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**Kaupapa Maori Entrepreneurship
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Abstract

Maori figure amongst the worst social statistics in contemporary New Zealand society. For much of the last twenty years, research has focussed on the disparities between Maori and non-Maori. However, the recent development of Kaupapa Maori Research (by, with and for Maori) has begun to investigate those paradigms and models that are delivering positive outcomes for Maori in education, research and (more recently) business and community development. This paper explores some of the tribal initiatives that offer the potential for business and community development, which delivers both economic and political sovereignty to a colonised, indigenous people.

Introduction

This paper will look first at traditional Maori society, and how it was impacted by contact with the outside world, and what affects these had on the burgeoning arena of Maori entrepreneurship. These impacts will be broken down into three phases: First Contact (1642-1840), Colonisation (1840-1970) and the Maori Renaissance (1970 onwards). We will trace the negative impacts of colonisation, in terms of social indicators, and discuss the role that the Maori Renaissance has played in revitalising Maori language, culture and identity, whilst reinvigorating Maori worldview, as encapsulated by the Kaupapa Maori paradigm. Finally, we will look at some of the recent Kaupapa Maori Entrepreneurial initiatives that are delivering community development opportunities, whilst nurturing the sense of self-determination, and validating Maori aspirations, economically and politically.

Discussion

First Contact

Maori are the indigenous people of Aotearoa New Zealand, having arrived in the group of islands as part of the migration and settlement of Polynesian peoples throughout the Pacific in the last 5,000 years. Maori lived in relative isolation, maintaining seafaring links to their South Pacific forebears, but increasingly seeing themselves as distinctively Maori from Aotearoa over the last 1,000 years¹.

Maori culture, like other Polynesian cultures, is predicated on the tribe as the smallest social unit. In Aotearoa, the Maori traced their ancestry to the gods, from Ranginui (the sky father) and Papatuanuku (Earth Mother) and their

¹ Maori, or Maohi, is a term also used by the peoples of Tahiti, Rapanui (Easter Island) and Rarotonga to describe themselves and their language

offspring, who are the guardians of every aspect of life. Humans are descended from Tane Mahuta, who is also the guardian of the forests. Thus, Maori maintained their family links to flora and fauna, through a complex web of beliefs and rituals designed to protect and sustain their environment (Marsden). The core beliefs of traditional Maori focused on the complementarity of gods, humans, and their world. Thus, spirituality was interwoven with the day-to-day realities of their political economy, a subsistence economy underpinned the by reciprocity of the gift (Mauss). The gifts cemented bonds between communities and ensured peaceful relations. However, if gifts were not reciprocated, or tribal boundaries and sovereignty were not respected, the tribe (or cluster of tribes) could band together to seek retribution. These principles, which operated as the basis of social control and regulation, have been defined as the Maori worldview and encapsulated in a framework of ethics and protocols that reinforced the holistic and intimate relationship between the ancient Maori and their world (Henry & Pene, 1999; Henare, 1998).

Europeans began to arrive after the Dutch explorer, Abel Tasman, first charted and gave New Zealand its European name in 1642. His visit was not auspicious, as evidenced by the name he gave to the bay where he first encountered 'the natives', Murderers Bay, and it was more than 100 years before Europeans ventured to New Zealand again.

James Cook, on the exploration vessel the Endeavour, first arrived in 1769. Interestingly, Cook had on board an adventurous Tahitian, Tupaia, who spoke a semblance of the local language and was familiar with local custom. As a result, Cook's visit was so successful that he returned again in 1772 and 1773. On each visit Cook cemented mutually beneficial bonds between Maori and European. The Maori learned of the wonderful trading opportunities, and the explorer was able to map and explore the extensive coastline in peace (King, 2003).

Within a generation, Europeans had come to see New Zealand as a safe harbour for explorers, whalers and sealers alike, with the first whaling station opening in 1792. At the same time, Maori embraced the new economic relations, redesigning many aspects of their social structure to accommodate trade with the visitors. No longer was there a necessity for the 'gift' to be reciprocated at some unknown future time, as trade with Europeans meant instant gratification, instantaneous exchange of goods. Bargaining and haggling must have come naturally to the gregarious Maori, for whom fine oratory was and is the measure of a person's mana².

Maori had not previously produced steel, so needles, hammers, knives, axes and saws revolutionised traditional work and divisions of labour. No longer were the experts of tree cutting and carving (onerous tasks using flint and stone adzes) so valued, as even a small group could fell a giant tree in short time with a prized steel axe. No longer were elaborate rituals necessary to protect the kumara (sweet potato), brought from the tropics and struggling to

² Mana has been defined as prestige, personal power and excellence

survive in the temperate New Zealand climate. The European potato thrived in this climate, and traditional Maori horticulture also underwent a revolution. Thus, Maori society began its inexorable journey of change and evolution. Much of the change they embraced for it increased the wealth and mana of the tribe (Walker, 1990).

Within two generations of Cook's arrival, Maori society and political economy had undergone massive upheavals, whilst the traditional Maori worldview, spirituality and social structures still held sway. By 1831³, New Zealand exported to Sydney alone £34,000 of goods, such as spars, tree- nails, pigs, dressed flax (for ropes) and whalebone. These goods required extensive manufacturing infrastructure, and with less than 100 Europeans in the country, that manufacturing infrastructure and expertise had to come from the tribes. In that same year, New Zealand imported some £30,000 of trade goods, most notably guns, horses, alcohol and steel tools. The tribes were operating a trade surplus equivalent to many millions of dollars in contemporary currency. This surplus was reinvested in the purchase of sailing vessels, the construction of flourmills and further expansion of trade beyond New South Wales (Henry, 1999).

The first and primary points of contact between Maori and European tended to be in Northland. Thus the Northland tribes tended to be the first to acquire trade goods, and were the site of the earliest missionaries, who also brought trade opportunities and contacts with the outside world. Whilst Maori trade flourished in the 1830s, many tribes still suffered the consequences of tribal warfare that reached unprecedented levels of savagery in the 1820 and early 1830s. These battles, now known as the Musket Wars (Crosby, 1999), ravaged those tribes who acquired the dreaded musket in only the later stages of the war. These battles resulted in massive changes in the location of tribes, their mana and prestige, their trading capacity and wealth. Some traces of those inter-tribal conflicts can still be felt in contemporary, tribal communities.

One northern Chief, Hongi Hika⁴, had been the first to acquire a musket in 1813, and to realise its potential as a weapon of mass destruction (Ulrich-Cloher, 2003). In 1820, Hika and a companion, Waikato, travelled to England with the missionary Thomas Kendall, ostensibly to work on a dictionary of the Maori language with the famed linguist Professor Lee at Cambridge University. However, Hika was also a guest of King William IV, entertaining his court as a tattooed savage from the South Seas, who was also an erudite scholar. On his return to Aotearoa New Zealand, Hika stopped in Sydney, and traded his fine gifts from the royal court for a boatload of muskets. From 1821, Hika began the most ambitious and aggressive onslaught on the tribes to the south. Hika forged together the disparate sub-tribes of the North, under the singular banner of Ngapuhi, which remains the biggest tribal grouping in the country.

Whilst one explanation for Hika's behaviour might be that of simple and brutal retaliation against age-old enemies, one can also detect an underlying

³ See appendices for copies of the Sydney Exports & Imports for 1831

⁴ See appendices for excerpt from Hika section in the People of Many Peaks: Biography of Maori

strategic intent. In the view of this author, Hika had experienced the wonders of the European world; an aristocracy, the English Crown, had embraced Hika. I believe Hika was seduced by the notion of imperial leadership, controlling a whole nation. However, Aotearoa in 1820 was not a nation, it was a loose confederation of tribal principalities, linked by whakapapa/ genealogy and common interest. If Hika envisaged himself as the imperial ruler of a nation, then first he had to convince the other great chiefs to integrate and to form a nation. This could take a lifetime of negotiation and oratory, or he could try to weld the tribes together in a common fear, of himself and the musket, as well as the potential of the outside world to rob them of their tribal sovereignty. Seen in that light, his barbaric rampages of the 1820s, which were often concluded by the forging of a strong and robust peace between his and the vanquished tribes, makes strategic and political sense. Unfortunately, Hika fell in battle in 1828, so we can never really know his underlying motives.

However, the colleague with whom Hika had travelled to England, who was also a notable Chief of the period, may have continued his work. From the beginning of the 1830s, the tribes north worked hard to develop a strong relationship with the British Crown. A group of these Chiefs went so far as to write to King William IV in 1831⁵, seeking his protection against what they called the 'tribes of Marion'⁶. The tone of the letter sounds supplicating, unless one realises that this is part of the Maori skills in oratory, that is, to diminish oneself, the speaker, so as to uplift the mana of the audience. The Royal response to this letter must have been affirmative, as a British presence in the country, though not formalised by colonisation or annexation, became more common in the ensuing years.

Thus, by the early 1830s, the tribes (predominantly in the North and around missionary and whaling settlements in the South) had superimposed a capitalist political economy on their traditional subsistence, communistic society. Many of their chiefs were successful international traders. Paradoxically, these same chiefs might also be battle weary warriors. In this milieu of radical social, political and economic change grew the notion of nationhood. However, the nationhood of the Maori had to protect the tribal sovereignty of the Chiefs.

It is in this political climate that the chiefs, again predominantly from the north, forged the document we now know as the Declaration of Independence⁷. This Declaration created a nation, under the political power of the Confederation of Chiefs, who would meet regularly to make laws and govern the land, and whose sovereignty was absolute. This Declaration was signed in October 1835, and in 1836 the British Parliament received it. In 1834, the Confederation of Chiefs had designed an ensign, which was to be flown on all Maori trading vessels. Once the British Crown had accepted the Declaration, all Maori shipping that flew the Maori flag would be accorded the protection of

⁵ See appendices for a copy of the letter in Maori and English

⁶ Marion du Fresne was the Captain of one of the first French vessels to visit Aotearoa, and for the tribes of the North his name became synonymous with the French people

⁷ See appendices for a copy of the Declaration in English and Maori.

the British Royal Navy. This protection was crucial for a trading nation that wished to expand into the Americas and Asia.

So we can see, that by 1835, the Maori tribes had, in many ways begun to progress beyond their fledgling trading origins and were embracing a model of nationhood that enabled their tribes to maintain their sovereignty whilst belonging to a bigger political entity. The Musket Wars drew to a close, as trading opportunities grew apace. It is in this political climate that, in early 1840, Captain Hobson was despatched to Niu Tirenī (as it was known to the Maori), with instructions from Lord Normanby to treat with the natives, to sign an accord that would cement colonial links with the country, and to ensure that the natives were treated fairly and well during these discussions and their outcomes. Hobson met with a group of some 50 Chiefs and their tribal members at Waitangi in the northern Bay of Islands. For three days, the oratory and debate raged. Many Chiefs did not want a formal colonial relationship with any outside group. However, the passionate arguments in favour of a formal alliance with the British Crown would have been supported by the fact that, for 71 years relations with Britain had been mutually beneficial. Eventually that position held sway, and on February 6th 1840, the tribes of New Zealand and all their lands became a formal part of the British Empire, with the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi. The majority of the 500 and more Chiefs that signed the Treaty had signed the Maori language version, which protected and ensured the sovereignty of the Chiefs, but accorded to Britain the right to govern. However, the English language version that was written by a junior ensign some months after the Waitangi meeting spoke of giving absolute sovereignty to the British Crown. Essentially, the Treaty comprises three articles⁸. In the Maori language version, in the First Article the Chiefs granted governorship to the Crown, in the English version they ceded sovereignty. In the second article, the Crown ensured the protection of Maori property and was granted the right to regulate land sales. In the third, the Crown bestowed the privileges and rights of British subjects. Thus, from this ambiguous document began the ongoing debate, which has underpinned relations between Maori and non-Maori in this country since 1840.

Colonisation

For three years, up until 1843, the Maori tribes and British colonial government formed worked together to integrate the new legal and political institutions. However, the Chiefs were becoming increasingly concerned about the assumption of power and control that the new Colonial regime was adopting. Matters came to a head in 1843, as it began to dawn on increasing numbers of tribal leaders that the new Government was not necessarily going to bring the expansions of trade and wealth that they had imagined. The rapidly increasing numbers of new settlers arriving in the country and expecting to purchase land exacerbated this situation. Whilst many tribes were happy to accommodate the small numbers of settlers, prior to signing the Treaty, they became more reticent and disgruntled in the later 1840s. Eventually these tensions erupted into conflict, which spread throughout the

⁸ See appendices for a brief summary of the Treaty

1850s and 1860s, in a period now termed the New Zealand Land Wars (Belich, 1994)

Stevens (1988) has argued that Britain maintained three types of colonies, the extractive colonies like India, which were pillaged for their wealth, the penal colonies like Australia, which allowed Britain to export its potentially revolutionary peasantry, and its settler colonies. This latter, included Canada and New Zealand, and according to Stevens, these countries provided Britain with a safe place to export their working class, so that they would never face the threat of a mobilised underbelly of society becoming revolutionary, as had happened during the French Revolution. This notion is certainly supported by the promotion of New Zealand by E G Wakefield and the New Zealand Company in the 1840s as an English garden in the South Seas, a place where an industrious man could own land, something which was not possible to the proletariat in Britain at that time. Therefore, New Zealand became a magnet for working class of England, Scotland, Ireland and Wales. Their insatiable appetite for land soon outstripped Maori desire to sell land.

These tensions eventually erupted into open warfare, which encompassed almost the whole country by the 1850s. In 1852, the British Crown gave to the New Zealand Parliament the right to rule independently, through the New Zealand Constitution Act. Thereafter, the New Zealand government was given *carte blanche* to treat with Maori as they wished. The second half of the 19th century in New Zealand is marked by the savagery of the relationship between the Settler government and Maori (Simpson, 1984).

By 1900 Maori people were reduced to penury in our own land. In the preceding 60 years, we had been reduced from 90% ownership of our lands, to 10% ownership of the country. Our population had been decimated by warfare, disease and poverty, our communities were in disarray, and our leadership had been stripped of their mana, unless they kowtowed to the Government agenda. This was a dark and terrible time for Maori people, marked by loss of *whenua/land*, *rangatiratanga/ chieftainship*, and *mana/ prestige*⁹.

The new century brought some relief, in the form of a stronger political presence, and a new breed of Maori political leaders that were adroit in both the Maori and non-Maori worlds. However, the prevailing views about Maori people by Pakeha (white New Zealanders) were deeply influenced by their notions of their cultural superiority and paternalistic ambivalence about Maori. Throughout the first half of the 20th Century, mainstream Pakeha New Zealand could ignore the Maori population, because we lived in rural and tribal isolation. We were ostensibly invisible, so we could be ignored, and the 'myth' of good race relations took root in Pakeha society. It was not until after World War II, when Maori drifted to the cities to fill the factories and rapidly urban ghettos, that Maori and Pakeha had to live alongside each other for the first time in decades (King, 1975). Only, this time, Maori were not protected by chieftainship and sovereignty, by warrior warlords and international traders;

⁹ See appendices for a summary of important events in New Zealand's history

we were the factory fodder eking out an existence in the lowest socio-economic strata. This, then, has been the legacy of the colonial experience for Maori, but that was to change dramatically in the latter quarter of the 20th Century.

Maori Renaissance

Walker (1990) argues that the Maori Renaissance was fuelled by the generation of young, urban Maori, displaced from their tribal homelands, who capitalised on access to universities, and became a generation of articulate, angry, and strident 'radicals'. We can trace the emergence of the Maori Renaissance to the 1970s, a decade that saw the rise of African American, Native American, Women's Liberation, Anti-Vietnam, and Anti-Nuclear movements. Many of these protest movements developed in the 1950s and 1960s, but it was not until the expansion of mass media and television in New Zealand the 1960s, that their protestations were beamed nightly into the homes of millions. Protest and radicalism became familiar and normalised. The notion of protest, combined with their new insight into the tragic Maori history, which had been sanitised out of the mainstream New Zealand educational curriculum, and their burgeoning confidence as intellectuals, fuelled the Maori protest movement of the 1970s.

This decade is marked by waves of protest, sometimes violent but often passive, marches, land occupations and strident demands for the Treaty of Waitangi to be acknowledged, and for our grievance to be heard. For the first time, most Pakeha were confronted by Maori belligerence and anger. The seeds of racial discontent were sown; the myth of our positive race relations was dispelled forever.

In 1975, after decades of campaigning, the government of the day created the Waitangi Tribunal, a judicial body with the power to investigate breaches of the Treaty of Waitangi. However, it was not until 1985, under a new government, that this august Tribunal was given the power and resources to look retrospectively to 1840. Since 1985, almost 2,000 claims have been lodged with the Waitangi Tribunal. To date, less than 20 have been settled, presumably with the mutual agreement of both the government and the tribe.

The two most prominent settlements are those between the Crown and Tainui, and Ngai Tahu, whose combined value of financial redress came to NZ\$340 million. Whilst these sums seem large, the areas of land and the magnitude of the grievance make these sums seem paltry. For example, the Tainui Settlement relates to land that the Crown illegally confiscated because the tribes people dared to challenge the sovereignty of the Crown, referring to the First Article of the Treaty, and refused to sell their land, which continues to be the wealthiest and most fertile land in the country. In the case of Ngai Tahu, the tribe did sell land, on the promise that reserves would be set-aside for their people. This did not eventuate, and Ngai Tahu lost the whole of the South Island, lands which are now worth billions. Thus, \$170 million is small recompense for land losses of these proportions.

As increasing numbers of tribes settle their grievances with the Crown, and are given some forms of financial and cultural redress, they are able to then plan more strategically for their development and well-being of their peoples. Alongside these financial improvements, there continues to be a robust voice in the Maori community, arguing for a complete return of our sovereignty, because we did not sign it away in 1840. Thus, the Maori renaissance has spawned two quite different sets of warriors and leaders. These are the tribal business leaders, who manage the remaining lands, invest and grow the wealth of their tribes; alongside these leaders are the political warriors, who argue for and demand tino rangatiratanga/ political sovereignty. These two types of leaders have become increasingly differentiated, with the former being seen as the financial wizards and the latter being seen as a remnant of the radical struggles of the past. However, in 2004 we have seen a blurring of the line between these leaders, as the Government has sought to introduce the Seabed and Foreshore Bill, which will clarify and vest ownership of the coastline in the hands of the Crown. This proposal is utterly antithetical to Maori leaders, who have been supported by decisions of the Appeal Court and rulings of the Human Rights Commission. Both these bodies confirm that Maori can expect the right to assert customary ownership of the coastline, which they have not alienated and sold off over the preceding 164 years. The Crown's response has been to draft legislation to ensure they ratify their ownership and control of the foreshore on behalf of all new Zealanders. Maori feel deeply aggrieved by this legislation, and their protests against it have galvanised the Maori community, across tribes, and brought political and economic leaders together in an unprecedented fashion. These are very interesting times in the Maori world.

One other group of Maori leaders has evolved over the previous 35 years. These are the academics who have driven Maori intellectual endeavour in quite a different direction to the economic and political leadership, and who are increasingly identifying themselves as Kaupapa Maori theorists.

Kaupapa Maori

Kaupapa Maori is the term often used to describe traditional *Maori* ways of doing, being, and thinking, encapsulated in a *Maori* world-view or cosmology¹⁰. The earliest writings around this paradigm grew out of the education literature as Maori intellectuals strove to develop the case for a distinct Maori education agenda in the 1970s and 1980s. As a consequence of their thinking, and the protest movement that argued the loss of the Maori language was a breach of Article II of the Treaty, the government gave tentative support for the setting up of the first Kohanga Reo/ Maori language early childcare in 1981. From those humble beginnings, the Maori education sector includes (as at 2004) nearly 1,000 Kohanga Reo, specialist Kura Kaupapa Maori/ Maori language primary schools, Kura Tuarua/ Maori language secondary schools and three Whare Wananga/ Maori universities. This educational system is predicated on Kaupapa Maori, and the results have been stunning. Dr Sharples (2001) is one such Maori educationalist, who was also instrumental in setting up one of the earliest Kohanga Reo. He

¹⁰ See appendices for a summary of Kaupapa Maori, from Henry & Pene (1999)

reported on the educational pathway of students going through their Kohanga Reo in the previous twenty years. Whilst the average number of Maori going from mainstream secondary to tertiary education is less than 20%, at their Kohanga Reo the number of students progressing all the way to tertiary education was 83%. The biggest university in the country is Te Whare Wananga o Aotearoa. There are an unprecedented number of Maori in tertiary study. These graduates will transform the communities from which they come, because the underlying premise of Kaupapa Maori Education is the notion of doing things for, with and by Maori, in a uniquely Maori way, for the betterment of our people. This altruistic philosophy is often contradictory to the highly individualistic ethos of Western culture. In more recent years, the Kaupapa Maori paradigm has extended outside and beyond Maori education to encompass Maori development, Maori business and, as this paper argues, Maori entrepreneurship.

Kaupapa Maori Entrepreneurship

Kaupapa Maori Entrepreneurship can be described as 'social entrepreneurship', in that it is entrepreneurial activity, but it is underpinned by social objectives to improve wealth and well being for the community, rather than just the individual. Having made this note, we also need to acknowledge that entrepreneurs operate in an environment of risk, and require the flexibility to capitalise on opportunities and develop new innovations, without being hamstrung by community decision-making processes and shared ownership of resources.

Thus, the challenge for the Kaupapa Maori entrepreneur is to balance their individual desires to be entrepreneurial (which favours the notion that entrepreneurs are born, not made) with their socio-cultural desires to contribute to the enhancement of their people, whether it be whanau (extended family, smallest tribal unit), hapu (a collective of whanau that share genealogical links) or iwi (the corporate tribal entity, which might encompass many thousands of people). Different tribes, communities and individuals are addressing Kaupapa Maori entrepreneurship in different ways.

We know from the recent Global Entrepreneurship Monitor Reports (GEM NZ) that Maori, as a sub-group of New Zealander's are entrepreneurial. In the 2002 GEM NZ Report, Maori ranked 8th, in the top 12 GEM countries, three places behind New Zealand as a whole, one place before the United States and three up from Canada. However, not all Maori entrepreneurs could be termed Kaupapa Maori Entrepreneurs, for many are no doubt business people who happen to be Maori, rather than Maori expressing their commitment to their culture through entrepreneurialism.

According to Frederick & Henry (2004):

Although both Pākeha and Māori have high rates of total entrepreneurial activity, we find that Pākeha fit the ideal type, but Māori do not. Māori entrepreneurs do not stress materialism or individual accomplishment and thus stand out as deviations from the ideal type.

We find an explanation in the distinction between collective entrepreneurship and individual entrepreneurship. We believe that Pākeha entrepreneurship differs from Māori entrepreneurship along the individualism-collectivism spectrum. We conclude that there may be two types of entrepreneurship in New Zealand. There are the “rugged individualists” who pursue the Pākeha style of entrepreneurial firm. Then there are the “harmonious collectivists” who base their entrepreneurial aspirations upon the community expectations of the group.

This paper will explore some of the variables that might differentiate Kaupapa Maori entrepreneurship, by looking at three different organisations. The first is an organisation that participated in the GEM NZ research, Kiwa Films, which is owned by an individual with a vision for creating an organisation for her whanau (extended family). The second is a non-profit organisation, created by a hapu (sub-tribe) to deliver social outcomes for their community. The final organisation under study here is an iwi (large tribal) trust.

Financially successful Maori Trusts are, unfortunately, not necessarily a norm. Far too often, Maori Trusts have come to prominence because of their failures, scandals and inefficiencies. Two of the case studies (the hapu and iwi organisations) come from a wider study, conducted by the Ministry of Maori Development and compiled by the Federation of Maori Authorities. The latter, FOMA, was set up in the 1980s, as a confederation of Maori Land Trusts, to empower and support the Trustees who have responsibility for the last remaining Maori land resources. FOMA has grown to be one of the key players in Maori economic development, as well as representing the interests of hundreds of Trusts, who govern and manage millions of dollars of Maori resources.

As stated in the introduction to the 2004 Report, “The idea was to develop a report that could be used to:

1. Assist Maori in the planning, preparation and mentoring of their businesses to become successful industry leaders
2. Provide insight into governance, management and entrepreneurship and some characteristics of successful Maori organisations
3. Demystify, balance or break stereotypical assumptions held by a large proportion of New Zealand’s population on ‘what and how’ Maori are involved in business” (p.8)

The overarching recommendations derived from this and the 2003 Report focus on the need for Maori collective organisations (Trusts and non-profits organisations representing tribal communities) to develop strategic and governance plans. Underlying these recommendations is recognition that, for much of the last 164 years Maori organisations and communities have been responding and reacting to the policies and practices of the government.

Government policies have been found by successive generations of historians and academics to be paternalistic and racist (Henry, 1994; Orange, 1990; Walker, 1990; King, 2003). Thus, it is only in more recent times that Maori leaders and business people have consciously sought to develop more strategic intent, more skills, and more confidence, to ensure the success and viability of the organisations and businesses they create. These businesses are charged with delivering profits; improved services and opportunities back to their Maori communities.

Kiwa Films¹¹

Kiwa is the eponymous ancestor of Maori people, after whom we have named the Pacific Ocean (Te Moananui a Kiwa, the great ocean of Kiwa), and whom we share with other Pacific cultures. Rhonda Kite is the only Maori businesswoman to own and manage a multi-media enterprise, which incorporates Eden Terrace Post (a film audio post production studio), Kiwa Film and Television Productions. Rhonda co-produced an award-winning television drama series (Mataku, TVNZ), which weaves Maori legends into contemporary settings. She has also won awards for her television documentaries exploring contemporary Maori experience and society. Rhonda is also known in the IT sector, as the inventor of a software programme that speeds up the process of ADR (automated dialogue replacement), an intrinsic component of film production. This innovation came about because Rhonda had won a contract to reversion American cartoons into Maori language, as an entertainment and educational project. She developed the software to make her job of dubbing the programmes easier and more financially viable.

Rhonda grew up in Otago, one of the poorest suburbs in Auckland, the largest New Zealand. Rhonda is the eldest of nine children, whose Maori mother died when she was young, and her English father raised the family. She is fiercely proud of her bi-cultural origins. Rhonda left school at 15, and was pregnant at 16. She travelled extensively as a young woman, and did not start in business until she reached her 30s.

According to Rhonda, “Women tend to find their feet later in life. We take care of everyone else and then it’s our turn. I have better skills from my life experience and where I once had confidence, I now have something stronger – a high level of faith in myself. An ability to think three dimensionally is a key to successful Maori entrepreneurship. Maori women in particular are not in a position to make linear decisions. You can’t decide just on the basis of what’s good for you but have to think of your whanau and your people. With Maori, everything is wide open and anything’s a possibility. We don’t shut the door when someone says ‘no’, but are more likely to look for other ways of getting there and that’s one of the roles of an entrepreneur”.

Rhonda has been able to provide the business infrastructure to support her extended family in their goals. One sister manages the recording studio, a brother is now managing the IT firm, and another sister has set up a casting

¹¹ See GEM Bright Report, appended to this paper, and Henry, E (2002) Wai Ata Productions

agency within the film and television business. For Rhonda, her business success must be mirrored by business success for her whanau.

Ngati Hine Health Trust¹²

This Trust was set up in 1992 following the health sector reforms that encouraged Maori to deliver health services for Maori. The organisation was borne out of tribal discussions on health issues in the Ngati Hine heartland, which houses some of the most isolated and poorest Maori communities in Northland. Ngati Hine is part of the confederation of Ngapuhi tribes. The Trust originally began as a tribal initiative, but demand for their services quickly extended to the wider community. The Trust, in 2003, serviced a client base of 7,800, a significant proportion of the total local population.

Erima Henare was the Deputy-Chair of the Health trust from 1994-2001, and then became the General Manager of Hauora Whanui, the Trust company that manages health services. Erima was a former diploma and continues to be a key driver in the Trust's development. Erima is the son of the late Sir James Henare, who was the undisputed Chief of Ngati Hine until his death in 1991. According to Henry (2001) Sir James had appointed three young men to become the tribal leaders of the future, whilst they were still young men. All three, now in their late 50s, have gone on to fulfil their leadership roles in the tribe. Christine Henare, Erima's wife, is the General Manager of the Health Trust. Though she is not of this tribe, but is Maori, she has devoted her professional skills to her husband's people.

The core purpose of the Trust is the provision of holistic health services, which involves all the health, social and economic aspects that touch peoples lives in its community. The governance board comprises ten Trustees. Originally these trustees were to be appointed by Ngati Hine Marae (local community centres, the buildings represent the heart of the whanau community in traditional Maori society). However, as there were 21 Marae in Ngati Hine the Trust Board was cumbersome, though truly representative. The Trustees chose to reduce the numbers and seek people on the basis of expertise, rather than focus on community representation. According to this report, "A critical factor for Trustees is a commitment to the kaupapa and a strong sense of Ngati Hinetanga (tribal identity)" (p.54). The Trust is committed to improving Maori access to health services by making them affordable, reachable and culturally appropriate.

"In terms of impediments to the Trust, Erima notes that none of the Quality Health Standards reflect Maori models but are all uniquely Pakeha models. 'In this nascent period we are wanting to reinforce our rangatiratanga. We are trying to find ways to get government to understand the unique Maori factors in health provision'. There are relatively few people on the ground delivering health services in terms of a kaupapa Maori framework. Erima notes that there seems to be a total absence of understanding of Maori management and governance. In discussing the notion of whanaungatanga (kinship) in health service provision, Erima noted, 'some might view it as nepotism, but it

¹² See FOMA & TPKK (2003) Report, Ngati Hine Health Trust pp53-59

is not unreasonable if you can trust your whanau and they have the skills to deliver'. (p.56)

In conclusion, this quote from the report, "In terms of real success measures, Christine comments, 'When your local hospital tells you that admissions are reduced by 70%, you know you are being successful. Also, \$4.5 million goes into the community in the form of salaries and wages, which makes us the largest employer in Northland, outside of Whangarei (the major Northland city). This is a massive contribution which is not always appreciated by critics'" (p.58).

This organisation is a non-profit trust, not usually associated with entrepreneurs. However, the entrepreneurial flair of the key drivers, Erima and Christine, has been a driver in terms of the development of the trust and its growth and expansion since 1994. Thus, one could argue that these two people show a distinct inclination towards social entrepreneurship, and espouse their commitment to a Kaupapa Maori framework for the organisation, its strategic direction, governance and management. These would appear to be critical ingredients in the growth and success of the Trust.

Ngati Rarua Atiawa Iwi Trust¹³

In 1853 Ngati Rarua and Te Atiawa, two iwi living in close proximity at the top of the South Island, in an area today known as the Nelson-Marlborough Region, were subject to Crown grants. That is, their land was given to the Bishop of New Zealand, to set up a school. No school was ever erected on those lands. In 1993, a Private Members Bill was enacted, the Ngati Rarua Atiawa Iwi Trust (NRAIT) Empowering Act, which gave the Trust its legal status, and gave effect to the resolution made by the Nelson Diocesan Synod of the Anglican Church to vest the assets for the Whakarewa School Trust Board in a Charitable Trust for the descendants of the original Maori owners.

As at 2004, the Trust had 2000 registered owners, consisting of members of three hapu, two hapu from Ngati Rarua and one from Te Atiawa. The assets of the Trust are communally owned by all descendants, rather than being based on different shareholdings for each individual. The Trust manages the 1200 acre landholding, and has \$25-30 million worth of assets under its management. The Trust is involved in a range of business activities including: viticulture, horticulture and seafood.

The governing body of the Trust comprises 8 trustees, 6 from Ngati Rarua and two from Te Atiawa, who are democratically elected on a three-year rotation system. The Trust employs a general manager, and gives him direction based on their strategic plan. There are approximately 60 staff of the Trust. In 2001 the Trust was divided into two divisions. Koru Investments is the commercial division and Social Co focuses on the social and cultural functions of the Trust. According to the report, "These two divisions have separate agendas and the recommendations from each meeting go back to the whole Trust. The Board has been split in half to work on these two

¹³ See FOMA & TPK Report (2004)

aspects; although non-trustees can be invited onto the social and cultural committee” (p.29). The Trustees training needs are assessed, and each is encouraged to participate in professional development, such as the Institute of Director’s programme.

This Trust was only created in 1993, with a relatively small land holding (1200 acres). However, between 1993 and 2004, they have built their assets to more than \$25 million. In 1999, their total assets were over \$15 million. So, we can assume that sound investment decisions have been made, judicious governance and management are occurring and benefits are being returned to the members of the tribe, the owners of the Trust.

Conclusion

In conclusion, this paper has sought to present a brief history of Maori entrepreneurship and to articulate Kaupapa Maori Entrepreneurship, as a specific type of entrepreneurialism. That is, entrepreneurial flair, underpinned by a sense of commitment to Maori community, whether it be whanau, hapu or iwi.

Kaupapa Maori Entrepreneurship extends the previously stated definition, which is entrepreneurship and innovation for, with and by Maori. Kaupapa Maori Entrepreneurship can be viewed as a sub-set of social entrepreneurialism. However, I prefer to think of it as another important step in the survival and success of my people. In other words, we have been visibly and profoundly impacted by contact with Europeans. In the initial stages of that contact, we maintained mutually beneficial relationships with the outside world, and flourished. Our land, language, culture and mana remained intact. In 1840, we entered a formal relationship with the British Crown, opening our country up to a partnership with another imperial power. Unfortunately, the colonial experience has not been kind to Maori, and within 100 years of signing the Treaty of Waitangi, we were bereft of our land, language, culture and mana.

Over the last 35 years, there has been an unparalleled resurgence in Maori identity, pride and development. Maori are increasingly taking charge of our land, language, culture and mana. Entrepreneurship is one of the skill-sets that are facilitating this process. Our entrepreneurial leaders have as much to offer the political discourse as our political and activist leaders. Kaupapa Maori Entrepreneurs may have close links to their tribal leadership, through whakapapa/ genealogy, or they may be individual urban dwellers, a long way from their tribal roots. What is fascinating about the Kaupapa Maori Entrepreneur, though most may not even see themselves in those terms, is that they share a passion for making a difference for Maori people. They are creating and working in businesses, profit or non-profit, that strengthens their whanau, hapu and iwi, and creating robust and strategic organisations that can and are making a profound contribution to Maori development.

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