

Using enterprise development stories to understand and encourage Maori entrepreneurship

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SUMMARY

In 1734 Richard Cantillon introduced the term 'entrepreneur' (Cuevas, 1994) as a label for a trader who undertook risk by buying at a certain price and selling at an uncertain price. This definition has evolved in ways that often resulted in indigenous people not viewing themselves as either being entrepreneurs or having the potential to become entrepreneurs. Inspired by the stories of Maui, Keelan and Woods (2006) introduced the term Mauipreneur in order to create a culturally located model of entrepreneurship and re-affirm the existence and potential for Maori entrepreneurship. This paper uses data from a study of Maori enterprise development narratives in order to explore the relevance of this concept to the experience of contemporary Maori entrepreneurs in the tourism sector. It examines how these narratives position Maori entrepreneurs in relation to contemporary concepts of entrepreneur and Keelan and Woods' (2006) model. It aims to understanding whether either captures the sense the Maori subjects made of their enterprise development and, in so doing, it is hoped it will provide insights that can inform aspiring Maori entrepreneurs and contribute to discussions about the value of culturally differentiated models of entrepreneurship.

INTRODUCTION

The label 'entrepreneur' has attributes attached to it so those using the term can identify those who warrant the label and those who do not. According to Cuevas, (1994), the term was first used by Richard Cantillon in 1734 to signify an individual conducting commercial transactions that involved taking a risk to achieve financial gain. This European narrative of commercial activity represented the entrepreneur as an individual economic agent motivated by improving their personal economic situation. This view of entrepreneurship and the entrepreneur is challenged by Keelan and Woods' (2006) who coined the term 'Maupreneur to capture a more socially distributed and holistic concept of the entrepreneur. This alternative model is based on themes identified from the stories of Maui. These stories are *korero tawhito*; stories used to transmit to successive generations the philosophies, values, ideals, and norms of Maori society. As such, they provide outward projections of an ideal against which human performance can be measured and perfected (Walker, 1978).

This paper compares the themes contained within the enterprise development story of eight Maori tourism entrepreneurs collected as part of a PhD study into Maori and non-Maori European small to medium enterprises (SMEs) in the tourism industry with the themes contained within Keelan and Woods' (2006) Maupreneur model. The intention is to establish whether the stories of contemporary Maori, who meet the criteria of contemporary entrepreneurs, experience their enterprise development activities in ways consistent with the philosophies, ideals and or norms from the *korero tawhito* of Maui. If so, such accounts could assist in understanding Maori entrepreneurship and provide insights that will foster entrepreneurial activity among Maori.

THE POWER OF STORIES

A story or narrative is a form of communication that is based on structure rather than content (Rayfield, 1972). According to Pichert and Anderson (1976) individuals impose structure on communication through the imposing of high level schema. It is these schema that help us recognise what is a story. For Fisher (1987) stories contain symbolic actions that have sequence and meaning for those who live, create, and interpret them. A story is a recollection of an event, where the experience is sequenced, possible explanations for it outlined, and a chain of events that shape individual and social life explored (Jovchelovitch and Bauer, 2000). Stories differ from other forms of communication in that embedded in stories are accounts of an individual's life that describe events and explanations for how those events occurred. Stories and the accounts embedded in them, both, implicitly and explicitly, can operate as powerful vehicles for conveying meaning to others and ourselves.

According to Fisher (1987, p. 9), “all forms of human communication need to be seen fundamentally as stories – symbolic interpretations of aspects of the world, occurring in time and shaped by history, culture, and character.” The stories or narratives we tell about ourselves or others reflect our sense of ‘self’ and ‘other’; they are a means of ‘making sense’ of our social world, and sharing that ‘sense’ with others” (Turner, 1999, pp. 78-79). In so doing, they can communicate valuable ideas, insights, and lessons to others.

The use of stories to conveying ideas, insights and lessons to others is part of all human cultures; however the vehicle used to convey the story has varied over time and between cultures. For example, in the West morality plays re-enacting stories from the Christian Bible that were popular in the Middle Ages have been replaced by movies such as ‘The Lorax’ which contains a strong conservation message to its audience. When a scholar talks of stories or narratives we cannot assume they are referring to the same thing, however.

Korero tawhito

In Maori society those stories that contained lessons for their audience were labeled *korero tawhito*. According to Walker (1978) *korero tawhito* are outward projections of an ideal against which human performance can be measured and perfected. The stories of Maui (a Polynesian demi-god) are *korero tawhito*, reflecting the philosophies, ideals, and norms of Maori *tipuna* (ie., ancestors) towards enterprise. Reviewing the stories of Maui, Keelan and Woods (2006) recognised some behaviour that was encompassed by the Western label of ‘entrepreneur’ and also consistent with a Maori cultural view. Seeking to re-affirm the potential for Maori entrepreneurship, Keelan and Woods (2006) turned to the stories of Maui as the basis for creating a model of Maori entrepreneurship, and in so doing introduced the term Maupreneur into the literature on entrepreneurship.

Korero a nga tupuna

Korero a nga tupuna are Maori stories that are equally as powerful as *korero tawhito*. They contain accounts of Maori *tipuna* that serve as powerful reminders of how entrepreneurial Maori were in the past. For example, Firth (1973) discusses how the East Polynesian people, *tipuna* of Maori, brought *tapa* cloth with them to Aotearoa New Zealand but the climate was too cold for the mulberry-tree (*aute*) from which it was made to flourish and there were no substitute trees in their new homeland from which good bark cloth could be made. Faced with this problem they assessed the natural resources available to them and began using the fibre of the flax as a substitute from which clothing could be produced.

There is clear evidence that, in response to contact with Europeans, Maori entrepreneurs took advantage of new products and technology to enter into commercial ventures. As Wright (1967, p. 195) records, “Some tribes pooled money to create capital with which to buy mills for grinding wheat and ships for transporting

heavy cargoes.” In fact, Maori entrepreneurs were crucial to the existence and success of new European settlements in Aotearoa New Zealand. As Hargreaves comments:

“Particularly in the earlier years, large quantities of Maori grown produce played a significant part in feeding the European population of the Auckland Province, and provided an important contribution to the exports of the young settlement (1959, p.63).

In adapting their East Polynesian lifestyle to the colder climate of New Zealand and recognising the opportunities presented by European settlers, Maori demonstrated their capacity for entrepreneurship. They engaged in initiative-taking, organising and reorganising social and economic mechanisms, and accepted the possibility of risk and failure; all examples of entrepreneurial behaviour (Hisrich and Peters, 2001) as defined by the European scholars discussed in the following section.

THE EMERGING CONCEPT OF ‘THE ENTREPRENEUR’

In his *Essaisur la nature du commerce en general*, published in 1755, the French economist Richard Cantillon provided the first clear definition of an entrepreneur as a person who pays a certain price for a product to resell it at an uncertain price, thereby making decisions about obtaining and using resources while consequently assuming the risk of this decision (Cuevas, 1994).

Cantillon viewed entrepreneurs as independent actors who consciously made decisions about resource allocations and were prepared to accept financial risk. His conception views the entrepreneur as an individual who could identify consumer wants and price differentials between two or more markets. In outlining the economic function he perceived entrepreneurs fulfilled Cantillon is credited with giving the concept of entrepreneurship a central role in early economic theory (Spengler, 1960).

Quesnay; a French economist of the Physiocratic school; writing after Cantillon, generally agreed with his conceptualisation of entrepreneurs, but introduced the idea that entrepreneurs were not only risk takers and resource coordinators but also managers and innovators, stating “the entrepreneur bears uncertainty, organises and supervises production, introduces new methods and new products, and searches for new markets” (Hoselitz, 1962, p.247).

In *Reflections on the Formation and Distribution of Wealth*; published in 1766; Turgot; another French economist; differentiated between being a ‘capitalist’ and an ‘entrepreneur’ (Tuttle, 1927). Turgot conceptualised capital as purely a store of wealth and that investing in a business made a ‘capitalist’ an ‘entrepreneur’. Turgot’s entrepreneur was a capitalist who become bound like a wage-earning labourer, to a particular labour, as an individual actively engaged in making his or her business yield a profit (Turgot, 1921).

Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations* redefined entrepreneurship for the English speaking world by viewing an entrepreneur as someone who undertook the formation of an organisation for commercial purposes, providing the necessary financial capital to establish the enterprise but not expecting to contribute their labour to any significant degree; in expectation of a profit (Smith, 1776). After the publication of the *Wealth of Nations*, Adam Smith's version of the entrepreneur as a capitalist employer became traditional in England (Tuttle, 1927). Smith, like Cantillon and Turgot, viewed entrepreneurs as individuals who reacted to economic change, thereby becoming the economic agents who transformed demand into supply.

The French economist Jean Baptiste Say re-emphasised the personal capacities and activities of the entrepreneur in organising and directing their business (Tuttle, 1927). Jean Baptiste Say in his *Traité d' économie politique*, like Turgot, viewed the personal entrepreneur as the pivot of the whole system of production and distribution. Say described an entrepreneur as one who possessed certain arts and skills for creating new economic enterprises, yet was also a person who had exceptional insight into society's needs and was able to fulfill them ([1803] 2001).

In 1848, British economist John Stuart Mill elaborated on the necessity of entrepreneurship in private enterprise in his book *Principles of Political Economy*. Mill attempted to combine the views of both French and English economists regarding entrepreneurship. To Mill an entrepreneur was first a 'capitalist', advancing the expenses of production, but also a 'business owner'; embarking on business on his own account, and exposing his capital to some and in many cases a very great danger of partial or total loss (Mill, [1848] 1909). Mill like Turgot also viewed the entrepreneur as a worker in his own enterprise. After Mill's publication the term entrepreneur subsequently became common as a description of business founders.

Mill's recognition of the role of entrepreneurs in production was expanded upon by Carl Menger; an Austrian economist and the founder of the Austrian School of economic thought. In his *Principles of Economics*, first published in 1871, Menger gave entrepreneurs the central role in production; as change agents who transform resources into useful goods and services, often creating the circumstances that lead to industrial growth.

Menger viewed the entrepreneur as an individual who was quick to notice or understand changes in the world around them; a person who could then envision necessary or desirable transformations and was able to create the means to implement them (Menger, [1871] 1994). However Menger, like previous economists, continued to be concerned solely with the function of entrepreneurs within an economy rather than trying to understand 'who' entrepreneurs were. He continued to view the economic function of entrepreneurs as one of responding to supply; as opposed to creating demand; through the creation of new products.

Schumpeter, an economist and political scientist born in Moravia (today the Czech Republic) broke from this position. Instead of conceptualising entrepreneurs as individuals who merely respond to existing consumer wants through providing existing products; like Quesnay he re-introduced the idea of the entrepreneur as an innovator; introducing new products to the market place. Thus, Schumpeter viewed the role of an entrepreneur as the creation of new circumstances rather than merely being alert to new opportunities in existing circumstances (Schumpeter, [1912] 1961). Schumpeter's entrepreneur, while not an inventor; is an innovator exploiting in novel ways what has already been invented; creating new products to meet consumer wants (Schumpeter, [1912] 1961). From this perspective, entrepreneurs are destabilising agents within an economy because they change existing distribution channels and techniques of production, creating new industries and sometimes destroying existing ones. In so doing, Schumpeter felt entrepreneurial action resulted in better use of capital and knowledge by improving macroeconomic growth and increasing productivity.

Entrepreneurs according to Schumpeter were not just the 'independent' business men of Smith, Say and Mill, but all those who actually fulfil the function even if they are 'dependent' employees of a company (Schumpeter, 1950 [1942]). Unlike other economists, Schumpeter did not consider operating an established business entitled an individual to be classified as an entrepreneur. He believed to be an entrepreneur the individual had to perform the entrepreneurial function (Schumpeter, 1950 [1942]).

Leibenstein; an Ukranian-born Canadian economist; envisaged the entrepreneur as, on the one hand, performing the managerial function and, on the other hand, possessing a certain psychological capacity to stimulate (energise) entrepreneurial organisations (Cuevas, 1994). Leibenstein's labelled this capacity the 'X-efficiency factor', which encompasses an individual's managerial skills and relations with labour to explain an organisation's productivity. First advanced in 1966, his theory was fully set forth in *Beyond Economic Man* (1976) and has since been applied to business organisations.

This and more contemporary literature suggest that the concept of entrepreneurship is still evolving and remains contested although Hisrich and Peters (2001) contend that almost all of the definitions of entrepreneurship agree that it encompasses a kind of behaviour that includes initiative-taking, organising, and reorganising social and economic mechanisms, and the acceptance of risk and failure by an individual for individual gain.

Such conceptualisations of the entrepreneur are often seen as exclusive as opposed to inclusive, encouraging neither women nor indigenous people to view themselves as either entrepreneurs or having the potential to become entrepreneurs (Stevenson, 1990, Foley, 2007).

This is because such conceptualisations either implicitly or explicitly are applied to individuals who are male, of European ancestry and the creator of a large; publicly visible enterprise (e.g., Sir Richard Branson, founder of the Virgin group of companies) and do not capture collective and social approaches towards and for entrepreneurship.

Sir Richard Branson’s story is well known and provides inspiration for individuals who see in him characteristics that they share; being male, of European ancestry, and highly competitive and individualistic. As such Sir Richard Branson’s story generally does not inspire women and indigenous people who are more collaborative and collective in their world view (Stevenson, 1990, Foley, 2007).

The Mauipreneur

Keelan and Woods’ (2006) questioned the ability of contemporary characterisations of the entrepreneur to capture the enterprising behaviour of Maori so they turned to the characterisation of enterprising behaviour in the *korero tawhito* of Maui, one of Maoridom’s most enterprising *tipuna*. Their model of the ‘Mauipreneur’ presents a more socially distributed and holistic concept of the entrepreneur than has emerged from European scholarship. Their analysis of the Maui stories revealed Maui was a ‘risk taker’ who saw opportunity (was ‘perceptive’) where others accepted the status quo, a leader who took the ‘initiative’ taking action that benefited humankind, an ‘innovator’ who found new ways of solving old problems, and also a ‘resource coordinator’ (2006). The qualities of Maui are all aspects of the Western discourse on entrepreneurship and Keelan and Woods’ Māuipreneur model was arrived at by analysing different versions of fifteen Māui stories for the key concepts they contained, which they found could then be organised under four tikanga (customary) principles. These are presented in Tables One to Five below.

Table One: Tikanga (customary principles)

Tikanga (customary principles)	Explanation
Mauri	Life force or energy
Mana	Relationships determining behaviour and authority and control
Āta	Planning and Research
Arataki	Leadership

The root of tikanga is “tika” which translates as “right” (Cormack, 2000; Ryan, 2001). Practicing tikanga means behaving in the manner expected of you for any given situation (Cormack, 2000), and meeting your obligations and any conditions that a situation may impose on you (Ryan, 2001).

Table Two: *Mauri* key concepts

Key Concepts
Curiosity
Planning
Honesty
Design and design features are important.
Be aware of impact
There are consequences.
Sometimes there is failure.
Sometimes good arises out of adversity.
Give thanks.
Know the opposition.

According to Keelan and Woods (2006) entrepreneurial activity can be considered a separate life force that gains its energy from the person or people engaging in it. Pere (1982) defines mauri as the life principle of animate and inanimate things. According to Maori belief every individual has a mauri that remains throughout the existence of that individual (Pere, 1995). The idea that an enterprise has an energy or life of its own is not incompatible with western conceptualisations of enterprises being organic entities.

Table Three: *Mana* key concepts

Key Concepts
Identity
Honesty is important
Exert control over situations
Be aware of impact.
Be aware of reputation.
Appearance does matter.
Resolve differences.
You have to work to achieve.
Share.
Give thanks.
When instructing, set conditions.
Choose the right companions for the task.
Keep things simple.

“Mana in the Māui framework describes ‘relationships that determine behaviour’ and ‘authority and control’ and how these are maintained” (Keelan and Woods, 2006, p.7). Marsden (1993) defines mana as spiritual authority and power, while Barlow (1991) describes it as power, authority and prestige. Mana is intangible, a quality possessed by people, animals and objects (Pere, 1995). The importance of relationships and power structures within organisations as long been recognised in management and organisational development literature.

Table Four: Āta key concepts

Key Concepts
Observation
Practice, test equipment
Competition, know the opposition.
Caution
Planning, plan for all possibilities, have a contingency plan, preparation.
Learn, seek understanding.
Reflection
Look for examples.
Be aware of impact, there are consequences.
Be aware of reputation.
Keep things simple.

“*Āta* [our italics] focuses on people and their relationships, boundaries, safe space and corresponding behaviours” (Keelan and Woods, 2006, p.9). According to Keelan and Woods (2006), it conveys respect, reciprocity, and reflection. *Āta* also encompasses the idea of planning and management and reinforces the notion of relationships (Keelan and Woods, 2006).

Table Five: Arataki key concepts

Key Concepts
Curiosity
Take advantage of opportunities
Nurturing, Mentoring.
Observation
Identity
Planning
Seek understanding
Adopt roles
Appearance does matter
Failure may sometimes seem inevitable
Learn from failure
Resolve differences
Work to achieve
Know your limitations and when to ask for help
When instructing, set conditions.
Share
Give thanks by celebrating.
Choose companions for the task.
Keep things simple.

Arataki, according to Keelan and Woods (2006), is about exercising leadership. This dimension of their model focuses on the behaviour of Maui as a successful entrepreneur.

METHOD

Enterprise development narratives or the story of how an individual developed their enterprise were chosen as the object of study because they capture the sense the individual entrepreneur makes of his or her decision to engage in entrepreneurship and how their social reality supports that decision (Turner, 1999). For the study reported here, a narrative was defined following the approach of Mills and Pawson, (2006) as a collection of accounts arranged temporally (sequenced across time) that contain characters, resources, circumstances.

Enterprise development narratives were collected from eight Maori entrepreneurs who were identified from a list of Maori entrepreneurs provided by a Maori advisor who had worked closely with Maori entrepreneurs as part of a role created by a New Zealand government ministry to support Maori entrepreneurs. The Maori entrepreneurs on this list were contacted by telephone and invited to participate in the study. The eight who agreed were then interviewed using a semi-structured approach. The collection of the narrative began with the following initial open question from the researcher:

I'd like to invite you to tell me the story of how you started your business venture. I am interested in what you do and the reasons why you made the decisions you did. Start where ever you feel the story begins.

This approach of starting with an open conversational device has been successfully utilised by Hamilton (2006) and encourages respondents to feel at ease and respond freely.

All the narratives were collected by the same researcher to ensure a consistent approach was used. We acknowledge, however, that by seeking such narratives for research purposes means these narratives will undoubtedly have a form that is different from the form they might have taken if they were told for some other purpose (Reissner, 2005). The narratives were created in a setting chosen by and familiar to each respondent - an approach endorsed by Riessman (2008) who states a good narrative interviewer seeks to make the respondent as comfortable as possible and allows them to develop their story in their own way.

Narratives were taped and then transcribed. According to De Fina (2003) the conversion of a recorded conversation into a document is a process that is deeply interpretive; a process influenced by a researcher's theoretical perspective, methodological orientation, and substantive interest (Riessman, 2008). The transcripts produced for this study included the researcher's contribution to the respondent's story in the transcript. The decision to include the researcher's voice was made in order to allow the process of co-construction to be acknowledged; recognising that the interview was a discursive accomplishment between two active participants who jointly constructed the narrative and meaning (Mishler, 1986).

The analysis involved identifying specific accounts contained within each entrepreneur's enterprise development narrative. These were examined to tap into the entrepreneur's sense making regarding the circumstances that led them to become an

entrepreneur, who was involved in the process of developing their enterprise, and the resources utilised to support their decision to embark on entrepreneurial behaviour.

A retroductive approach was employed to identify and conceptualise themes in the subject’s start-up story or narrative. No pre-existing hypotheses or theories were tested. Instead the analysis process took a form not unlike that used by Mills and Pawson (2006) and Mills (2007) in studies of enterprise development narratives in the designer fashion sector where accounts within the narratives were coded into thematic categories. These thematic categories emerged from an iterative process whereby the analyst moved backwards and forwards between accounts and tentative categories suggested by the central themes in the accounts until a series of categories emerged that embraced all accounts. These were then organised and linked to form a conceptual framework that was compared to Keelan and Wood’s (2006) model. Thematic categories that sat outside their model were conceptualised as new learning contained within *korero o aiane* (i.e., contemporary events). The process of coding and linking categories was messy at times as accounts did not always sit easily in one category.

RESULTS

The analysis of the stories of how the eight subjects developed their enterprises - their *kiwaha o aiane* - identified ten themes. These themes and specific accounts contained within them are detailed in Table Six. For this study a theme was conceptualised as an overarching theme category derived from looking at specific explanations the respondents gave for their actions or experiences. A specific account dealt with an action or experience that could be viewed as a bounded episode, situation, state, attribute, or idea.

Table Six: Conceptual Framework identified from development stories

Explanatory Theme category	Specific accounts
Life Experience <i>Individual’s exposure to business and business people</i>	Early experience with business Contact with successful business people Worked in tourism industry Familiar with tasks enterprise required Desire for Maori entrepreneur role models
Personality traits <i>Behaviour demonstrated by an individual’s actions OR self labelled</i>	Desire control over work Goal setting Seek self-improvement Risk taker Reflective Desire new challenges Future orientated Planner Self-confidence Bi-culturalism – separate Maori and Pakeha worlds Optimism Over enthusiastic

	Resilient Strategic Creative
Opportunity <i>Environmental factors that supported the enterprises development</i>	Captive market Unsatisfied market Favourable events Luck
Cultural capital <i>Cultural knowledge that supported the development of the enterprise AND attitude to traditional cultural practices</i>	Utilise traditional knowledge Recognise support of Maori community Providing a culturally authentic product Ignoring tikanga (cultural practices)
Social capital <i>Relationships that supported the development of the enterprise</i>	Support of friends, family, partners and industry contacts
Career Dissatisfaction <i>Unhappy with current employment prior to developing the enterprise</i>	Unsatisfied with current situation
Human capital <i>Education that assisted the development of the enterprise</i>	Developed skills required for enterprise Underwent training
Enact Dream <i>Confidence to begin process of becoming an entrepreneur</i>	Leap of faith Overcome fear of failure
Financial capital <i>Financial assets that assisted development of enterprise AND desire for financial reward</i>	Equity in home Loan from friend Seek financial reward
Social conscience <i>Desire to contribute positively to Maori community</i>	Providing a needed service Supporting other artists

These ten themes do not map exactly to Keelan and Woods Māuipreneur model. Some sit outside of the model, while others overlap more than one dimension of the Māuipreneur model.

The following are sections taken from the eight Maori entrepreneur's enterprise development narratives that contain illustrative accounts related to each of the ten themes.

Table Seven: Examples of Specific Accounts Mapped to Themes

Explanatory Theme category	Specific accounts
Life Experience	<p><i>R: I don't recall at an early age wanting to be in business, but I do remember my first business transaction and that was when we were doing shows up in Rotorua back in the sixties, late sixties, early seventies. I was only about five...five or six; my dad used to operate them.</i></p> <p>This respondent discussed how he used to buy drinks and then sell them at a profit to performers. It also demonstrates the importance of recognising an opportunity and being prepared to take a risk.</p>
Personality traits	<p><i>R: I just wanted to have ago at doing my own thing.</i></p> <p>This respondent had worked for others in his field but became an entrepreneur so he could have complete control over what he produced and when he produced it. Independence and freedom were very important drivers for this entrepreneur.</p>
Opportunity	<p><i>R: We moved into these buildings seven years ago and the organisation that I worked for, within a few months of moving in they were struggling and it looked like it was going to collapse</i></p> <p>This entrepreneur put forward a proposal to take over his employers' lease and purchase their equipment which was accepted. These then formed the basis of the entrepreneur's new business.</p>
Cultural capital	<p>J: Do you run the actual, like carving space according to traditional <i>tikanga</i>?</p> <p><i>R: No</i></p> <p>J: No, okay.</p> <p><i>R: Anybody can come here.</i></p> <p>Traditionally in Maori society carving was only done by men under conditions of <i>tapu</i>. This Maori entrepreneur chose not</p>

	<p>to follow <i>tikanga</i> in running his enterprise.</p> <p>For other Maori entrepreneurs though <i>tikanga</i> was an important part of their enterprises.</p> <p><i>R: Yeah I was really confident of my appeal in Maori culture, because I was raised in it.</i></p> <p>This entrepreneur's enterprise produced a service which relied on his cultural knowledge.</p>
Social capital	<p><i>R: Yeah so...so, I've still got a good relationship with Ritchies but...and if I'm stuck at any time I can see them or..</i></p> <p>This respondent used to work for Ritchies and as a result he had contacts there whom helped support his business.</p>
Career Dissatisfaction	<p><i>R: I didn't want to go back to teaching because I think the politics were just so overwhelming for me and I didn't want to work another contract for Te Puni Kokiri or any other organisation.</i></p> <p>This respondent discussed how dissatisfaction with their career led them to becoming an entrepreneur.</p>
Human capital	<p>J: I was just wondering like maybe if there were any resources that you used to help you draw up the plan?</p> <p><i>R: I'd done in 1992 I think, 1992, I went to.. I did a small business course.</i></p> <p>This respondent reflected upon the usefulness of a course run by the Canterbury Development Corporation in preparing a business plan seeking funding from a bank.</p>
Enact Dream	<p><i>R: ...you know, taking that leap of faith and just getting into it, as opposed to p***** around with it, and half putting your heart into it but not really trusting whether it's going to work.</i></p> <p>Being prepared to actually take the first concrete step to becoming an entrepreneur is an account that was very important to this entrepreneur's story. For this entrepreneur it involved quitting his job and devoting all his time to his business.</p>
Financial capital	<p><i>R: Somebody went guarantor for me and I borrowed some money off the bank which allowed me to set up.</i></p> <p>Access to financial capital was a specific account that was present in several of the entrepreneurs' development stories.</p>

	This specific account also demonstrates the importance of social capital, in that without a guarantor the entrepreneur would not have been able to secure a loan.
Social conscience	<i>R: Half my space is devoted to a gallery for promoting and encouraging local artists</i> Encouraging and promoting local artists was an important part of this entrepreneur's enterprise.

Key: J = Researcher, R = Respondent

Table Eight: Mapping Conceptual Framework on to Māuipreneur model

Māuipreneur model	Kiwaha o aianeī
Mauri	Life Experience Opportunity
Mana	Personality Traits Cultural Capital Opportunity Social Conscience
Āta	Personality Traits Opportunity Human Capital
Arataki	Personality Traits Opportunity Social Conscience

While life experience and opportunities do not map explicitly to the Mauipreneur dimension of *mauri* (*mauri* traditionally encompasses all life experiences), it felt appropriate to map these two specific accounts to it. The *mana* dimension of the Mauipreneur model includes a person's identity (which comprises personality traits and cultural background), awareness of one's environment, and giving thanks; which mapped well to specific accounts labelled 'Personality Traits', 'Cultural Capital', 'Opportunity', and 'Social Conscience'. The *Āta* dimension refers explicitly to various personality traits, the importance of observation and learning so specific accounts related to 'Personality Traits', 'Opportunity' and "Human Capital" mapped well. The *Arataki* dimension deals with leadership and refers explicitly to various personality traits, the importance of observation and sharing. This mapped to specific accounts dealing with 'Personality Traits', 'Opportunity' and 'Social Conscience'.

The following four themes (Table Nine) were, however, not identified by Keelan and Woods' (2006) Māuipreneur model. The specific accounts that were grouped together to form these themes can therefore be considered ideas that were not contained within the stories of Maui analysed by Keelan and Woods (2006).

Table Nine: Conceptual Framework dimensions that sit outside Māuipreneur model

Kiwaha o aianeī themes not contained within the korero tawhito of Maui
Social Capital
Career Dissatisfaction
Enact Dream
Financial Capital

While the importance of relationships is acknowledged as part of the definition of the *Āta* dimension, how relationships can be utilised to achieve an individual’s goals are not part of the key concepts for this dimension. Career dissatisfaction is a contemporary issue and understandably it is not discussed in any of Maui’s stories. The desire to enact a dream contains personality traits that Maui as a demi God did not possess (i.e., lack of confidence or fear of failure). As such, the need to take a leap of faith or overcome fear of failure are not present in his stories. Also missing in Maui’s stories is the need for financial capital, which is not surprising given the stories were created by a culture that did not possess money or engage in barter prior to European contact. Instead, Maori communities utilised gifting, or *ohaoha*, to obtain access to goods and services they could not produce themselves (Pere, 1995).

RESULTS AND IMPLICATIONS

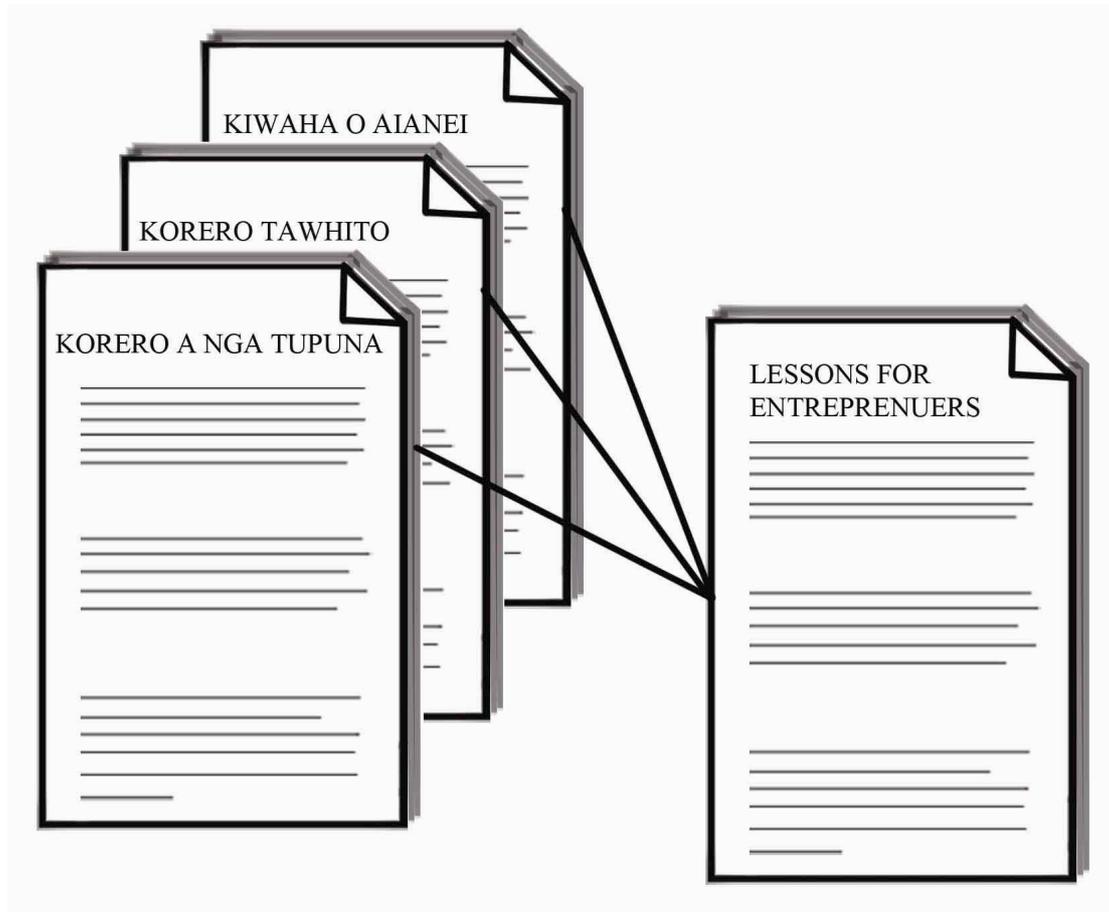
The researchers acknowledge that *korero tawhito* are a powerful vehicle for re-affirming the potential for Maori entrepreneurship; however; they contend that equally as powerful are explanations contained within *korero a nga tupuna* (historical accounts) and the stories of contemporary Maori entrepreneurs or *kiwaha o aianeī*.

Korero a nga tupuna (historical accounts) recall the entrepreneurial activities of Maori *tipuna*; reminding us how innovative and adaptable they were. These stories recall how Maori *tipuna* recognised opportunities presented by changing circumstances and reorganised their society in order to take advantage of these; accepting the risk that they might not be successful. All these behaviours classify them as entrepreneurs (Hisrich and Peters, 2001). *Kiwaha o aianeī* (contemporary events) are stories that have the potential to resonate the most strongly for Maori because they are stories that are grounded in a time that is closer to our ‘here and now’. They are stories that are still beginning created; by Maori who are facing the same challenges and opportunities as all Maori. As a consequence, these stories let us know that Maori can be and are entrepreneurs.

Stories of such people are important. They can inspire us to action, motivating us to achieve a goal and, by virtue of the way they reflect a community or population’s philosophies, ideals, and norms, they providing guidelines for acceptable behaviour. Furthermore, stories provide warnings against behaviours or actions that may bring harm so that we can allow people to learn from the mistakes of others without having to repeat them themselves. Finally, stories capture strategy so they provide a template for successful behaviours or actions. Because stories infuse our lives (Fisher, 1987) they provide an ideal data source for researchers and resource for entrepreneurs to reflect upon entrepreneurial experiences, their own and those of others. They capture

meaning in a way that other forms of data presentation cannot, providing a rich, holistic view of the issue under examination. By considering enterprise development narratives from both a mainstream and alternative perspective; drawing on the power of Maori stories (i.e., those of Maui); we have been able to create a narrative framework for considering Maori entrepreneurship, which incorporates consideration of *korero tawhito*, *korero a nga tupuna*, and *kiwaha o aiane*. This is portrayed schematically in Figure One as texts informing entrepreneurs by virtue of the lesson these stories convey.

Figure One: Narrative Conceptual Framework



CONCLUSION

Stories are powerful because they can create new options and encourage us to pursue courses of action. Individuals make choices based on the options they believe they have available to them and stories capture many of these options. Within *te ao Maori*; stories are a culturally endorsed resource that are familiar and easy for Maori to relate to, so they offer potential Maori entrepreneurs a culturally comfortable source of encouragement and inspiration.

The findings suggest that all three types of Maori narratives embraced by the framework outlined in this paper can serve as vehicles for re-affirming the potential for Maori entrepreneurship and become outward projections of an ideal against which human performance can be measured and perfected (Walker, 1978). The study thus

advances our understanding of the power of enterprise development narratives for indigenous people and provides a framework for (re-)conceptualising enterprise support and development activities. In so doing, it challenges the appropriateness of standardised enterprise development policy, suggesting instead that indigenous enterprise development needs to be seen as a meeting of contemporary and traditional practice.

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