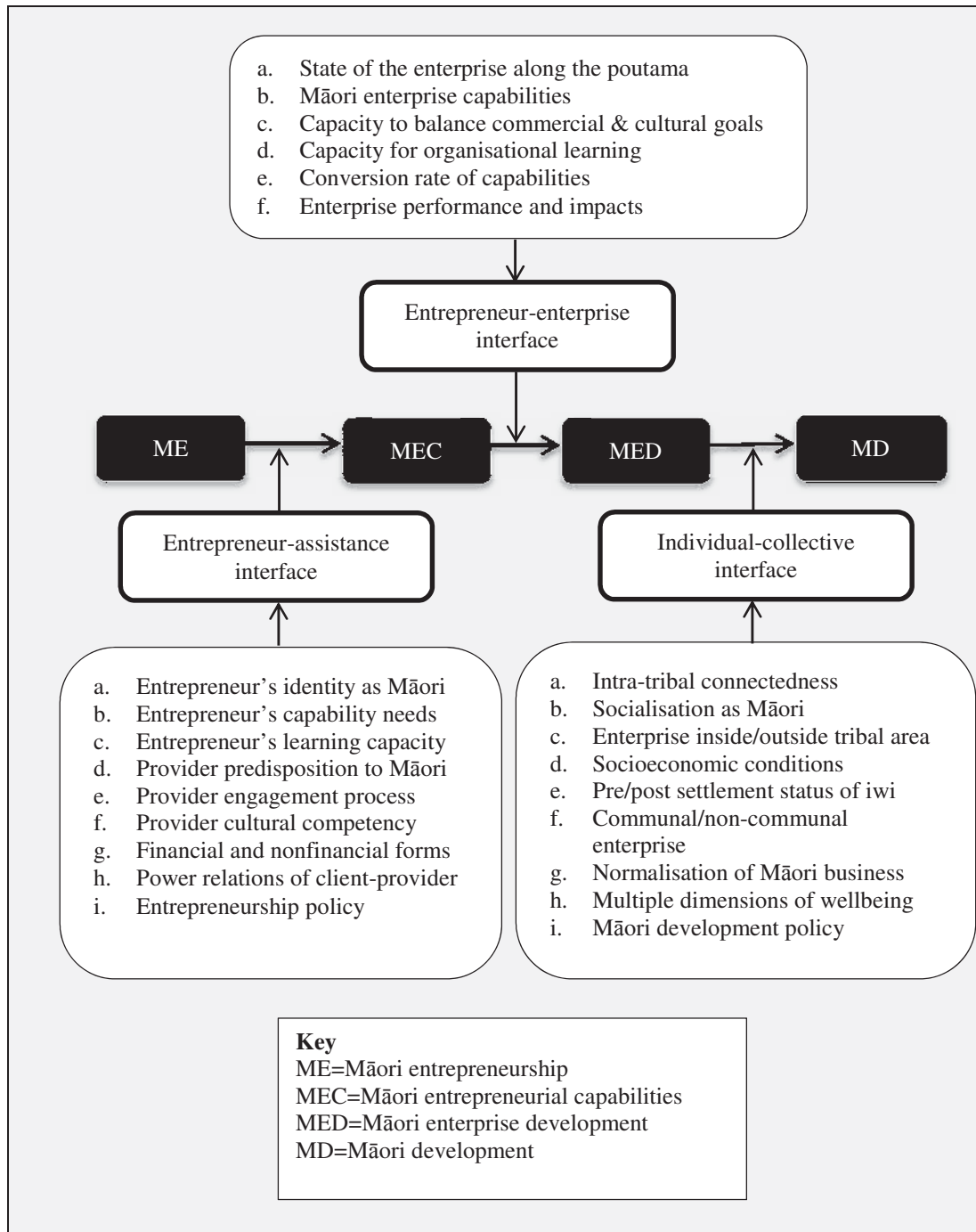
An instrumental view of enterprise assistance

An important unknown with the constitutive framework in Figure 6.3 is how entrepreneurial capabilities enable Māori enterprises to develop. Further, how then do Māori enterprises contribute to Māori development? A static framework is unable to explain these relationships. To address this challenge, a conceptual model is proposed that adopts an instrumental view of the role of enterprise assistance in Māori entrepreneurship. This conceptual model is shown in Figure 6.4.

The model uses four of the five constitutive elements in Figure 6.3. In this model, enterprise assistance is an instrumental rather than a constitutive element. This model differs by indicating the relations between the constitutive elements using a series of arrows. The basic logic of the model is outlined here: (i) Māori entrepreneurship (ME) is the start-point and the immediate object of enterprise assistance; (ii) enterprise assistance builds Māori entrepreneurial capabilities (MEC); (iii) Māori entrepreneurial capabilities enable Māori enterprise development (MED); and (iv) Māori enterprises contribute to Māori development (MD). As the ultimate constitutive element, Māori development is measured in terms of the extent to which Māori achieve self-determination, potentiality, freedom and wellbeing.

This sequence of relations above is mediated by three intervening processes described as ‘interfaces’ in the model. The first is the ‘entrepreneur-assistance interface.’ This refers to interactions between providers and Māori entrepreneurs as clients and the variables that influence this. The relevant variables include characteristics of Māori entrepreneurship, characteristics of providers, and entrepreneurship policy. All of these variables can be traced to findings in Chapter 5 and to earlier discussion in this chapter. The efficacy of the subjective exchange implied within the entrepreneur-assistance interface influences Māori entrepreneurial capabilities (see Figure 6.1).

Figure 6.4 A conceptual model of Māori enterprise assistance



The second intervening process is the 'entrepreneur-enterprise interface.' This process affects the extent to which entrepreneurial capabilities enable Māori enterprises to develop according to the poutama model (see Figure 6.2). Thus, the variables in this process are concerned with how well Māori entrepreneurs transform entrepreneurial capabilities into

enterprise capabilities. This is what is inferred by the ‘conversion rate of capabilities’ variable. The entrepreneur-enterprise interface also introduces enterprise-level measures of performance and impact to indicate changes in the state of the Māori enterprise. Typical measures include cash flow, profit, sales, market share, staff, and innovation (Ahmad & Hoffman, 2007). Such measures are not explored in this thesis, but are important indicators of enterprise performance.

The third intervening process is the ‘individual-collective interface.’ This process affects the capacity of Māori enterprises to contribute to Māori development. This may be measured in terms of immediate benefits Māori entrepreneurs create for themselves and their whānau, distribution of social and economic opportunities (e.g., work, income, training, and customary activities) to hapū and iwi, and general taxation (Cross et al., 1991). Again, most variables in the individual-collective interface can be traced to the findings in Chapter 5. For instance, the model suggests that contributions to Māori development depend on such variables as the strength of the entrepreneur’s ties to their tribe, their socialisation as Māori, the proximity of Māori enterprises to tribal centres, the nature of the enterprise, socioeconomic circumstances, and Māori development policy because taxation is redistributed by the State, not Māori. A variable not previously discussed in this thesis is ‘normalisation,’ which is a feature of cultural revitalisation policies (Matāmua, 2006; Mika, McKegg, & Smith, 2005). Normalisation is the degree to which Māori business is accepted in ‘mainstream’ society, which is assumed to positively influence Māori enterprise development. Normalisation is considered relevant here because of the tendency for Māori to be negatively portrayed in the media, influencing public perceptions, which has tangible consequences (Dickson, 2010; Kupu Taea, 2014; McCreanor et al., 2011).

Several limitations are apparent in the model of Māori enterprise assistance. First, the order of the constitutive elements is not certain, in particular, whether or not Māori entrepreneurial capabilities precede Māori enterprise development. Second, there is a case for

adding the Māori economy as a constitutive element before or in lieu of Māori development (see Chapter 2). Third, the three intervening processes ('interfaces') quite feasibly constitute submodels warranting separate explication. Fourth, the intervening processes contain disparate and countervailing variables relating to multiple entities (entrepreneurs, enterprises, providers, iwi, and government) adding unhelpful complexity. Fifth, some important variables may be omitted or given insufficient weight in the model, for example, the roles of government and iwi. For the moment, the model suffices at a high-level of abstraction, summing the important elements, their constituent parts, and general relations.

CONTRIBUTION TO KNOWLEDGE

Contribution to theory

This thesis contributes to knowledge of Māori entrepreneurship in three main ways. First, is the contribution to Māori entrepreneurship theory. Second, the thesis provides a comprehensive view of publicly funded enterprise assistance. And third, is the contribution to the theory of enterprise assistance.

Present theory variously characterises Māori entrepreneurship as emancipatory, embedded within a Māori world view, and subject to prevailing institutional settings. Māori entrepreneurship is invariably equated with social entrepreneurship because it contributes to Māori development, whose outcomes resist reduction to economic measures of wellbeing. Pre-European Māori entrepreneurship was an entirely communal affair. Now Māori entrepreneurship is predominantly carried on by individually owned and operated Māori enterprises (about 70 percent), with communal Māori enterprises making up the balance. The proposed elements of a theory of Māori entrepreneurship in this thesis are underpinned by Māori indigeneity and experience, but also incorporate Western principles of entrepreneurship consistent with an integrationist approach to indigenous theorising. Māori entrepreneurship

theory is indicated by a series of propositions in this thesis that relate to identity, values and socialisation as Māori, Māori enterprise ownership and a Māori way of doing business predicated upon principles of duality, collectivism, permanence and intergenerationality.

Development and entrepreneurship theory allow other important contributions to be made. Development theory, for example, adds potentiality and substantive freedoms as fundamental expectations of Māori entrepreneurship and reinforces entrepreneurship as both means (instrumental) and ends (constitutive) in Māori development. Entrepreneurship and development theory introduce the concept of entrepreneurial capabilities as a discursive feature of Māori entrepreneurship. This is reflected in the Māori entrepreneurial capability development framework (Figure 6.1), the poutama model of Māori enterprise development (Figure 6.2), and ultimately in the conceptual model of Māori enterprise assistance (Figure 6.4). The limitations of business lifecycle models insist, however, that such models are subjected to rigorous empirical analysis (McMahon, 1998). The mixing of Māori and Western epistemologies, underpinned by a kaupapa Māori frame in the methodology has, nonetheless, aided theory development in this thesis.

The theoretical basis of enterprise assistance in relation to Māori entrepreneurship is rarely explored in the scholarly literature. The debate has, hitherto, been confined to public policy, which is subject to the prevailing political and economic system. In view of this, the thesis contributes a comprehensive theoretical discussion of the role of publicly funded enterprise assistance in Māori entrepreneurship. This is reflected in the following analyses and discussion: (i) the rationale, design, forms, process and evaluation of enterprise assistance and its basis in public policy; (ii) entrepreneurial capabilities as a determinant of Māori entrepreneurship in connection with enterprise assistance; (iii) enterprise assistance as a subjective exchange between clients and providers; (iv) enterprise assistance as a form of capability building contributing to Māori development; and (v) normative considerations of

enterprise assistance design, including the roles of government and iwi, and an ideal model of delivery.

A final contribution to theory is the conceptual model of Māori enterprise assistance. The model combines constitutive and instrumental elements to suggest how enterprise assistance might relate to Māori entrepreneurship, and Māori entrepreneurship to Māori development. The model highlights the dynamism within Māori entrepreneurship. In spite of its limitations, the model of Māori enterprise assistance aids insight into Māori entrepreneurship, a lament expressed about the shortcomings of current Māori entrepreneurship theories (Henry, 2011b, cited in Dawson, 2012). Further inquiry is, however, needed to refine and evaluate the model.

Contribution to method

Indigenous methodologies in entrepreneurship research are rare. Although kaupapa Māori research, as one example of this, is increasingly appearing in the academy, the body of knowledge on indigenous methodologies in entrepreneurship research is small compared with non-indigenous methodologies. The principal contribution the thesis makes to this knowledge is the use of an integrationist approach to indigenous theorising, combining kaupapa Māori and Western research philosophies. The wisdom of mixing epistemologies is routinely questioned in the literature because such a venture threatens to undo one's research. Yet, the advantages of mixing indigenous and non-indigenous methodologies are evident throughout the thesis, including in the review of theory, data collection, analysis and reporting, and theory development. Moreover, the notion that research epistemologies should not to be mixed is a misnomer because Māori researchers are often trained in and use Western research theory and methods in Māori research (L. T. Smith, 1999).

LIMITATIONS OF THE RESEARCH

There are a number of limitations affecting the research, both general and specific. General limitations include the following: (i) trade-offs between breadth and depth; (ii) sample-size and selection; (iii) the absence of a review of specific enterprise assistance; (iv) the limited coverage of provider viewpoints; (v) international perspectives are largely absent; and (vi) limited coverage of non-specific mainstream providers. Specific limitations include: (i) use of a single method (interviews) and sole researcher negate triangulation in respect of data (e.g., observation, document analysis) and the investigator (e.g., use of two or more researchers); (ii) limited scope for explanatory and evaluative analysis; (iii) a central government focus neglects local government; and (iv) non-Māori perspectives are not widely reflected. General limitations are discussed first, then specific limitations.

General limitations

Depth suffers when research seeks breadth of understanding, which is evident here. Sacrificing depth for breadth is a necessary consequence, however, of an exploratory study that seeks new insights from an established field, but from an indigenous perspective. Depth suggests a smaller sample, but more intense study of participants through, for example, a series of interviews or additional methods of data collection (e.g., document analysis and observation). Breadth implies a larger sample, but limited contact with each participant. A broad cross-section of viewpoints is the expectation. To try to balance out the focus here on breadth, an additional nine interviews were added to the initial sample of 16 interviews. This alleviated the depth-breadth trade-off to some extent, but did not eliminate it.

Unencumbered by the need for generalisable results, conventional wisdom on sample size in qualitative enquiry suggests researchers stop adding participants when the findings from interviews seem to converge. The initial estimate for this thesis was that the sample size

would lie somewhere between 15 and 30 participants. The eventual sample was 25 participants from 23 interviews ranging in duration from 30 to 135 minutes. Further participants were not added because preliminary analysis of transcripts indicated sufficient breadth and convergence in responses had been achieved. Māori entrepreneurs who participated responded to an invitation Poutama Trust issued to its clients. Participants, therefore, self-select, which produces a somewhat randomised selection within the population of Poutama Trust's active clients. This makes it impossible to ensure the sample reflects personal, firm and industry characteristics that approximate those of the population of all Māori entrepreneurs. The next best was to encourage a broad range of participants to participate and to keep interviewing until a sufficient cross-section of viewpoints had been achieved. Another option was to recruit participants from providers other than Poutama Trust. Another provider agreed to assist, but the final sample was considered sufficient so the offer was not taken up.

The history of publicly funded enterprise assistance infrastructure is wide-ranging and ongoing, dating to the formation of colonial government in Aotearoa New Zealand. An analysis of historical and contemporary enterprise assistance has the potential to reveal important insights into their rationale, design, effectiveness and context. Yet, this thesis is primarily concerned with Māori entrepreneurs' experience of publicly funded enterprise assistance within the past five years. For this reason, and because the research is unrelated to any particular form of assistance, an in-depth review of enterprise assistance programmes and providers was considered unnecessary. Moreover, other researchers provide good coverage of historical and contemporary enterprise assistance infrastructure in Aotearoa New Zealand, with some coverage of Māori-specific providers, past and present.

A focus on Māori entrepreneurs means that the voices of other stakeholders, in particular those of providers and policy makers, are limited to the few that were interviewed as key informants. One of the consequences is that provider-client interactions mainly reflect the clients' view of it. Without comparable numbers of providers, there was limited scope for

corroborating Māori entrepreneurs' views of provider-client interactions and other aspects in this thesis. One finding of interest that could have benefitted from greater provider input is the divergence in views between providers and entrepreneurs in respect of the merits of financial and nonfinancial assistance. It was found that entrepreneurs favoured financial assistance and providers favoured nonfinancial assistance as the more efficacious form. With additional providers, it may have been possible to more fully explore these and other differences in perception. As the thesis focuses on publicly funded enterprise assistance, private sector providers were excluded from the sample, but their role is acknowledged.

The thesis gives limited attention to international perspectives on the role of enterprise assistance for indigenous and non-indigenous entrepreneurs. Enterprise assistance is an established feature of publicly funded enterprise assistance for indigenous people in other developed countries, including Canada, United States, and Australia (Adamson & King, 2002; R. Anderson, 1997; Barrados et al., 2004; Begay Jr, 1991; Collins et al., 2014; Cornell & Kalt, 2006; Gibson & Scrimgeour, 2004; Kalt et al., 2008; Stebbins & Pate, 2011; Sullivan, 2007). Additionally, enterprise assistance has long been associated with the development work of international aid agencies in developing countries. Both perspectives are noted. This thesis, however, focuses on the Aotearoa New Zealand context as the basis for international comparison.

A final general limitation is that non-specific mainstream providers' views receive little attention. Publicly funded mainstream providers include, for example, New Zealand Trade and Enterprise and Tourism New Zealand (NZTE, 2011, 2012; Tourism New Zealand, 2011). The perspectives of mainstream enterprise assistance providers are important because Māori entrepreneurs use their services and frequently refer to their experiences with such providers. Attempts to engage mainstream providers in this thesis were unsuccessful, but their future involvement in Māori entrepreneurship research is recommended.

Specific limitations

The first of the specific limitations is that triangulation is negated by use of a single method and a sole researcher. Triangulation assumes that use of multiple methods (e.g., document analysis, observation, and organisational ethnography) may reveal insights about a particular phenomenon that might otherwise be missed. While participants were receptive to follow-up inquiries, subsequent interviews and document analysis were not conducted.

With doctoral research there is no prospect of adding more researchers to counter the possibility that bias, fatigue, incompetency and other distractions might have thwarted faithful implementation of the research plan accepted at confirmation. This risk has primarily been mitigated by regular meetings with the supervisory panel, with over 40 formal meetings with supervisors held between August 2011 and March 2015. The researcher has been extremely fortunate to have received quality supervision and support. This included one-to-one advice and oversight on critical aspects of data collection and analysis. Being appointed a supernumerary lecturer in March 2014 with a light teaching load helped focus attention on the thesis.

Explanatory and evaluative research is common in entrepreneurship research and policy. This is mainly because the important concepts in entrepreneurship are reasonably well-defined. When these concepts are re-examined from a different perspective, exploratory research helps review established assumptions. This is the case with this thesis. For example, the research redefines entrepreneurial capabilities and indicates complexity in the processes between assistance, capabilities and firm-level effects.

Much of the literature on publicly funded enterprise assistance relates to the role of central government, with local government largely overlooked. A few participants refer to local government, but few studies analyse Māori participation and outcomes from this.

Because this thesis has a central government focus the role of local government in enterprise assistance for Māori entrepreneurs is not specifically addressed.

A focus on Māori entrepreneurs means the views of non-Māori entrepreneurs are not well-reflected in the thesis. This limits the scope for comparative analysis between Māori and non-Māori entrepreneurs, a common approach in Māori social and health research. Research on non-Māori entrepreneurs' experiences of enterprise assistance is reasonably widely available. Much less is known about enterprise assistance from a Māori perspective, which became the focus of the thesis.

FUTURE RESEARCH

Theory-building continues

When viewed through the lens of the limitations, several future research possibilities arise. The main recommendation for future research is to refine the conceptual model of Māori enterprise assistance outlined in Figure 6.4. This would enable the propositions implied by the data about Māori entrepreneurship and the model of Māori enterprise assistance to be evaluated and tested. A key focus of this work is to firstly more definitively establish the constitutive elements of Māori enterprise assistance. A second aspect is further exploratory analysis of the relationships between the constitutive elements of Māori enterprise assistance in terms of their existence, direction and strength.

The first aspect lends itself to exploratory and descriptive research about each constitutive element, for which ethnographic methods may be suited. To address the second requires research of the three intervening processes to better understand their composition and relations with some certainty. In such research, capabilities are the independent variable and enterprise assistance the dependent variable. Some attempt should be made to distinguish in

the independent variable between human capabilities and enterprise capabilities. Of the three intervening processes, the priority seems to be the ‘entrepreneur-assistance’ interface followed by the ‘entrepreneur-enterprise’ interface. In the absence of official data on Māori enterprises, directly surveying Māori enterprise clients of Māori providers would present one possibility of obtaining such insights.

Future Māori entrepreneurship research

Several subsidiary research proposals are suggested by this thesis. They include: (i) international comparative research; (ii) defining Māori business for statistical and public policy purposes; (iii) the impact of enterprise assistance on the performance of Māori enterprises; (iv) the role of local government in enterprise assistance for Māori entrepreneurs; and (v) tracking the performance of Māori enterprises through the entrepreneurial process.

Little research exists that explains differences in enterprise assistance between Māori and indigenous entrepreneurs in other jurisdictions, in particular, Canada, the United States and Australia. The recommendation is to conduct comparative analysis of enterprise assistance with other indigenous entrepreneurs. Such research has the potential to modify thinking on enterprise assistance by challenging assumptions about its basis, design and impact for indigenous peoples.

One of the impediments for any research on Māori entrepreneurship is the dearth of official data on Māori enterprises. It is evident that the delay in procuring Māori business statistics has complex reasons; not only technical, but ideological, political and administrative causes. A perennial problem is the lack of an operative definition of Māori business for statistical and public policy purposes. One is being worked on by government, but the intention here is to aid that effort with an academic enquiry into the definition of Māori business.

Empirical studies that examine the impact of enterprise assistance (e.g., financial and nonfinancial assistance) on firms appear in the general entrepreneurship literature (Smallbone, 2010). Few academic studies, however, examine in specific terms the impact of enterprise assistance for Māori enterprises. The research is likely to encounter concerns about the suitability of quantitative methods and appropriate measures of performance for Māori enterprises. Yet, such research has important implications for business ethics and how business performance is understood and measured in Māori entrepreneurship.

Local government is an important source of publicly funded enterprise assistance that has received little scholarly attention in Māori entrepreneurship research. Local government assistance includes support provided by economic development agencies (EDAs). Related assistance is, however, offered by chambers of commerce and local industry associations. Such research starts with basic questions as to Māori participation and outcomes within programmes supported by local government. Beyond this, research moves to examining ways in which Māori are involved in the design, delivery and evaluation of enterprise assistance by local government to Māori entrepreneurs and the basis for this.

Chapter 7 Conclusion

This chapter sets out the main conclusions of the thesis. This chapter touches on the important definitions, context and rationale for the thesis, and how these changed during the course of the research. Key insights are drawn from the findings and discussion chapters and implications for policy and practice are presented. The purpose of the thesis has been to examine the role of publicly funded enterprise assistance in Māori entrepreneurship, that is, the process and activity of starting and managing Māori enterprises in Aotearoa New Zealand. Enterprise assistance is the array of formalised business support with six main forms inferred from theory: information; advice; facilitation; training; grants and finance. Kaupapa Māori research is the overriding epistemology in this thesis because the research is about Māori, by Māori, and for Māori and others. Integrated within this is a pragmatist paradigm—a Western research philosophy—consistent with an integrationist approach to indigenous theorising. Thus, the thesis is critical, inductive and exploratory using semi-structured interviews as the primary means of data collection.

MĀORI ENTREPRENEURSHIP

A Māori entrepreneur is a person who identifies as Māori and engages in entrepreneurial activity according to a Māori world view, but integrates within this, elements of a Western world view. Māori entrepreneurship is not contingent upon a Western world view, but the prevailing institutions of democracy and capitalism which derive from Western heritage condition Māori entrepreneurship. A Māori world view draws on Māori knowledge, language, culture, methods, and socialisation as Māori within te ao Māori (Māori society). The effect is a differentiated view of who an entrepreneur is, what an entrepreneur does and how an entrepreneur does what entrepreneurs do. These features of Māoriness are representative of

Māori indigeneity, a phenomenon whose influence is understudied within entrepreneurship research. Within this context, the central concern of Māori entrepreneurship is not merely creating economic value through exploiting new combinations of products, processes, and markets, but doing so in a way that accords with Māori cultural imperatives. Being Māori and doing business in a Māori way are not incompatible with the economics of entrepreneurship, but represent a form of entrepreneurship that is manifestly indigenous.

The thesis reaffirms the view that a Māori enterprise is a business that is predominantly owned by Māori and operates according to Māori values. Māori enterprises are, therefore, substantially defined by Māori ownership interests and the presence of Māori values in implicit and explicit terms. Māori communal assets and enterprises constituted under Māori-specific legislation are important indicators of a particular class of Māori enterprise, that is, the communal Māori enterprise. There are an estimated 21,500 Māori enterprises in Aotearoa New Zealand, but a census of them does not exist. This is mainly because Māori enterprises are not separately identified in official data and the capacity to undertake more complete studies is not presently available. Thus, cross-cultural comparisons between Māori and non-Māori enterprises are arduous undertakings, contingent upon generous assumptions to account for data limitations.

Alongside differences in Māori enterprises is evidence that a Māori way of doing business exists. A Māori way of doing business is predicated upon principles of duality, collectivism, permanence and intergenerationality. Such principles cohere within Māori entrepreneurship and are indicative of it. Duality refers to the integration of Māori and Western principles of entrepreneurship, reflected in the balancing of cultural and commercial imperatives. Collectivism refers to deep-seated cultural preferences for group identity and relations, indicated by the persistence of tribal organisation. Permanence is the notion that Māori, and tribes in particular, exist and operate ‘in perpetuity,’ in which planning, decision-making and business relations are measured in terms of generations. Intergenerationality is a

new word, but not a new concept, to reflect the notion that Māori entrepreneurs consider the needs of current and future generations and contribute to Māori wellbeing, directly and indirectly. Māori wellbeing broadly encompasses social, cultural, economic, environmental and spiritual dimensions. These principles allude to the ‘cultural imperatives’ against which ‘commercial imperatives’ must be managed to accord with a Māori way of doing business.

ENTERPRISE ASSISTANCE

Enterprise assistance is an established feature of entrepreneurship policy in many countries. The logic of enterprise assistance is tied to assumptions about the relationship between entrepreneurs and economies. Assistance is justified on the basis that without it, anticipated economic gains may not materialise. The market for private provision of enterprise assistance is substantial and is regulated by price. Evidence of failure in this market, either in supply (e.g., unwilling or an absence of suppliers) or demand (e.g., unwillingness or an inability to pay) or both, are preconditions for public funding of enterprise assistance. Otherwise political, equity, and legal obligations are employed to establish the case for government assistance. Funding, design, delivery, and evaluation of publicly funded enterprise assistance are determined through political and public policy processes. Public funding for enterprise assistance is contingent upon macroeconomic policy, and whether or not a neutral or nonneutral stance is adopted for government intervention in the economy.

Māori development—the process of indigenous human development in Aotearoa New Zealand—imposes important contextual and conceptual differences upon entrepreneurship. First, Māori are both citizens and iwi, with dual rights and obligations, which in some ways are akin to dual citizenship. Māori entrepreneurs are thus expected to balance multiple accountabilities, and contribute to society and to Māori collectivities, especially tribes. Second, Māori development occurs against a backdrop of colonial dispossession and

subjugation with power imbalances perpetuated by State institutions, socioeconomic deprivation, and uneven distribution of wealth. Third, a Māori world view, Māori knowledge and Māori methods introduce a different epistemology (ways of ‘knowing’), ontology (ways of ‘being’) and methodology (ways of ‘doing’) to entrepreneurship in Aotearoa New Zealand.

Importantly, the Treaty of Waitangi recognises the dual rights of Māori as citizens and as tangata whenua, with Treaty settlements implicitly attempting to restore some semblance of what was lost, and encourage Māori development within largely unmodified mainstream political and economic systems. Evidence suggests that Māori are embracing entrepreneurship as a development modality, yet are doing so on their terms. Such terms include the following: premising Māori development upon Māori self-determination; filtering Western ideology, technology and methods, including entrepreneurship, through a kaupapa Māori lens; preservation of Māori knowledge, language, values and methods; and the retention and development of Māori communal assets and institutions.

Publicly funded enterprise assistance has been an explicit feature of the enterprise support infrastructure in Aotearoa New Zealand for at least the last four decades (Jurado & Massey, 2011). Most publicly funded enterprise assistance during this period is characterised as mainstream in the sense of having a generic mandate, inclusive of eligible non-Māori and Māori entrepreneurs. Māori-specific enterprise assistance, however, emerges at various times to meet the needs of Māori enterprises. Notable examples are: Mana Enterprises; Māori Development Corporation; Poutama Trust; and Māori Women’s Development Incorporated during the mid-1980s. These are followed by the Māori Business Facilitation Service in the late 1990s (Mika, 2010a). Few new publicly funded Māori-specific enterprise assistance providers have appeared since 2000.

RESEARCH AIMS

Three research questions direct the research in this thesis. They are: (i) what is the theory of Māori entrepreneurship as it relates to enterprise assistance? (ii) what is the role of publicly funded enterprise assistance in Māori entrepreneurship? and (iii) what is the ideal model of enterprise assistance for Māori entrepreneurs? The research questions stem from gaps in the literature on Māori development (Chapter 2), entrepreneurship, and enterprise assistance (Chapter 3).

While Māori entrepreneurship theory is evolving, few studies examine Māori entrepreneurship in connection with enterprise assistance, and in particular, publicly funded enterprise assistance. In the public policy literature, studies typically examine enterprise assistance from the provider's perspective, focusing on evaluating programme performance and achievement of policy objectives. In the entrepreneurship literature, studies commonly explore causal relations between enterprise assistance and its effect on firms. This thesis contributes to the literature by exploring publicly funded enterprise assistance from the perspective of Māori entrepreneurs as clients. The purpose is neither evaluative nor programme specific, but is genuinely concerned with understanding the experience of enterprise assistance and what it does to help Māori entrepreneurs and how it does this from their perspective.

The third research question essentially asks Māori entrepreneurs to imagine the ideal model of enterprise assistance delivery based on their experiences, expectations and perspectives. This presents a basis for comparative analysis with prevailing models and principles for future design.

IMPORTANT INSIGHTS

The three most important insights in the thesis are these: (i) elements of a theory of Māori entrepreneurship as it relates to enterprise assistance are discernible and empowering; (ii) entrepreneurial capabilities are essentially what enterprise assistance seeks to build within Māori entrepreneurs, but neither entrepreneurs nor providers describe their experiences of it in these terms; and (iii) an ideal model of enterprise assistance for Māori entrepreneurs corresponds with characteristics associated with Māori-specific provision.

Māori entrepreneurship theory is growing, with the doctoral thesis by Mataira (2000) one of the earliest on the subject. Subsequent doctoral theses by Keelan (2009), Ruwhiu (2009), Warriner (2009) Henry (2012), Spiller (2010), and Best (2013) affirm Māori entrepreneurship as a legitimate field of enquiry within entrepreneurship research. Their common thread is the intrinsic value of Māori knowledge, language, values and methods for understanding Māori entrepreneurship in contemporary settings. This thesis adds to these pioneering studies by contributing to Māori entrepreneurship theory as it relates to enterprise assistance. In this thesis, a theory of Māori entrepreneurship is indicated by a series of propositions on the identity and socialisation of entrepreneurs as Māori, the influence of Māori indigeneity on the way in which Māori do business, and Māori enterprise ownership within the context of Māori development. The propositions require testing in further research to examine whether or not they hold. Suffice to say that the propositions of Māori entrepreneurship theory seem to shape perceptions of enterprise assistance.

Māori entrepreneurs' perspectives are vital to theory development in this thesis. Twenty-one of the 25 participants interviewed are active Māori entrepreneurs. Most operate service-based enterprises such as business consultancies, but retail, construction, design, agribusiness and investment feature among those interviewed as well. Several Māori entrepreneurs are providers of enterprise assistance to other Māori entrepreneurs, offering

insights as both providers and entrepreneurs. Māori entrepreneurs in this thesis are proudly Māori and proud businesspeople. They acknowledge their cultural identity as Māori, and actively engage in socialisation as Māori in modern and traditional contexts. Few set out to start their own business, with most becoming entrepreneurs by accident or through prompting from others. While some Māori entrepreneurs have grown large Māori enterprises, they still characterise themselves by the original trade, talent, skill or profession upon which their enterprises are built (e.g., lawyer, grocer, welder, builder, sportsperson).

Economic orthodoxy urges entrepreneurs to embrace individualism in order to succeed. In this sense, traditional ways of knowing, being and doing are viewed as an impediment to entrepreneurship. In this thesis, however, being Māori and doing business in a Māori way represent legitimate expressions of Māori self-determination, potentiality and freedom. Being a Māori enterprise, for example, is viewed as an aspirational standard of excellence, in which Māori entrepreneurs are expected to balance cultural and commercial imperatives. While some may struggle with balancing seemingly competing priorities, growth in the Māori economy suggests that more Māori entrepreneurs are coping than those who are not. The balancing of cultural and commercial imperatives for Māori entrepreneurs is a continuous learning process. Experiential learning as active entrepreneurs, including the lessons of failed enterprises, insolvency and cash flow pressures, means more to entrepreneurs in this thesis than formal education. A customer orientation, resilience, and success in entrepreneurship are suggestive of a Māori entrepreneurial mindset, which is similar to what one would find within a non-Māori entrepreneurial setting.

The second major insight from the research is that enterprise assistance builds entrepreneurial capabilities within Māori entrepreneurs, but neither entrepreneurs nor providers describe their experiences and perceptions of it in these terms. Instead, they speak in pragmatic terms about the *first* role of enterprise assistance, that is, the satisfaction of firm-level business needs. Firm-level business needs primarily relate to finance, markets, networks

and advice, whose satisfaction depends on the rationale, design, forms, provision, and evaluation of public enterprise assistance (see Figure 3.1).

The thesis suggests that success in this process is linked to five main characteristics that Māori entrepreneurs associate with Māori-specific provision. They are: (i) a favourable predisposition to Māori; (ii) cultural competency (i.e., knowledge of Māori language and culture); (iii) relational competency (i.e., culturally appropriate engagement); (iv) technical competency (i.e., forms of assistance match needs); and, (v) interactions in which power-relations favour the client over the provider.

Entrepreneurial capabilities are the *second* role of enterprise assistance because they represent the theoretical backdrop to provider-client interactions. Entrepreneurial capabilities are determinants of entrepreneurship that exist in five main forms—social capital, human capital, cultural capital, financial capital, and spiritual capital. When Māori entrepreneurs' finance needs are being met through enterprise assistance, the effect is a change in financial capital. In keeping with this pattern, satisfaction of networking needs effects change in social capital; help with advice registers change in human capital; and help with access to an ethnic market relates to change in cultural capital. While the literature focuses on the class and ethnic dimensions of entrepreneurial capital, Māori indigeneity redefines entrepreneurial capabilities, legitimising Māori spirituality, knowledge, institutions, language, values and methods in entrepreneurship. Because entrepreneurial capabilities are not overt in the lexicon and discourses of entrepreneurship policy and practice, the relationship between enterprise assistance and Māori entrepreneurial capabilities is inferred from Māori entrepreneurs' experiences.

The *third* role of enterprise assistance is to enable Māori enterprises to develop. This alleviates, to some extent, the obscurity of entrepreneurial capabilities in entrepreneurship policy and enterprise assistance. The poutama model of Māori enterprise development (see Figure 6.2) suggests that Māori enterprises' needs change as they develop, met by

corresponding changes in enterprise assistance. Enterprise assistance affects an enterprise's capacity for organisational learning and its propensity to ascend the poutama. A lack of evidence showing how Māori enterprises transition from one state to another limits the explanatory power of the poutama model. In particular, the vital relations between enterprise assistance, entrepreneurial capabilities, and enterprise development are not sufficiently apparent.

A conceptual model of Māori enterprise assistance is constructed, which seeks to address the limitations outlined above. The limitation of the capabilities (Figure 6.2) and poutama models (Figure 6.3) is that they rely on a constitutive view of enterprise assistance. This view explains enterprise assistance, capabilities, and entrepreneurs as static, yet important phenomena. At its heart, the conceptual model is founded upon an instrumental view of Māori entrepreneurship and enterprise assistance. The model identifies three intervening processes to help better explain the relations between enterprise assistance, Māori entrepreneurship, and Māori development. Quantitative research is recommended to evaluate the model.

IMPLICATIONS FOR POLICY AND PRACTICE

The policy implications of this thesis are threefold: (i) broadening the rationale for publicly funded enterprise assistance for Māori entrepreneurship; (ii) consideration of the ideal model as a basis for change in enterprise assistance design, delivery and evaluation for Māori entrepreneurs; and (iii) extending the enquiry to local government.

The thesis identifies thirteen distinct principles, grouped into four categories, to explain the government's role in enterprise assistance for Māori entrepreneurship (see Table 6.1). No matter how compelling they may appear, these principles are non-binding arguments drawn from Māori entrepreneurs' views on the perceived role of the State. Yet, they enliven

the fixation on market failure as the primary basis for government assistance for entrepreneurs—Māori and non-Māori.

Principles for enterprise assistance design are discernible from the research in this thesis, from which an ideal model of enterprise assistance is constructed (see Chapter 6). Again, these principles represent normative ideals rather than firm prescriptions on enterprise assistance design. Nonetheless, they are instructive for interested policy makers, both in terms of evaluative analysis of current provision and future design of alternative delivery modalities. Importantly, the thesis suggests building on existing enterprise assistance infrastructure rather than adding new providers. Māori ownership and control is emphasised, yet partial government funding is implied, along with a mix of financial and nonfinancial assistance, and adherence to characteristics Māori entrepreneurs associate with Māori-specific provision. These characteristics include a favourable predisposition toward Māori, and cultural, relational and technical competencies.

A focus on central rather than local government has been the tendency of this thesis. In their experiences of enterprise assistance, Māori entrepreneurs do, however, reveal insights about the role of local government in enterprise assistance for Māori that warrant further enquiry. While local government intentions may be inclusive of Māori entrepreneurs, local authorities have been somewhat confounded when it comes to the issue of allocating public resources to the development needs of the local Māori economy. Some local governments may be doing better than others in this respect, but little is known about Māori participation and outcomes from local forms of public enterprise assistance.

Implications for practice are suggested for both providers of enterprise assistance and Māori entrepreneurs. For providers, the thesis offers insights into the preferences and expectations of Māori entrepreneurs as clients of enterprise assistance. Principal among these are expectations about the satisfaction of firm-level business needs, the building of entrepreneurial capabilities, the development of Māori enterprises, and provider-client

relations. These insights may encourage providers to rethink aspects of design, delivery, evaluation and how assistance is to be funded.

In respect of Māori entrepreneurs, the thesis reinforces the principles and practices that Māori entrepreneurs live by, and explicitly connects entrepreneurship to Māori development. Moreover, the thesis elevates the importance of entrepreneurial capabilities and redefines these capabilities as inclusive of Māori indigeneity and Western principles of entrepreneurship. Finally, the thesis identifies principles for enterprise assistance that Māori entrepreneurs can use to better assess the efficacy of enterprise assistance for their own purposes.

KUA RAHI TĒNEI

I te tīmatanga o tēnei tuhinga roa, ka whakaputa mai te whakataukī ko te rarangatia te whitau harakeke. Ko te tino hōhonu o tāua kōrero rangatira rā, ko tēnei:

Rarangatia te whitau harakeke – weave a memory of the past; rarangatia te whitau wairua – weave a thought for today; rarangatia te whitau tāngata – weave a hope for tomorrow; rarangatia i rūnga i te aroha – weave a love for action and deed

Nā te koroua nā Tāmami Cairns (2013) i whakamarama mai. Ko te hiahia, kua mutu pai ai te rarangatia i ngā kōrero i rūnga ake nei nā. Ma ētahi atu anō te rākau nei e kawē. Ka huri.

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Appendix A Iwi

The following list of iwi (tribes) in New Zealand is derived from the Statistics New Zealand (2009) classification system for iwi and 2013 Census data (Statistics New Zealand, 2013a).

Iwi are listed alphabetically.

Table A.1 List of iwi in Aotearoa New Zealand

Number	Iwi
1	Aotea
2	Hauraki / Pare Hauraki
3	Horouta
4	Kāti Māmoe
5	Kurahaupō
6	Mahuru
7	Māmari
8	Mātaatua
9	Moriori
10	Muaūpoko
11	Muriwhenua
12	Ngā Rauru
13	Ngā Ruahine
14	Ngāi Tahu / Kāi Tahu
15	Ngāi Tai (Hauraki)
16	Ngāi Tai (Tauranga Moana/Mātaatua)
17	Ngāi Takoto
18	Ngāi Tāmanuhiri
19	Ngaiterangi
20	Ngāpuhi
21	Ngāpuhi ki Whaingaroa-Ngāti Kahu ki Whaingaroa
22	Ngāti Apa (Rangitīkei)
23	Ngāti Apa ki Te Rā Tō
24	Ngāti Awa
25	Ngāti Hako
26	Ngāti Haua (Taumarunui)
27	Ngāti Haua (Waikato)
28	Ngāti Hauti
29	Ngāti Hei
30	Ngāti Kahu
31	Ngāti Kahungunu ki Heretaunga
32	Ngāti Kahungunu ki Tamakinui a Rua
33	Ngāti Kahungunu ki Tamatea
34	Ngāti Kahungunu ki Te Wairoa
35	Ngāti Kahungunu ki Te Whanganui-a-Orotu
36	Ngāti Kahungunu ki Wairarapa
37	Ngāti Kauwhata

Number	Iwi
38	Ngāti Koata
39	Ngāti Kuia
40	Ngāti Kurī
41	Ngāti Manawa
42	Ngāti Maniapoto
43	Ngāti Maru (Hauraki)
44	Ngāti Maru (Taranaki)
45	Ngāti Mutunga (Taranaki)
46	Ngāti Mutunga (Wharekauri/Chatham Islands)
47	Ngāti Pāhauwera
48	Ngāti Paoa
49	Ngāti Pīkiao (Te Arawa)
50	Ngāti Porou
51	Ngāti Porou ki Harataunga ki Mataora
52	Ngāti Pūkenga
53	Ngāti Pūkenga ki Waiau
54	Ngāti Rāhiri Tumutumu
55	Ngāti Rākaipaaka
56	Ngāti Ranginui
57	Ngāti Rangiteaorere (Te Arawa)
58	Ngāti Rangitīhi (Te Arawa)
59	Ngāti Rangiwewehi (Te Arawa)
60	Ngāti Rārua
61	Ngāti Raukawa (Horowhenua/Manawatū)
62	Ngāti Raukawa (Waikato)
63	Ngāti Ruanui
64	Ngāti Tahu-Ngāti Whaoa (Te Arawa)
65	Ngāti Tama (Taranaki)
66	Ngāti Tama (Te Waipounamu/South Island)
67	Ngāti Tama ki Te Upoko o Te Ika (Te Whanganui-a-Tara/Wellington)
68	Ngāti Tamaterā
69	Ngāti Tara Tokanui
70	Ngāti Toarangatira (Te Waipounamu/South Island)
71	Ngāti Toarangatira (Te Whanganui-a-Tara/Wellington)
72	Ngāti Tūwharetoa
73	Ngāti Wai
74	Ngāti Whakaue (Te Arawa)
75	Ngāti Whanaunga
76	Ngāti Whare
77	Ngāti Whātua
78	Ngātokimatawhaorua
79	Nukutere
80	Pakakohi
81	Patukirikiri
82	Rangitāne (Manawatū)
83	Rangitāne (Te Matau-a-Māui/Hawke's Bay/Wairarapa)
84	Rangitāne (Te Waipounamu/South Island)
85	Rongomaiwahine (Te Māhia)
86	Rongowhakaata
87	Tainui

Number	Iwi
88	Tākitimu
89	Tangāhoe
90	Tapuika (Te Arawa)
91	Taranaki
92	Tarāwhai (Te Arawa)
93	Tauranga Moana
94	Te Aitanga-a-Māhaki
95	Te Arawa
96	Te Ati Haunui-a-Pāpārangī
97	Te Atiawa (Taranaki)
98	Te Atiawa (Te Waipounamu/South Island)
99	Te Atiawa (Te Whanganui-a-Tara/Wellington)
100	Te Atiawa ki Whakarongotai
101	Te Aupōuri
102	Te Kawerau
103	Te Rarawa
104	Te Roroa
105	Te Tauihu o Te Waka a Māui
106	Te Uri-o-Hau
107	Te Whānau-a-Apanui
108	Tokomaru
109	Tūhoe
110	Tūhourangi (Te Arawa)
111	Tūranganui a Kiwa
112	Uenuku-Kōpako (Te Arawa)
113	Waikato
114	Waitaha (Te Arawa)
115	Waitaha (Te Waipounamu/South Island)
116	Whakatōhea


Source: Statistics New Zealand (2009, 2013a)

Appendix B Māori enterprise owners' interview documentation

Figure B.1 Consent form: Māori enterprise owners

 <p>MASSEY UNIVERSITY TE KUNENGA KI PŪREHUROA</p> <hr/> <p>UNIVERSITY OF NEW ZEALAND</p>	<p>School of Management College of Business Massey University Private Bag 11 222 Palmerston North 4442 NEW ZEALAND T: 06 356 9099 ext. 2433 E: J.P.Mika@massey.ac.nz</p>
<p>What is the role of enterprise assistance in Māori entrepreneurship?</p>	
<p>PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM: MĀORI ENTERPRISE OWNERS</p>	
<p>I have read the Information Sheet and have had the details of the study explained to me. My questions have been answered to my satisfaction, and I understand that I may ask further questions at any time.</p>	
<p>I agree/do not agree to the interview being sound recorded.</p>	
<p>I wish/do not wish to have my recordings returned to me.</p>	
<p>I agree to participate in this study under the conditions set out in the Information Sheet.</p>	
<p>Signature:</p>	<p>Date:</p>
<p>Full Name - printed</p>	

Figure B.2 Information Sheet: Māori enterprise owners

 <p>MASSEY UNIVERSITY TE KUNENGA KI PŪREHUROA</p> <hr/> <p>UNIVERSITY OF NEW ZEALAND</p>	<p>School of Management College of Business Massey University Private Bag 11 222 Palmerston North 4442 NEW ZEALAND T: 06 356 9099 ext. 2433 E: J.P.Mika@massey.ac.nz</p>
<p>What is the role of enterprise assistance in Māori entrepreneurship?</p>	
<p>INFORMATION SHEET FOR MĀORI ENTERPRISE OWNERS</p>	
<p>Researcher(s) Introduction</p>	
<p>Kia ora. Ka nui te mihi i runga i ngā āhuatanga o te wā. My name is Jason Mika (Tūhoe, Ngāti Awa, Whakatōhea, Ngāti Kahungunu). I am a full time Doctor of Philosophy (PhD) student in the School of Management, College of Business, Massey University. After working as a policy analyst, business mentor and business owner, I now want to research, write about and teach Māori entrepreneurship. A PhD is the pathway I have chosen to achieve this. Dr Annemarie Gillies (Ngāti Awa, Te Whānau-ā-Apanui, Te Arawa) a specialist in Māori business, and Dr Joanne Bensemann whose expertise is in enterprise development, are supervising my research.</p>	
<p>Project Description and Invitation</p>	
<p>The purpose of my research is to understand the role of enterprise assistance in the process of starting and running a Māori enterprise. I define Māori enterprise as a business which is 50% or more owned by Māori. By enterprise assistance, I mean business advice, information, mentoring, training and grants. The research has two other objectives: (1) what is the role of government in enterprise assistance for Māori enterprises; and (2), what is the 'ideal' model for the delivery of enterprise assistance to Māori enterprises? The research may influence how enterprise assistance for Māori is understood, designed and delivered.</p>	
<p>Participant Identification and Recruitment</p>	
<p>Your participation is voluntary. I am interviewing two groups: (1) Māori enterprise owners who have recently used some form of enterprise assistance; and (2), those involved in enterprise assistance for Māori as policy makers and funders, providers, and Māori business and academic leaders. This Information Sheet is for those in the first group.</p>	
<p>Project Procedures</p>	
<p>Interviews should take no longer than 90 minutes. I will record the interview unless you do not agree to this. The interviews will be fairly informal. I have a series of questions to ask you but you can pass on any question or ask for clarification throughout. Feel free to speak in Māori and English. Interviews will be held in-person unless this is not practical. The interview may be held at your workplace, your home, or at a nearby office, whatever is more convenient for you. The main thing we will need is a quiet area so the interview can be recorded.</p>	
<p>Data Management</p>	

I will type the interview word-for-word. It would be helpful, for accuracy, if you could read a transcript of your interview and provide feedback. Only my supervisors, Dr Gillies and Dr Bensemann, and I will listen to the interview recording or see the transcript. Your information will be kept for five years in a secure office at Massey University and then destroyed by the School of Management.

Participant's Rights

You are under no obligation to accept this invitation. If you decide to participate, you have the right to:

- Decline to answer any particular question;
- Withdraw from the study at any time following the interview;
- Ask any questions about the study at any time during participation;
- Provide information on the understanding that your name will not be used unless you give permission to the researcher;
- Be given access to a summary of the research findings when it is concluded;
- Ask for the recorder to be turned off at any time during the interview.

Project Contacts


You can contact me or my supervisors any time.

Researcher	Supervisor	Co-supervisor
<u>Jason Mika</u> PhD Candidate School of Management College of Business Massey University Private Bag 11 222 Palmerston North 4442 T: 06 356 9099 ext. 2433 E: J.P.Mika@massey.ac.nz	<u>Dr Annemarie Gillies</u> Senior Lecturer School of Management College of Business Massey University Private Bag 11 222 Palmerston North 4442 T: 06 350 5799 E: A.M.Gillies@massey.ac.nz	<u>Dr Joanne Bensemann</u> Senior Lecturer School of Management College of Business Massey University Private Bag 11 222 Palmerston North 4442 T: 06 356 9099 ext. 2772 E: J.Bensemann@massey.ac.nz

Committee Approval Statement

This project has been reviewed and approved by the Massey University Human Ethics Committee: Southern A, Application 12/52. If you have any concerns about the conduct of this research, please contact Dr Brian Finch, Chair, Massey University Human Ethics Committee: Southern A telephone 06 350 5799 x 8717, email humanethicsoutha@massey.ac.nz.

Figure B.3 Interview schedule: Māori enterprise owners

 <p>MASSEY UNIVERSITY TE KUNENGA KI PŪREHUROA UNIVERSITY OF NEW ZEALAND</p>	<p>School of Management College of Business Massey University Private Bag 11 222 Palmerston North 4442 NEW ZEALAND T: 06 356 9099 ext. 2433 E: J.P.Mika@massey.ac.nz</p>
<p>What is the role of enterprise assistance in Māori entrepreneurship?</p>	
<p>INTERVIEW SCHEDULE: MĀORI ENTERPRISE OWNERS</p>	
<p>Introduction (for all participants)</p>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Karakia/mihimihi• Whakawhānaungatanga• Information Sheet is fully explained• Consent Form has been signed• Any questions or points of clarification• Check recorder is on and working.	
<p>Māori enterprise owner</p>	
<ol style="list-style-type: none">1. Please tell me about why you got into business?2. Please tell me a little about your business?	
<p>Māori enterprise</p>	
<ol style="list-style-type: none">3. In what ways do you think Māori culture influences how you see and run your business?14.	
<p>Enterprise assistance</p>	
<ol style="list-style-type: none">4. Please describe the kinds of enterprise assistance you have used?5. In what ways do you think the assistance has helped your business?6. What do you think could have been done differently to make the assistance more effective?	
<p>Mainstream assistance (for those who have used mainstream assistance e.g., NZTE, EDAs)</p>	
<ol style="list-style-type: none">7. What was your experience of the mainstream assistance and the provider?8. What worked for you and your business?	

9. What didn't work for you and your business?

Role of government

10. What should the role of government be in enterprise assistance for Māori?

11. Should iwi contribute to enterprise assistance for iwi members? Why, or why not?

Ideal model

12. Who do you think should deliver enterprise assistance for Māori?

13. What kinds of enterprise assistance should be provided for Maori enterprises?

14. How should enterprise assistance be delivered for Māori?

Is there anything else you would like to add? Do you have any questions for me? Are there any other matters you would like to discuss?

Appendix C Key informant interview documentation

Figure C.1 Consent Form: Key informants

 <p>MASSEY UNIVERSITY TE KUNENGA KI PŪREHUROA</p> <hr/> <p>UNIVERSITY OF NEW ZEALAND</p>	<p>School of Management College of Business Massey University Private Bag 11 222 Palmerston North 4442 NEW ZEALAND T: 06 356 9099 ext. 2433 E: J.P.Mika@massey.ac.nz</p>
<p>What is the role of enterprise assistance in Māori entrepreneurship?</p>	
<p>PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM: KEY INFORMANTS</p>	
<p>I have read the Information Sheet and have had the details of the study explained to me. My questions have been answered to my satisfaction, and I understand that I may ask further questions at any time.</p>	
<p>I agree/do not agree to the interview being sound recorded.</p>	
<p>I wish/do not wish to have my recordings returned to me.</p>	
<p>I agree to participate in this study under the conditions set out in the Information Sheet.</p>	
<p>Signature:</p>	<p>Date:</p>
<p>Full Name - printed</p>	

Figure C.2 Information Sheet: Key informants

 <p>MASSEY UNIVERSITY TE KUNENGA KI PŪREHUROA</p> <hr/> <p>UNIVERSITY OF NEW ZEALAND</p>	<p>School of Management College of Business Massey University Private Bag 11 222 Palmerston North 4442 NEW ZEALAND T: 06 356 9099 ext. 2433 E: J.P.Mika@massey.ac.nz</p>
<p>What is the role of enterprise assistance in Māori entrepreneurship?</p>	
<p>INFORMATION SHEET FOR KEY INFORMANTS</p>	
<p>Researcher Introduction</p>	
<p>Kia ora. My name is Jason Mika (Tūhoe, Ngāti Awa, Whakatōhea, Ngāti Kahungunu). I am a full time Doctor of Philosophy (PhD) student in the School of Management, College of Business, Massey University. After working as a policy analyst, business mentor and business owner, I now want to research, write about and teach Māori entrepreneurship. A PhD is the pathway I have chosen to achieve this. Dr Annemarie Gillies (Ngāti Awa, Te Whānau-ā-Apanui, Te Arawa) a specialist in Māori business, and Dr Joanne Bensemann whose expertise is in enterprise development, are supervising my research.</p>	
<p>Project Description and Invitation</p>	
<p>The purpose of my research is to understand the role of enterprise assistance in the process of starting and running a Māori enterprise. I define Māori enterprise as a business which is 50% or more owned by Māori. By enterprise assistance, I mean business advice, information, mentoring, training and grants. The research has two other objectives: (1) what is the role of government in enterprise assistance for Māori enterprises; and (2), what is the 'ideal' model for the delivery of enterprise assistance to Māori enterprises? The research may influence how enterprise assistance for Māori is understood, designed and delivered.</p>	
<p>Participant Identification and Recruitment</p>	
<p>Your participation is voluntary. I am interviewing two groups: (1) Māori enterprise owners who have recently used some form of enterprise assistance; and (2), those involved in enterprise assistance for Māori as policy makers and funders, providers, and Māori business and academic leaders. This Information Sheet is for those in the second group.</p>	
<p>Project Procedures</p>	
<p>Interviews should take no longer than 90 minutes. I will record the interview unless you do not agree to this. The interviews will be fairly informal. I have a series of questions to ask you but you can pass on any question or ask for clarification throughout. Feel free to speak in Māori and English. Interviews will be held in-person unless this is not practical. I am happy to hold the interview at your workplace, your home, or at a nearby office, whatever is convenient for you. The main thing we will need is a quiet area so the interview can be recorded.</p>	
<p>Data Management</p>	

I will type the interview word-for-word. It would be helpful, for accuracy, if you could read a transcript of your interview and provide feedback. Only my supervisors, Dr Gillies and Dr Bensemann, and I will listen to the interview recording or see the transcript. Your information will be kept for five years in a secure office at Massey University and then destroyed by the School of Management.

Participant's Rights

You are under no obligation to accept this invitation. If you decide to participate, you have the right to:

- Decline to answer any particular question;
- Withdraw from the study at any time following the interview;
- Ask any questions about the study at any time during participation;
- Provide information on the understanding that your name will not be used unless you give permission to the researcher;
- Be given access to a summary of the research findings when it is concluded;
- Ask for the recorder to be turned off at any time during the interview.

Project Contacts


You can contact me or my supervisors any time.

Researcher	Supervisor	Co-supervisor
<u>Jason Mika</u> PhD Candidate School of Management College of Business Massey University Private Bag 11 222 Palmerston North 4442 T: 06 356 9099 ext. 2433 E: J.P.Mika@massey.ac.nz	<u>Dr Annemarie Gillies</u> Senior Lecturer School of Management College of Business Massey University Private Bag 11 222 Palmerston North 4442 T: 06 350 5799 E: A.M.Gillies@massey.ac.nz	<u>Dr Joanne Bensemann</u> Senior Lecturer School of Management College of Business Massey University Private Bag 11 222 Palmerston North 4442 T: 06 356 9099 ext. 2772 E: J.Bensemann@massey.ac.nz

Committee Approval Statement

This project has been reviewed and approved by the Massey University Human Ethics Committee: Southern A, Application 12/52. If you have any concerns about the conduct of this research, please contact Dr Brian Finch, Chair, Massey University Human Ethics Committee: Southern A telephone 06 350 5799 x 8717, email humanethicsoutha@massey.ac.nz.

Figure C.3 Interview schedule: Key informants

 <p>MASSEY UNIVERSITY TE KUNENGA KI PŪREHUROA</p> <hr/> <p>UNIVERSITY OF NEW ZEALAND</p>	School of Management College of Business Massey University Private Bag 11 222 Palmerston North 4442 NEW ZEALAND T: 06 356 9099 ext. 2433 E: J.P.Mika@massey.ac.nz
<p>What is the role of enterprise assistance in Māori entrepreneurship?</p>	
<p>INTERVIEW SCHEDULE: KEY INFORMANTS</p>	
<p>Introduction</p>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Karakia/mihimihi• Whakawhānaungatanga• Information Sheet is fully explained• Consent Form has been signed• Any questions or points of clarification• Check recorder is on and working	
<p>About the participant</p>	
<ol style="list-style-type: none">1. Please tell me about your association with Māori enterprises?	
<p>Māori enterprise</p>	
<ol style="list-style-type: none">2. How do you define Maori enterprise/Maori business?3. Is there a particular way Māori do business? If yes, how so?	
<p>Enterprise assistance</p>	
<ol style="list-style-type: none">4. Please describe the business needs you think Māori enterprises have?5. In what ways does your organisation help Māori address these business needs?6. What do you think makes the most difference for Māori in terms of enterprise assistance?7. In what ways is Māori culture incorporated into enterprise assistance for Māori?8. Please describe how you think the effectiveness of enterprise assistance for Māori is measured?	
<p>Role of government</p>	

9. Do you think government should fund enterprise assistance for Māori? Why, or why not?

10. In what ways do you think iwi should contribute to enterprise development by iwi members?

Ideal model

11. In your view who should deliver enterprise assistance for Māori?

12. What kinds of enterprise assistance should be provided for Māori enterprises, if any?

13. How should enterprise assistance be delivered for Māori?

Is there anything else you would like to add? Do you have any questions for me? Are there any other matters you would like to discuss?

Appendix D Ethics approval letter

Figure D.1 Ethics Committee approval letter September 2012

