MĀUI.

Ancestor Hero, Role Model, Entrepreneur and Model of Entrepreneurship.

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Abstract

In the context of Mātauranga Māori (Māori knowledge), is there a model to grow young Māori entrepreneurs in the Māui stories? That question is at the heart of the thesis. Fifteen Māui stories are analysed for key concepts. These are used to build upon the first part of Māui's name to create the MĀUI Model. The argument for basing the model on Māui's name is that in his name are the essential elements of Māori entrepreneurship within a Mātauranga Māori context. The word MĀ can mean to free up from tapu (a state of the profane or sacred). The word UI is the science involving asking, questioning and enquiry (Williams, 1985). Here then in a Mātauranga Māori context is the investigation, the research and development. Put together they provide some insight into the potential behaviour of the Māori entrepreneur. That however was only part of what the thesis is about. In addition it is also about testing the model.

The model was tested through a series of three wānanga attended by young Māori who were enrolled on the Lion Foundation Young Enterprise Scheme. The wānanga and observations made at them and afterwards are analysed using the model. The research methodology was one privileging Kaupapa Māori theory. The reason for such a stance was to support another argument in the thesis that whakataukī and whakatauākī (proverbs where the author is unknown and known) and traditional stories are the sites of Māori theory and models of implementation. Using a non-Māori theory to prove the point would, I argue, undermine that very assertion.

Initial outcomes of the testing of the model through the wānanga indicate that it is robust. It gave form to the wānanga programme and to the analysis of the outcomes and is currently being taught in tertiary institutions. It is a model instantly recognizable to Māori and non-Māori New Zealanders but it has potential in an international context because Māui is an ancestor hero for many Pacific nations.

Dedication

The thesis is dedicated to two entrepreneurs who touched my life in important ways and who have both left this world. One of those entrepreneurs was Māori and the other was not and one was older and the other, younger.

Jason Cassidy

and

Dr. Paratene Ngata.

Jason was about to embark on a career of research and writing with me when he died of cancer in his mid-twenties. We had great plans and were terrified of the possibilities in the way of all entrepreneurs. The dedication acknowledges the possibilities of our business relationship and friendship.

Dr. Paratene Ngata, a whānaunga (relative) of mine through my mother's whakapapa (genealogy), recently died (January 2009). Pat was always a role model for many people and especially for the whānau and those of us who went to Māngatuna School. He has left a legacy of dedication, commitment and entrepreneurship. His work in the health sector and generally in Te Aitanga a Hauiti and Ngāti Porou whānui evidenced his flair as a social entrepreneur. The small businesses he ran with his family, evidence of the business entrepreneur. He appeared as a quiet, gentle man with an infectious laugh that belied the struggle he had with violence that he overcame through intensive work over many years of his life. A struggle he freely admitted to the world and was significant at his tangi (wake) where he required all who attended to wear the white ribbon of the campaign to stop violence against women. It was that level of honesty that was most admirable about Pat.

Kia kōrua hoki, moe mai ki te moenga roa.

Acknowledgments

Table of Contents

Lists

Tables

Figures

Chapter 1

Translating the ancestor hero

In the context of Mātauranga Māori (Māori knowledge), is there a model to grow young Māori entrepreneurs in the Māui stories? That question is at the heart of the thesis. The question arose because for some time I had been thinking about a programme to grow young Māori entrepreneurs. But it was important for me that this wa done in the context of Mātauranga Māori because if such a model did exist then coming from a Mātauranga Māori perspective would lend it a distinctive identity in an academy that is crowded with models. In addition it was about demonstrating to people at large but especially to young Māori that models from their world view do add value to the world generally. There were examples of that in existence like Te Kōhanga Reo (Māori language nests for preschool children), Kura Kaupapa Māori (Māori medium primary schooling) and the modern version of the Wharewānanga (Māori tertiary institutions). There were also models like Whare Tapa Wha (Durie, 1998) and Wheke (Pere, 1991) from the field of health and Ka pu te ruha ka hao te rangatahi (Keelan in Drewery and Bird, 2003) from the field of youth development. A model that was about growing young Māori entrepreneurs derived from the Māui stories therefore would add value to the knowledge bases of Mātauranga Māori, youth development and entrepreneurship. For the purposes of this work a translation of Māori words and terms is provided when they first appear in the thesis. Thereafter readers are invited to refer to the glossary provided.

My interest was in how to harness the potential of young Māori entrepreneurs in a way that would add value to the Māori economy.   I believed that a healthy Māori economy meant a healthy New Zealand economy. The problem was how could this be done? I identified a gap in my perception of Māori economic development. The gap was the lack of knowledge and understanding among young Māori of their entrepreneurial potential. Moving along the same thought continuum, I

thought there was a need for an entrepreneurship programme for young Māori. My reasoning was because as a significant sector of the (working) Māori population, young Māori needed to be seen to be making an active contribution to the economy rather than be noted mainly for their over-representation in negative statistics. I also did not think that what existed in terms of financial literacy for young New Zealanders necessarily served the young Māori entrepreneur particularly well.

But, what would such a programme look like, what would be the cultural base of such a programme and why would the focus be on youth entrepreneurship? These were but some of the questions I had to address. Therefore this introductory chapter presents some of the background and context in which Māori youth entrepreneurship is situated. Specifically, reference is made to the context of Mātauranga Māori and how youth development and Māori economic development relate to that context. All of this is placed in the wider global situation because Māori make a contribution not only to their whānau (family group), hapū (sub-tribal group), iwi (tribal group) and community economies but also to regional, national and global economies. Māori and greater New Zealand's knowledge and understanding of the contribution Māori make at each of these economic levels are unknown, poorly understood and difficult to quantify.

The focus on youth entrepreneurship was quite simply because youth development had been where I had put my energy. In addition, it was important for young Māori to learn about the history of Māori entrepreneurship because there seemed to be a prevailing attitude among New Zealanders generally that being Māori and entrepreneurial were opposing concepts. It was also important young Māori hear the stories of the modern day Māori entrepreneurs because their stories are not widely available to young Māori. There are many of those stories. A few are well known, especially among Māori and New Zealand adults – the whānau that started Whale Watch (tourism), the Tāmaki brothers (tourism and religion), Ian Taylor (technology), Rhonda Kite (television and film production), Princess Te Puea (social services). Many more are completely unknown except either in the industry or among their whānau and local community. Hearing about them was important for young Māori because they are role models of an alternative to the world that many of them know.

I felt that entrepreneurship was important for a number of reasons. It was important because Māori have such a rich history of entrepreneurship (Petrie, 2006) that is virtually unknown amongst Māori and New Zealanders as a whole. Reports like the Global Entrepreneurship Monitor (Frederick & Chittock, 2005) and gatherings like the 2005 Hui Taumata (Summit) have recently presented evidence that Māori entrepreneurship is alive and well. But the target audience of these reports is neither Māori youth, nor the New Zealand public in general. Rather it is adults in decision-making positions and/or academia. It was important that a way is found to inform Māori youth of this rich history that is still alive and well in a way that would be meaningful for them. Important because it can add to building their levels of self-confidence in a society that often depict them as being poor achievers.

There is a pervading sense that Māori have contributed very little to the development of New Zealand as a modern global nation. One has but to listen to the talk-back radio to hear that point of view. Many young Māori (and adult Māori) find it difficult to be able to state with any authority the ways by which Māori have contributed to their country's position in a global context. It could be argued that New Zealanders in general would not be able to say what this was either. However, my concern was for young Māori to be able to state this with pride. In particular, to be able to identify the Māori entrepreneurs who have made their mark in whānau, hapu, iwi, community, national and international contexts. But even more importantly, to know the iwi of those entrepreneurs as well as the products that have made them known and to be able to celebrate their accomplishments in as many ways as is possible.

I also wanted to focus on entrepreneurship because it is about creativity, new beginnings, energy, the growth and realisation of new ideas notwithstanding the potential for failure. I felt this resonated well with Māori youth because they are often referred to metaphorically as 'ngā rēanga' or 'ngā whakatipuranga' – a reference to growing plants and new beginnings with everything associated. Such a reference has great potential and entrepreneurship suggests exactly that.

My position on the cultural context for any programme to grow young Māori is that it should be 'Māori' rather than iwi or hapū. The criticism of such a generic Māori approach is likely to be that it does not acknowledge iwi and indeed hapū

differences. My reply to such criticism is that a good programme is always amenable to adaptation to the environment in which it is being implemented. Therefore, a programme that is generically Māori can accommodate differing iwi and hapu norms. Indeed, written well, a programme for young Māori can be used in other cultural contexts. After all we take theories, models and programmes from around the world and use them for our own purposes. In doing so we may make changes and additions to them so they respond better to our cultural conditions. An example of this is how many Māori Christian services incorporate Māori cultural beliefs and practices perhaps best exemplified by the two Christian religions with sound Māori bases – Ringatu and Ratana. Māori became Māori Christians (Orbell, 1995:16) as opposed to being Christians generally. The only barrier to a generic Māori approach is our own want to privilege our own whānau, hapū and iwi or regional knowledge.

The reason for the cultural context being Māori was quite simply to celebrate all things Māori. Put into the context of the original meaning of the word 'Māori' as being normal or common, then to celebrate all things Māori is to normalise them or to make them common rather than activities done for special reasons. A celebration of Māori culture in this way tells young Māori there is a place for the culture in entrepreneurial activities whether by Māori or non-Māori. There will be those critics who will say Māori culture is for Māori only and should not be given to non-Māori. My reply to that criticism is that Māori currently enjoy the benefits of many other cultural contexts. One cultural context that immediately springs to mind is waka ama. Although Māori had waka (canoe), the waka ama (outrigger canoe) was introduced both as a vehicle and a sport in the 1980s by Matahi Whakataka-Brightwell. He brought it to New Zealand from Tahiti when he returned after living there for many years. Māori and many other New Zealanders have embraced the sport of waka ama and have become major international competitors.

In addition our ancestors were not slow in sharing as they recognised that in making the koha (gift) of their culture, they would receive the benefits of the culture of others with whom they came into contact. Thus in sharing my culture as a Ngāti Porou (name of a tribe from the East Coast of the North Island of New Zealand), a Māori and a New Zealander I am reciprocating the koha I have received from 'others'. Further to that I am ensuring that my culture is enduring in a world that gets

smaller and smaller in contact but larger and larger in terms of the knowledge generated. But where would I start?

Whenever I talked to others about what I was thinking I began by talking about the Tāwhaki, a mythical being most noted for his exploits in the skies or heavens (Orbell, 1995: 193-195) particularly his journeys to collect the three baskets of knowledge (in some iwi it is Tāne who collected the baskets of knowledge). I was thinking at the time that what I was going to do was examine Tāwhaki's ascent through the heavens from the perspective of Māori economic development. That is, each of the heavens he reached as he ascended represented a level of Māori development. However, I always ended up talking about Māui, a significant figure to Māori and other societies. One day Taina Pohatu, a colleague for whom I have a lot of respect, said to me, "Why don't you focus on Māui because you always end up talking about him". We talked further about this and in the end I followed his suggestion because as we talked it became clear that there was good reason for me to do so.

As a Ngāti Porou person, I have been raised to consider myself to be a direct descendant of Māui. The Ngāti Porou whakapapa (genealogy) available at Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Porou website (http://www.ngatiporou.com/) clearly demonstrates that heritage. In addition, the Ngāti Porou version of the Māui stories has his waka, Nukutaimemeha lying in petrified form on the top of Hikurangi, the sacred mountain of Ngāti Porou (Buck, 1950). It has lain there since he fished up Te Ika A Māui (North Island of New Zealand) – one of his deeds retold many times even today.

Most New Zealanders (Māori and non-Māori) recognise Māui because the stories about him are widely available as children's stories and told in the schools if not at home. Therefore any work based on his stories would find a positive response from a New Zealand audience.

In addition Māui is an international figure. Stories about him can be found "as far west as Yak and as far east as Mangāreva" (Taonui and Walker, 2004; Capell, 1960). He is Māui-Tikitiki-Ā-Tārangā to New Zealand Māori, Māu Tikitiki in the Solomons, Ti'iti'iātālaga in Sāmoa, Māui-kisikisi or Māui-fusi-fōnua in Tonga and Māui-ki'iki'i in Hawaii (Pōmare, 1934; Dixon, 1916). A focus on him would give any model an international foundation in application. But I needed to find out more

about this character, the being that was Māui and why he would arguably provide the best role model for young Māori entrepreneurs. Additionally, I needed to find the elements in the stories about him that would provide the model for growing young Māori entrepreneurs.

Background to Research

When I decided that I was going to investigate whether or not there was a Mātauranga Māori model to grow young Māori entrepreneurs in the Māui stories, there were several angles from which this could be viewed. These started with Mātauranga Māori and included youth development, the process of entrepreneurship, the entrepreneurs and Māori development and how the latter three related to the context of Mātauranga Māori. Each one was as valid as the next. In some way, they are all the reasons for the research being done and the MĀUI Model as the output that is the focus of this thesis.

Mataurangā Māori

Charles Royal addresses the issue of defining Mātauranga Māori in a report to the Hui Taumata (2006). It is a comprehensive discussion on Mātauranga Māori. Its significance is its historical approach to explain the here and now and to reach into the future. There are many other works that make reference to Mātauranga Māori (Durie, 2005; Harrison, 1998; Henry & Pene, 2001; Te Awekotuku, 1999 among them) but none as comprehensive as that of Royal (2006). Nor do they necessarily use the term Mātauranga Māori although on reading that is what they are referring to. Especially if one applies the principles identified by Royal (p. 17)

Mātauranga Māori is a modern term. It is used as a means by which "to advance or promote distinctive 'Māori' contributions to a range of activities and enterprises..." (Royal: 16). In the academy, as Henry and Pene state, "...Māori intellectuals have begun to question and re-evaluate the tenets of their discipline, from a distinctly Māori perspective" (2001:234). In support, Royal states:

> In using mātauranga Māori, Māori often mean to say that there is a
> distinctive way of doing certain things – and there are distinctive
> Māori outcomes of products – based on key principles of the 'Māori
> worldview' or 'Te Ao Marama worldview'. This distinctive 'way of

doing things' and these 'distinctive outcomes' arise from principles and ideas found in the traditional Te Ao Marama worldview as well as in the material culture and life experience of iwi, hapu and whānau. Such key principles and ideas culminate in a worldview that:

- Is based upon mana (authority) rather than power…
- Recognises and fosters the 'interconnectedness' of all things …
- Sees excellence or the pinnacle of human achievement as the expression of mana in the person…
- Recognises the ebb and flow of human existence…
- Understands that meaningful action takes place when groups of motivated individuals are woven together in meaningful ways (rangatiratanga) [sovereignty].
- Asserts that ultimate reality exists beyond our normal and ordinary circumstances, but is able to express itself in our normal circumstances (2001: 16-17).

Royal (p. 1) has identified that the reasons for the growth of Mātauranga Māori include:

- A general interest to bolster Māori identity in New Zealand.
- Māori entry into the knowledge economy.
- Claims to tangible resources.
- The establishment of Māori educational institutions.
- Questioning about what constitutes the creative potential and actual contribution of Māori participation or involvement in an activity or enterprise

In terms of a general interest to bolster Māori identity in New Zealand, it is probably more of an assertion. The difference between the words 'bolster' and 'assertion' is one of definitive power and level of action. Although bolster means to strengthen something or prop it up, the implication is that whatever is being propped up is weak. Whereas to assert is to state that something is true. To assert is also to insist on or to exercise rights or to reveal power, influence and prerogatives or to start to have some noticeable effect. It is therefore a more powerful word to use. However, Royal's use of bolster may be more correct if one were to see Māori identity as being in a weak position. Despite that my preference is for the more powerful word 'assert' because it implies a position of power and of noticeable change.

Māori entry into the knowledge economy can be viewed as the way by which Māori knowledge becomes a commodity in an economy that trades what it knows. That trading may not be for money as such but may also be for power or recognition because knowledge as such has always been a commodity for trade usually in the form of tangible end products. However, the knowledge economy acknowledges the place of knowledge as a tradeable commodity and thus provides the opportunity for new knowledge or knowledge from cultural frameworks other than the western to be recognised. Here then is the opportunity for Māori knowledge to take its place in the world as being a legitimate source of information for developmental purposes both nationally and internationally. There are cases of this knowledge being taken up (or as some would like to say, appropriated) internationally. In the academy, Kaupapa Māori Theory; in the arts, the use of Māori design in gaming (Sony's game 'Kring'), in the social sciences - restorative justice, in education – te kohanga reo, kura kaupapa, wharekura and whare wānanga. These are but some of the examples and each year more are added. What Mātauranga Māori does is assert the legitimacy of the original sources of that knowledge as well as its application in contemporary contexts.

Claims to tangible resources through the Waitangi Tribunal process has also resulted in the growth of Mātauranga Māori. The growth is a result of claimants asserting their legitimate right to make a claim for resources taken usually by some means of confiscation. The evidence the claimants present includes their knowledge from story, waiata (song), haka (dance), whakapapa and the prosaic Māori Land Court (MLC) minutes as to the legitimacy of their claim. In other words, they present their Mātauranga Māori in addition to that which has been recorded primarily by the MLC.

The establishment of Māori educational institutions also influenced the growth of Mātauranga Māori. As Harrison (1998:302) illustrated when talking about the establishment of Rākaumanga as a total immersion language school:

> The school program was anchored in the local community. The complementary roles of the school and community were recurrent themes in the school's strategic plan, developed in 1993. The Waikato dialect of Māori was the dialect of instruction. The curriculum incorporated history, customs, values and the natural environment of the local community. School activities were closely linked to activities of the King Movement

and to activities at local marae (building complex used for gathering purposes).

Rākaumanga took this course of action for a number of reasons and not just because the school was based in Waikato and in its community. Essentially they took this course of action because when they started out, there were no resources that they, as a total immersion in te reo Māori (Māori language) school, could use. They had to create the resources with significant help from the parents and community. In creating those resources they used the knowledge of the whānau, hapū and iwi that surrounded the school. In doing so they gave space to the Mātauranga Māori that existed but had previously been confined to the marae ātea (the sacred space of debate and dueling nowadays sited immediately in front of the wharenui or ceremonial meeting and sleeping house) and in the heads of a select few. They also took this pathway because it fitted with the philosophy they were pursuing of rooting their children and young people at the school in the cultural concepts of the whānau, hapū and iwi of the area. Thus they were giving priority to their very own local Mātauranga Māori in the curriculum.

The development of the three contemporary wharewānanga – Raukawa, Te Awanuiārangi and Aotearoa – also had an impact on the field of Mātauranga Māori. The impact was their need to provide students with material that had their origins in what Royal has termed Te Ao Mārama (World of Life and Light). The material and knowledge from Te Ao Mārama gave the Wānanga (tertiary institution) the market edge when attracting students, especially Māori students.

Questioning about what constitutes creative potential and actual contribution of Māori participation or involvement in an activity or enterprise grew as Māori began to assert their right to intellectual property and as funding was made available to 'Māori' enterprises. The need to assert the right to intellectual property arose when Māori icons appropriated by 'others' appeared on the world market e.g. Māori derived designs on characters in the Sony game 'Kring' previously mentioned. There was also the question of when is a 'Māori' company, Māori? When is something truly Māori? This was a question that Creative New Zealand addressed when it released toi iho™.

As the toi iho™ website (http://www.toiiho.com/Aboutus/tabid/249/Default.aspx) states "toi iho™ is a registered trade mark used to promote and sell authentic, quality Māori arts and crafts. toi iho™ has also been designed to authenticate exhibitions and performances of Māori arts by Māori artists." (Retrieved 6 June 2007). The toi iho™ Māori made mark has two companion marks - toi iho™ mainly Māori and toi iho™ Māori co-production. Each mark denotes a different level of Māori involvement in the product. In the words of Robert Sullivan, "…toi iho™ mark signifies an ethos of ownership, respect and active engagement with the Māori people from which the culture sprang." (2002: no page number available)

Essentially, the current evolution of Mātauranga Māori is a process by which the knowledge that exists can be returned to a "confident and active position" (Royal 2006:65). The next process in Royal's opinion is one of "moving from the acquisition of pre-existing knowledge to supplementing it by creating knowledge" (p. 59). Creating knowledge is what this thesis is about. It is building on our existing knowledge of the Māui stories and adding to that knowledge with the creation of a new model – a model for growing young Māori entrepreneurs. The process used to arrive at that point has been one of wānanga. Wānanga is the Māori equivalent of the western notion of science - to question - because it requires an engagement in enquiry. Certainly the perspective in this thesis is that Mātauranga Māori is not static but rather constantly built upon so that it is relevant for each generation. By being relevant it continues to thrive in a world that rapidly changes as time progresses. Tīpuna Māori (Māori ancestors) were quick to embrace the 'tools of the Pākeha (white New Zealanders usually of British descent)' but what they often did was translate those tools for relevancy in the Māori world. Here the focus is to present a perspective from Mātauranga Māori in such a way that everyone, Māori and non-Māori, will adopt it and use it in their work.

Mātauranga and Youth Development

Over the last twenty years or so, youth development has begun to diversify as a field of academic study. Where once people thought that youth development was confined to the human growth and behaviour of adolescents, the field has expanded to include political and economic aspects related to young people from pre-teens through to young adults. There is also the debate and discussion about the definitions of youth. It is a discussion that can consume Māori and commentators on Māori,

especially the media. All we have to do is look at the media attention on youth participation at Hui Taumata in 2005. Media (newspapers, radio and television) all reported that young people were not represented at the hui. In reality at least a third of those attending were under 30 years of age and some of that group was still at school. However, in this context – a hui Māori reported by mainstream media - the question is, whose definition dominates?

There are several definitions of youth. I am concerned here with three – the World Health Organisation (WHO) for its international context, the New Zealand government definition for its national context and a Māori one for the Mātauranga Māori context. The WHO definition is that youth are those young people between the ages of 15 – 25 years. In Aotearoa New Zealand, the Ministry of Youth Development defines young people as those between the ages of 12 – 24 years. The Ministry's definition is the one used in this thesis because it was determined by the funders of the research that informed the thesis. Before going any further however, it would be useful to have a look at some of the Māori discussion about youth.

To begin with, Māori like any other ethnic group had words to define age groups. Table 1.1 provides a list of those words specific to children and young people with definitions taken from the Williams (1985), Te Matatiki (Te Taura Whiri I te Reo Māori, 1996) and Ngata (1993) dictionaries.

Table 1.1: Māori word definitions in English and associated age grouping.

Word	Definition	Age group
Kōhungahunga	Baby	Newborn to toddler
Peepi or Pepe	Baby (Transliteration)	Newborn to toddler. A 'new' word.
Tamaiti nohinohi	Small child	Toddler.
Tamaiti	Child	Generally any child of any age. One is forever the child of their parents. More commonly used in reference to those who are newborn through to those at about 12 years.
Tamaiti tikotiko	A child unable to control the	A derogatory term used by adults to insult an adolescent or

	bowels	young adult. A way of saying 'you arrogant young so-and-so'.
Tamariki	Children	The plural of child.
Taitamariki	Young person of either sex	Teenagers
Taitamāhine	Adolescent female, daughter	Used when referring to adolescent females.
Kōhine	Adolescent female, daughter	Again used when referring to adolescent females but usually when referring to adolescent females who are closely related. Not used by all tribes.
Tama	Son	A term of affection used by parents, grandparents, aunts and uncles.
Taitama	Adolescent male	A less personal or affectionate term generally used when referring to groups of males.
Taiohinga	Youth, adolescence.	Teenagers especially those still at school.
Rangatahi	Youth. A word that has gained popularity over time.	All young people but is being redefined to mean young adults.
Rēanga	New growth	A reference to the next generation.
Whakatipuranga	The tipu is the swollen lump before the shoot appears.	'Ngā whakatipuranga' is another reference to the next generation.

Although the table shows there are various terms used for young people it is by no means complete. There are probably other terms that are hapū and iwi specific. The two words that are most used currently when referring to young people are rangatahi and taiohi(nga). Even more recently, rangatahi is being redefined for use when referring to young adults. The redefinition seems its most logical use because when Apirana Ngāta and his cohorts were using the term in the late 1800s and early 1900s, they were referring to themselves and other graduates of Te Aute College. At the time, they were in their twenties, thirties and forties, and not their teens.

All government departments and ministries in Aotearoa New Zealand have both English and Māori names. The names are provided by Te Taura Whiri i Te Reo

Māori: The Māori Language Commission as the official keeper of the Māori language.   In support of the use of the word taiohi(nga), the Māori name of the Ministry of Youth Development is Te Whakamanatū Whakahīato Taiohi. When it was the Ministry of Youth Affairs its Māori name was Te Tari Taiohi. The Ministry of Education has a youth magazine called "Taiohi". Slowly, taiohi is coming back into vogue as rangatahi moves on for use when referring to young adults. However, what are more interesting are the reactions from groups of adults when young people are given opportunities to meet or give their opinion.

Often at hui an opportunity is given for young people to meet and/or to put their point of view forward on the subject matter under discussion. Depending on the situation, some adults, usually in their late thirties and forties, will seek to be included with that group. Sometimes their request is in jest. Sometimes it is in earnest. It is this latter group who can take up much time at a hui while the issue of who is and who is not youth is discussed much to the bemusement of elders and younger people alike.

No research has been undertaken with this group about why they have a need to be included in the 'youth' group. In fact I remember being an observer of a group where the age ranged from 14 – 40 years and the older members had great difficulty being with much younger people. Ironically, they were all attending a Young Māori Leaders Conference (2004). Interestingly also, the organisers of the conference were quite clear that the conference was for rangatahi in the 25 – 35 age group.   That was because they saw this group as being the likely successors of current Māori decision-makers. They found it frustrating that every time they ran the conference (they are biennial and funded from a bequest) young Māori under 20 years attended. Obviously they were not communicating their target group to the public in general. However there is still the issue of why adult Māori in their thirties and forties want to be included in a 'youth' activity.

My own theory about this is that they fall between groupings and want to belong. Or, they are at the bottom of the pecking order in the upper aged group and want to return to being in a more powerful position. However if we were to accept the rangatahi definition as being those between the ages of 20 – 35 years, then this

might provide for the need that some have to be included. Therefore taiohi can be those aged 12 – 17 and rangatahi those aged 18 – 35.

Such a definition would require a change of the official government definition. It is however, more in line with how young people tend to define youth. It is also more in line with actual government policy. By that I mean that although government defines youth as being those aged 12 – 24 years, most 'youth' policy targets those in that age grouping who attend school. When I was on the 'experts' reference group during the process that saw the Youth Development Strategy Aotearoa (YDSA) launched, the two youth members of the group seldom included themselves in the youth category during discussions. They were at the time aged 18 and 21 years old. When asked how the YDSA would apply to them, they had great difficulty in being able to address the question. Instead, they spoke about the YDSA as applying to other young people who were of the age group normally in school.

But what does age mean in the context of youth development and what does it have to do with the thesis? The age definition is policy driven. It provides government and its agencies with a defined group for policy, programming and associated funding considerations. Quite simply, the definition determined the youth participants in the research that informs the thesis. That is, the funding source (Foundation for Research Science and Technology [FRST]) stated quite specifically the participants had to be between the ages of 12 – 24 years. A more detailed explanation of the funding will be in the Chapter Five.

In its "Youth Development Strategy Aotearoa" [YDSA] (2002:2) the Ministry of Youth Development says youth development is:

Beyond…

Focusing	…'at risk', negative labels, problems…
Blaming	…teachers, parents, TV…
Reacting	…in an ad hoc manner to youth issues…
Fixing	…single youth problems in isolation…

Towards…

Understanding	…young people as partners in their development.
Encouraging	…adults to be supportive mentors.
Planning	…being intentional, having a plan and having high goals.
Achieving	…an inclusive/economy society…where young people are innovative and energetic participants."

The YDSA approach has six principles. It:

…is shaped by the big picture.

…is about young people being connected.

…is based on a consistent strengths-based approach.

…happens through quality relationships.

…is triggered when young people fully participate.

…needs good information. (2002:15)

Since its release of the YDSA, the Ministry has published a number of resources that promote the approach espoused in the strategy. Included in that list of resources is "E Tipu E Rea" (Keelan: 2002) which I wrote with 26 young Māori.

There were and still are Māori critics of the strategy. Their criticism is that although it does have a section on the Treaty (p. 13 & p. 16) and one titled 'Key issues for specific groups of young people' (pp. 40-43.) including Māori, what there is in respect to Māori youth is inadequate. They do not specify what should be added when making the criticism. Instead they talk at length about Treaty partnerships. Unfortunately just talking about Treaty partnerships is inadequate. It needs concrete suggestions that can demonstrate how this might happen in practice. "E Tipu E Rea" is the resource in the YDSA family of resources that specifically focuses on Māori youth. It provides practical steps of activities that can be taken to realise the YDSA for Māori youth.

Another way in which to deal with the criticism is to focus on the vision, principles, goals and objectives of the YDSA. When they are discussed thoroughly,

no one says they are different for young Māori. We all agree that the vision of
Aotearoa New Zealand being "a country where young people are vibrant and
optimistic through being supported and encouraged to take up challenges" (p15) is one
we can all aspire to. Likewise, it would be very difficult for any Māori to disagree
with the Aims and Goals of YDSA (pps 25-26):

Aim 1: All young people have opportunities to establish positive
connections to their key social environments

Aim 2: Government policy and practice reflect a positive youth
development approach.

Aim 3: All young people have access to a range of youth
development opportunities.

Goal 1: Ensuring a consistent strengths-based approach.

Goal 2: Developing skilled people to work with young people.

Goal 3: Creating opportunities for young people to actively
participate and engage.

Goal 4: Building knowledge on youth development through
information and research.

Add to these the goal and objectives of "E Tipu E Rea":

Goal: Increased capacity for taiohi Māori to participate in
all aspects of Māori development.

Objective 1: Involve taiohi Māori in activities that are important
to them.

Objective 2: Integrate contemporary issues into any development
project for taiohi Māori.

Objective 3: Provide opportunities for taiohi Māori to integrate
tikangā of their ancestors into their activities.

Objective 4: Ensure the soul of taiohi Māori is nurtured in all
activities." (Keelan, 2002)

and the activities in "E Tipu E Rea" and the opportunities are endless. So how does this Aotearoa New Zealand definition of youth development stand up in the international context?

Historically youth development has its foundation in two approaches. One is a want to control the activities of young people. The other is the growth of psychological theories especially those that relate directly to young people. The first approach can be found when looking at the histories of women and children (Davis, 1999). It is probably this history that led to the research body that focused on youth subcultures. As yet the concept of the 'history of young people' has to emerge. However, there are instances throughout history where young people feature significantly. Notably in the last 500 years, the growth of urban centres, the industrial revolution, the many wars that have depended upon the availability of young men in particular. The second approach grew in the 1950s. It is perhaps best represented by Erikson's concept of personal identity that, he proposed, is developed during adolescence (Erikson, 1950; Boeree, 2006).

The want to control young people is the belief by adults that if young people are occupied, they do not have the opportunities to 'get into trouble'. Such a concept of control harks back to a middle-ages Christian notion that all children are born 'incomplete and if unbaptised, as inherently polluted' (Davis, 1999: 47). Therefore it is important to put structures around their lives in order to control their impulses and to minimise the possibility they will become 'evil'. Organised education therefore became important as one way by which morals could be taught to control 'impulses'. Young people were seldom consulted or had any input into what those controls might be. The adult need to control is still prevalent and is best illustrated by curfews that are imposed on young people in communities around the world as a means by which to control juvenile crime.

As noted by Walsh (2002) in reference to curfews on youth in Britain:

> The potential to impose blanket curfews upon our nation's youth was first provided for by sections 14 and 15 of the Crime and Disorder Act 1998 (CDA 1998) (see further Walsh, 1999). Local Child Curfew Schemes were just one amongst many measures that the Labour Government introduced with a view to furthering their principal aim in relation to youth justice: namely, the prevention of offending by children and young persons (CDA 1998 s. 37). Crime is thought to be best

prevented by 'nipping it in the bud': (p. 70)

In the United States of America, curfews were and are imposed for the same reasons. In addition it is thought that curfews provide protection for youth who may be victimised by other youth out in public (Herschel, Dean and Dumond, 2001). The same article also raised a cautionary note on curfews for their potential to reinforce stereotypical racist views of crime. However, almost without exception, studies into the use of curfews demonstrate that they are ineffective as a means of control overall (Males, 2000; Mcdowall, Loftin, Wiersma, 2000).

Theories of youth development with a psychological approach really came to the forefront during the fifties. That is not to say that early theorists of psychology did not address a stage of growth and development that was specific to young people. Rather, it is that the theories became more specific to young people in the 1950s. Over the decades different theories have been popular as social attitudes to young people change. At the moment the theoretical approach that has prominence is that of resiliency (Bogenschneider, K., 1996) and a companion approach, strengths-based. Both feature in the YDSA.

The strengths-based approach is fairly straight-forward. It is an approach that focuses on the strengths of the person (Saleeby, 1996; Maton and Hrabowski, 2004; Constantine, Benard and Diaz, 1999). When strengths are identified, a programme can be designed for a person based on those. The same principle can also be applied to whole communities or in the case of Māori, whānau, hapū and iwi. Or as Utesch says "[A] strengths based approach is characterised by its emphasis upon capacities, competencies and resources that exist within and outside of the individual, family or community." (2007: 7)

Stumpfig (2000) states that

[T]he core ideas of the strength perspective are empowerment, membership, regeneration and healing within, synergy, dialogue and collaboration". Empowerment is reference to the person discovering the power within rather than the taking of power from somewhere else or being given it. Membership is reference to the sense of belonging and the rights and responsibilities that go with it. The notion of regeneration and healing again is a process that occurs from within that is supported by the right kind of caring environment where dialogue and collaboration take place (p3).

Interestingly, in business and career planning, one approach is to encourage potential entrepreneurs to take into consideration their strengths and to play to these (Bolles, 1995, 1997) when developing their enterprise or career.

A companion theory to the strengths-based approach is resiliency theory, which recommends identifying protective factors that provide the person with the ability to cope with adversity e.g. connection with an adult for a young person (Chavkin & Gonzalez, 2000; Richardson, 2002, Greene, Galambos and Lee, 2004). That is, their connection with an adult provides the young person with the resilience to cope with adversities that may arise. The argument is that resiliency focuses, like strengths-based approach, on the positives in a young person's life. A problem for me in applying resiliency is that it is a theory that has its origins in studies of adults and young people who have triumphed over adversity. In other words it has its origins in deficit modelling.

Although both can be used in a group context, the focus of the theories is the individual rather than the group. They can both therefore remove the young Māori person from the family/whānau and depending upon how they are actioned, could do more damage than good. Used in the context of whānau, they can both contribute to ongoing sustainable whānau development. What resiliency theory has done is identify protective factors (Benard in Saleeby, 2006). These have been integrated into the YDSA and are identified as caring relationships, high expectations, opportunities for participation and contribution. A model for growing young Māori entrepreneurs will reflect these factors from a Mātauranga Māori context. So what would this mean?

From a Mātauranga Māori perspective, caring relationships include not only the parents, but the whānau in general and the community at large perhaps best represented by iwi. The relationships occur in a way that reinforces and celebrates the world-view out of which the young Māori has emerged. They do not remove the young Māori from them because this may result in other problems as noted in Leoni's work on young Māori leaving state care (2007). But perhaps it is best to describe the role and function of the whānau, hapū and iwi as being one that nurtures the mana of the young person so that the young person has choices, makes considered decisions and reciprocates in some way.

High expectations from a Mātauranga Māori context are those that again celebrate and reinforce the cultural world-view of the young Māori person. High expectations that the language is valued perhaps best demonstrated by correct pronunciation by public figures e.g. news readers. High expectations that each young person will have the same opportunities others have. It is not always easy when statistical evidence shows that Māori do not always have the same outcomes as non-Māori. Despite this, Māori youth have high expectations they will achieve and/or live a productive life (Youth Health 2000). There are also high expectations young Māori will reciprocate in some way in the future.

From a Mātauranga Māori perspective, opportunities for participation and contribution include having access to te reo, the usual practices of being Māori within whānau, hapū and iwi contexts, being close to Māori leaders who can act as role models and being part of a succession plan for decision making organizations that will include actual participation in decision making processes. But perhaps it is best to put this all within the context of a statement by Potaua Biasiny-Tule who said, "[w]hen asking aloud, where are the future opportunities for growth and maturity? Will we as rangatahi accept the right to challenge the unknown, or will we continue to assist in the deprivation of rights, resources and reality?" (Mulholland and contributors, 2006:174)

Mātauranga Māori and Māori Entrepreneurship and Entrepreneurs
The purpose here is not to discuss the different theoretical perspectives of entrepreneurship but rather to discuss Māori entrepreneurship. In addition, specific reference will be made to Māori youth entrepreneurship. Does such a concept exist and if it does, what does it look like? Māori youth entrepreneurship will be placed within the context of youth entrepreneurship globally and specifically here in Aotearoa New Zealand. In addition there is a Māori phrase that means entrepreneur – ngira tuitui (Ngata, 1993). Ngira is a borrowed word from English being a transliteration of needle. Tuitui again is a reference to sewing or to thread a string repeatedly. The sewing metaphor suggests that an entrepreneur in a Mātauranga Māori context is one who brings various things together rather like weaving to complete an activity. That is not the meaning used in the thesis. Instead the preference is for the meaning derived from Māui's name.

There are definitions of Māori entrepreneurship using western theories and models (Frederick and Henry, 2003; Zapalska, Perry and Dabb, 2002). My preference however is for Kirzner's definition of the entrepreneur being alert to opportunity and taking action to make things happen (1973) because it fits with what Māui did - he saw opportunity, took action and made a difference. It is probably useful at this point to provide a definition of business because they are not necessarily the same thing. A definition that fits with the Māui stories is that of Chesbrough and Rosenbloom (2002) when considering innovation in the mix. Their definition of business was that it connected technical potential with economic value. The story of Māui slowing the sun so humankind could have more time in which to complete tasks is an example of that concept. Particularly as he had to invent the net by which he trapped The Sun and was therefore able to convince that deity to slow his progress across the sky. The economic value of his actions for humankind was the creation of time in which to achieve tasks.

It is not my intention to continue to support and argue for western theory but to privilege Māori knowledge and theoretical concepts and models that arise out of that knowledge. One of the purposes of the thesis is to demonstrate the validity of a model to grow young Māori entrepreneurs. To use western theory to support the argument that such a theory exists in my opinion undermines Mātauranga Māori. To do so would be to say that Mātauranga Māori cannot exist without being approved by and aligned with western theory. I do not choose to do that. Instead the intention is to demonstrate the applicability of Mātauranga Māori in the context of entrepreneurship and specifically in reference to young Māori. Therefore, entrepreneurship for my purpose is defined in terms of Māui's name.

One of the meanings of the first syllable of Māui's name, Mā, is 'Freed from tapu' (the sacred, prohibited, restricted) (Williams, 1985). Other meanings relevant in the context of Māori entrepreneurship include 'For, in the sense of to be possessed by, to be acted on by' and 'By means of, in consequence of' (op cit). Māori entrepreneurship in the context of Mā-ui is therefore about the opportunity created and action taken when a restriction is removed. Even the writing of this thesis in which a definition of Māori entrepreneurship from a Māori worldview is examined is an example of that very definition. The fact the Māui stories are freely available has removed any tapu that may have been associated with them thereby creating

opportunity for the development of models using them as the source. The stories are therefore to be examined to find evidence of a potential model to then be developed, tested and reported on. The definition comes from a very Māori worldview and will be discussed again in Chapters 3 and 4. How else can Māori entrepreneurship be viewed?

Māori have a long history of entrepreneurial endeavour. The Hawaiki (ancient land of Māori origin) journeys (my term) meant that as Māori moved across Te Moananui-A-Kiwa (the Pacific Ocean) and settled each of the lands they passed by, they adapted and invented in order to set up colonies. Each colony became self-sufficient and over time, a group would move on to the next destination where the process of adaptation, invention and settling would again take place (Orbell and Moon, 1985). When the ancestors of those known now as Māori arrived in Aotearoa New Zealand several centuries ago, they found a land that enabled them to grow and develop without the need to move on so they stayed put for several centuries. During that time they adapted their knowledge to fit the environment. They also invented technology where none existed.

The next waves of settlers after those ancient Māori were Europeans from Britain. They brought with them technology that Māori readily took up and used to their advantage (Frederick, 2002; Petrie, 2006). They also brought with them social systems and governance models that although foreign were either embraced openly (Christianity) or reluctantly accepted as inevitable when they (the British) outgrew Māori in numbers (land ownership).

Māori entrepreneurship after the process of colonisation began in the 1700s was significant for the early economic development of what was to become the new nation of New Zealand. Māori collectively owned and operated many of the services and businesses that the settlers depended upon. They owned and operated mills, shipping lines that plied trade around the country, to Australia and even as far away as the West Coast of the United States. They adopted the plough to move into the production of vegetables to supply the demanding settler market. They were in these early years of interaction with the new settlers, enterprising and adaptable. However, they weren't adaptable enough and were unable to capitalise on new markets by diversifying and as a consequence lost the leading edge.

There are other reasons why they may have lost the lead. One possibility is that Māori were effectively shut out of commerce by various means. One of those means was numbers because as the new settler numbers increased through migration, they took control of productivity and markets. They did this by acquiring land often through marriage to Māori women, by instituting a parliamentary process that they used to their advantage and in some cases by forcing successful Māori entrepreneurs into the role of 'rebel'. Rua Kēnana and Te Kooti are two examples of the latter.

Both men were leaders in their iwi who owned and operated enterprises. Both men ended up being incarcerated by the law of the then new settler groups. In both instances, it appears the initial action taken against them was spurious and implemented to remove them from both organising their people and continuing in business (Binney, Chaplin & Wallace, 1979; Durie, 1996; Binney, 1995). In addition access to ready loans for growth and development was denied because Māori did not personally own any property that could be used as collateral. Commonly owned assets had not mattered when they set up enterprises earlier but it became a factor as new settler businesses grew. Communally owned Māori enterprises began to find it difficult to secure finance.

In the case of Te Kooti he took terrible revenge for being gaoled on spurious charges. In the case of Rua Kēnana and the settlement he created at Maungapōhatu, his leadership was undermined and the community never recovered from his incarceration. But both left the legacy of the Ringatū church, which is still practiced in different parts of the country.

Probably the most significant means by which the Māori edge was undermined was through the land wars. Having to defend their territory and assert their tino rangatiratanga took their attention away from productivity to meet the market demands. It also meant they invested in the wars rather than the business and as a result business suffered. After the wars, loss of land through confiscations resulted in the best arable and therefore most productive land being taken by the colonial government. That land was often then redistributed to Pākeha settlers, many of whom had been competitors.

As Māori entrepreneurial efforts were stifled because of a lack of acknowledgment of communally owned assets that then impacted on access to

finance. One result was Māori entrepreneurial efforts became focused on two areas. These were the development of land incorporations (1920s – 1940s) and of non-government organizations particularly post-World War II.

According to the Māori Land Court, "A Māori incorporation is a structure similar to a company. Its purpose is to assist and promote the use and administration of Māori freehold land on behalf of the owners. Māori incorporations are designed to manage whole blocks of land and are the most commercial of all Māori land management structures." (Department of Courts, 2001: 8). Māori land incorporations are evidence that communally owned land, correctly managed and governed are economically viable business enterprises.

The 2003 New Zealand Institute of Economic Research (NZIER) report on the Māori economy noted:

> …the striking conclusion that the Māori economy has a higher savings rate than the New Zealand economy. In fact, Māori are net lenders to the rest of New Zealand. This net lending is greater than the net fiscal inflows from the rest of the New Zealand economy. While Māori households are not generally known for their high savings rates, it appears that Māori incorporations retain a greater proportion of their earnings than general New Zealand businesses. In part, this may be explained by their reduced ability to gain access to external finance, resulting in the need to finance development from their own savings. The governance of Māori collective businesses may also play a role, by reducing the pressure on these organizations to distribute income to beneficiaries. (pp. 11-12)

In recent times the resurrection of the Ahuwhenua Trophy has given greater focus on and publicity for Māori land incorporations and Māori owned farming enterprises. The trophy was first introduced as an award in 1932 by Apirana Ngāta and Lord Bledisloe. Its purpose was to encourage Māori farmers to tap the full potential of their farms whether those were communally or individually owned farms. The award lapsed in the 1970s but was resurrected again in 2003 by Meat and Wool NZ. The focus of the award is now Māori excellence in farming and most entrants are the communally owned land incorporations. Competition is fierce as each of the finalists presents the farming business they manage. As an observer of the process through the medium of television, what has struck me most is that the owners

represented by the governance body, are able to demonstrate how a communally owned enterprise such as a land corporation can exist as a financially viable business. In each and every case, they have been able to do that by not only sound management but also by being entrepreneurial in their approach to the business of farming. They have done this in full recognition that at no time can they sell and/or offer up the land as collateral.

The other area where Māori demonstrated their entrepreneurial skills when they were unable to enter business as easily as they had in the early years of colonisation was in the service industry. They did this in a number of ways - initially through the formation of marae and Tribal/Māori committees (Walker 1990) albeit as a result of government legislation. Then there was the Māori Women's Welfare League (MWWL) and its lesser-known counterpart, the Māori Women's Health League (MWHL). In the 1960s, Māori women were very active in the Play Centre movement promoted by the MWWL. All of these were the training ground for a proliferation of Māori social services in the 1990s. The growth of the services was a result of government agencies contracting out services to non-government organizations. Māori communities and individuals believed they had the skills to deliver the services and therefore they should do so. They then set about developing the governance structures that would enable that to happen.

In contracting out the services, government agencies required the service deliverers to act and operate as a business. The services did two things – they provided a channel for Māori entrepreneurial development and a training ground for Māori entrepreneurs. No research has been done into Māori social entrepreneurship specifically. It is therefore a rich ground for new information on Māori entrepreneurial activity.

In 2005 the Global Entrepreneurship Monitor (GEM) reported that Māori are third in the world for early-stage entrepreneurial activity (Frederick & Chittock, 2005). Also surprisingly, that Māori are opportunity entrepreneurs rather than necessity entrepreneurs. I say surprisingly for two reasons. An earlier GEM report (Frederick and Henry, 2003) using data from a 2001 survey identified that Māori had a higher rate than non-Māori of necessity entrepreneurship. In addition an assumption had been that Māori became entrepreneurs because they had either been made

redundant and could not find employment so easily again, or had been long-term unemployed and decided to set up business rather than seek employment from others. Māori however, do not advance their entrepreneurial activities to individual wealth generation stages because their focus is on the collective rather than the individual (op cit).

During the 1990s up until the present, there have been a number of high profile Māori businesses and entrepreneurs. Most notably, Whale Watch (Wally Stone), Taylormade (Ian Taylor), Kiwa Productions (Rhonda Kite), Food Queens (Wendy Bennett), Tamaki Tours (Mike and Doug Tamaki) and Carich Computer Training Ltd. (Carin Taurima). There are also the businesses established by corporate bodies of iwi authorities. Those have not always been successful but each and every experience has led to Māori involved in them, learning and improving the next time around. The process of learning from mistakes and failure is one of the hallmarks of entrepreneurs. The reality is that not all entrepreneurs are successful. Many fail. But in failing, they all learn and improve on the failures the next time around and for the true entrepreneur, there is always a 'next time'.

So, where do young Māori entrepreneurs fit in all this? For the purposes of this thesis, young Māori entrepreneurs will be those between the ages of 12 – 24 years. It is not easy to find this group – no one keeps records of them. Statistics New Zealand collects data on Māori businesses but not the ages of the people in the businesses. Te Puni Kokiri (TPK) keeps data on the people who use its Business Facilitation Services but it does not require the disclosure of age. So, it is difficult to know how many young Māori between the ages of 12 and 24 are active entrepreneurs. Frederick and Henry (2003) note the average age of Māori entrepreneurs who participated in the GEM research was 41.8 years – neither taiohi nor rangatahi. The source of information I have accessed is the number of young Māori registered in the Lion Foundation Young Enterprise Scheme. However, that information is limited only to those at school and this limitation is a criticism that can be leveled at the research. Despite that, the observations as a result of the research does provide information those interested in Māori development, especially in terms of future entrepreneurial activities, may want to consider.

Mātauranga Māori and Māori Development

The focus of Māori development has shifted from an examination of the social impact of various economic policies of succeeding governments to an economic thrust that has social benefits for Māori beneficiaries. Māori made that shift as Treaty settlements were reached. Government is still to a large extent in the process of making that shift illustrated by the relatively recent 'Māori Potential Framework' of Te Puni Kokiri the Ministry of Māori Development. However, it could be said that the 1985 Hui Taumata set the scene for the shift.

The 1985 Hui Taumata followed the 1984 Labour government Economic Summit. The Māori presence at the 1984 summit was small. It was a case of what my nephews would call "Spot the Māori". The then Minister of Māori Affairs, Koro Wetere with the support of Māori leaders successfully lobbied the government for a Māori economic summit. The result was the very first Hui Taumata.

The objectives of the 1985 Hui Taumata were:

"(a)   To reach an understanding of the nature and extent of the economic problems facing New Zealand as they affect Māori people.

(b)   To examine the strengths and weaknesses of the Māori people in the current position.

(c)   To discuss policies for Māori equality in the economic and social life of New Zealand.

(d)   To obtain commitment to advancing Māori interests."
(Durie, 1998:7)

Participants came from a wide range of interests and backgrounds. However they were selected by government and this left the Hui open to criticism of cronyism. Despite that, there are those who believe that selection was far more democratic than selection for the following Hui Taumata in 2005. It is probably because organizations were able to nominate their representative.

Young Māori were represented at the hui by Hekia Parata who as one of the selected speakers presented her perspective of Māori youth in the context of Māori

development at that time. She was one of the very few under 30 year olds at that Hui Taumata.

The weekend before the Hui Taumata, a rangatahi hui was held at Kōkiri Marae, Seaview. It was paid for by the then Department of Māori Affairs and I organised it. The hui was an attempt to provide an opportunity for young Māori to have their say. I have no recollection of the numbers who attended but suffice to say that the wharenui at Kōkiri Marae in Seaview was full to capacity. Hēkia attended the hui and the young people who were there first challenged her, heard her response and then gave her their endorsement even if she had made it clear that what she had to say was her opinion and in no way reflected a representative viewpoint. That did not stop some attending the Seaview hui from demonstrating outside parliament where the 1984 Hui Taumata was held. However, others took up the invitation to sit in the gallery when she presented.

Mason Durie notes, by the end of the Hui, a Decade of Māori Development had been agreed upon with six themes. Those themes were the Treaty of Waitangi, tino rangātiratangā, iwi development, economic self-reliance, social equity and cultural advancement (1998:8).

Participants left the Hui with high expectations and the will to set about making the changes they thought were necessary if Māori were to become more self-sufficient and less dependent on the state. One development was the growth of iwi authorities and certainly that was something in which I played a significant part for Ngāti Porou as the first employee in the role of Executive Secretary of Te Rūnangā o Ngāti Porou. Here was one of the ways that Māori demonstrated their entrepreneurial capability. The proliferation of iwi authorities were also contributing factors in the growth of Māori social service providers some of which were and are business units of iwi authorities. Another outcome of the 1984 Hui Taumata was Mana Enterprise.

Mana Enterprise was a fund from government through the then Department of Māori Affairs that provided small loans to Māori setting up businesses. Iwi and urban Māori Authorities, the Māori Women's Welfare League and the Rātana church were contracted by the Department to administer and manage the fund at the local level. The entrepreneurs who took advantage of this new lending source went through steep learning curves as they learnt the fundamentals of setting up and managing

businesses. Waikato University through Robert Mahuta's leadership recognised the need Māori had for training in this area and set up a short business course for Māori. Initially the courses were held at the university campus in Hamilton. Later some were taken out to marae with the first one of these being held at Hinemaurea Marae, Wharekahika in October of 1987. What transpired out of Mana Enterprise was the growth of Māori owned businesses that were not solely focused on primary industry. Instead Māori bought dairies, jewellery shops and explored business in other sectors.

There was much criticism of Mana Enterprise particularly of what was perceived as the high failure rate of the businesses funded. The reality was that the failure rate of all new business at that time was high – 80% were expected to fail within 3 years of establishment whether Māori or non-Māori. So Māori business failure was no different to that of non-Māori. But what was more important was that Māori had been reintroduced to private enterprise and have continued to grow and develop in the sector.

The vision of the 2005 Hui Taumata was:

Kia whakamaha ake ngā huarahi Māori ki te Ao Umanga kia hua ai, kia tupu ai, kia toa ai tatou katoa te ao Māori.

To expand Māori economic pathways: Creating, growing and succeeding in our future together - ka hua, ka tupu, ka toa!

(Source: Retrieved 19 March 2007 from www.huitaumata.Māori.nz/2005/index.html)

The process by which attendees were selected this time around was different from the 1984 Hui Taumata. Instead of a government department selecting those whom they thought would best represent the views of Māori, the organising group invited Māori to apply for one of the 500 seats at the conference. Probably the opportunity for individuals to apply and thereby attend was one of the reasons for the criticism that Hui Taumata 2005 was not representative of Māori.

The conference was also 'streamed' live so people not at the conference in person could watch conference proceedings online. Given that the nature of

conferences is one of 'talking heads' with few opportunities for attendees to engage in discussions on particular topics, 'streaming' offered the opportunity for greater numbers than 500 to be part of the Hui Taumata.

Attendance was also open to non–Māori but in very limited numbers and for specific purposes e.g. as guest presenters. The consensus was that "[P]articipants at the Hui called for Māori to set the agenda for Māori economic development, and acknowledged economic success as a portal through which our people and our culture will flourish as partners in New Zealand's future" (op cit). The Hui Taumata Task Force has continued after the actual hui with a focus on funding projects that would realise a Māori economic agenda. In reality, it is not a task force or a Hui Taumata that will make such an agenda happen. Rather the Task Force and the Hui provide Māori with the opportunity to discuss what that agenda might look like. Then it is up to the various communities, partnerships and whānau, hapū and iwi groups to make it happen.

A NZIER report on Māori economic development set out to "consider the state of the Māori economy today, to identify the key factors that are driving it, and to highlight the main opportunities for improving its performance" (2002:1). The report notes that Māori are highly integrated into the New Zealand economy (also see Biasiny-Tule in Mulholland, 2006) and both the Māori and New Zealand economies into the economies of other countries. However, it goes on to say that these should not be seen as hindrances but rather "a rich vein for analysis and for policy development" (p. 2). The definition of the Māori economy used in the report

> …includes all those businesses and transactions where 'Māoriness' matters. It includes the activities based on collectively-owned Māori assets, the businesses of the self-employed who identify as Māori, commercial transactions involving Māori culture, services oriented to specific Māori needs, as well as the housing owned by Māori. (op cit.)

The report was careful to point out that the Māori economy could not be seen as separate from the social and cultural aspects of Māori development. It stated that

> Any useful concept of Māori development must have regard to Māori collective aspirations, including key Māori concepts such as whānaungatanga (kinship), kotahitanga (unity), kaitiakitanga (guardianship) and mana whenua (ownership and control of land (op cit.)

The perspective that culture is important in the process of economic development is not at odds with international perspectives (Cuesta, 2004). Indeed there is some acceptance that culture is important in development if somewhat muted. The acceptance of culture as important in development therefore provides the opportunity for knowledge, products and services that arise out of Māori culture to be accepted as valid in the development process not only of Māori but also of Aotearoa New Zealand and the world at large. The big issue however for Māori though is who controls the intellectual property, particularly of the knowledge and symbols that can very easily be taken and used by 'others'.

NZIER analysed the Māori economy in the same way that they would analyse any economy. They asked the question 'what can and should be done to accelerate its economic development compared to its past performance?' (p. 35). The focus therefore was forward looking. However in saying that they noted in the report that development is not just about economic growth. They did not attempt to provide a definition of development but rather they identified factors that support economic development that are generally agreed upon internationally and focused on what they termed 'four top-level building blocks of economic performance – aspirations, opportunities, factors of influence and strategy and action'.

NZIER is correct in saying that there are those who see economic development as not being complementary to social, cultural and ecological development. Instead the dissidents believe that these three aspects of human existence are sacrificed in the trade-offs for economic growth.

In the world of indigenous people, (economic) development is often viewed as a 'dirty' word. It is a word of oppression and loss rather than of growth. There are many examples throughout history where indigenous economies, societies and cultures have been decimated in the name of development. In fact oppression and loss are still occurring in many parts of the world. Most poignantly in the Pacific is the anticipated loss of country for the people of Kiribati as a result global warming. In the Americas, there is the loss of land for agribusiness and therefore the economy of indigenous people of the Amazon as another example.

The problem with rejecting the notion of development however is that indigenous people are yet to identify and state their own concept of this process of

growth. Rather than reject the notion of development, it would be more useful to own the process than to wage what seems to be ineffective resistance. It is the owning of the process that ensures control. In terms of development, indigenous people largely sit on the fringes where they have little input to the process and receive fewer benefits by comparison with their non-indigenous compatriots. In development theory this is what is termed dependency. Indigenous people remain on the periphery of development as recipients rather than full participants of the strategic planning and implementation. Can this be said to be the case for Māori?

In the early decades of contact with the new settler groups from Europe, Māori had definite control over all areas of development in the country. Having ownership albeit collectively, ensured that Māori were the significant players in the early processes of modernisation. However, sales of land plus confiscations throughout the 1800s saw Māori participation being diluted so much so that they became significant recipients of welfare payments in the 1980s rather than the drivers of their own destinies. After the 1985 Hui Taumata where a commitment was made, by those who attended, to a decade of Māori development Māori began to take more control over what that might look like.

Taking control has not been and is not easy. Rather it is vigilantly observed under a microscope not only by successive governments but also by the public at large. In addition, Māori development especially where it intersects with the public interest is regularly subjected to much criticism by Māori and non-Māori alike. On the odd occasion it is celebrated by everyone. A good example of that was the 2006 Māori Television coverage of Anzac Day. For the first time a wide range of New Zealanders got to appreciate what a television channel ostensibly for one sector of the population had to offer the country as a whole. Here then was a tangible example of how Māori development does benefit all New Zealanders.

It is possible given Māori development, especially in the public sector, is so fraught with hurdles of many heights, that there is an increase in the numbers of Māori entrepreneurs who are setting up business in the private sector. There is no evidence to suggest this is correct. Here then is another area for future research. It is also possible that Māori entrepreneurs who choose to use their talents in the public sector do so because it is a way by which to demonstrate 'service to the people'.

Again there is no evidence to support this statement and again here is an area for future research. However, it is also possible that Māori entrepreneurs in the private sector see that here they can also demonstrate service by creating employment and by donating back to their community in some way. Giving back to the community certainly was a factor in the methodology to test the MĀUI model that is central to the thesis.

In relation to Mātauranga Māori what does this mean? Two things – Mātauranga Māori has been one of the drivers of the last twenty years of Māori economic development and will be for the next twenty; new products, services and development processes have evolved as a result of the expression of Mātauranga Māori. The growth of Te Kohanga Reo and other educational institutions is an example of both these two points. Likewise the development of theories like Kaupapa Māori, models like Tapa Wha (four elements), the provision of iwi social services and health services. Mātauranga Māori has been both a reason for Māori development and a result of it.

Outline of Thesis

The thesis is the telling of the story of the MĀUI model coming to life. What the model looks like diagrammatically and descriptively, how it was tested, whether it works, what it all means and the 'so what' rule. In other words, whether or not all of it means anything outside of my own belief that it is 'pretty powerful stuff'. In putting this together I am of course rather 'one-eyed' but I am also aware of potential criticism and those are referred to when appropriate. The criticism where raised has been and will be addressed. However everything cannot be addressed and therefore the thesis is confined specifically to storytelling dimensions. That is, to the Māui stories, the key concepts in each story, the MĀUI model and its key elements, the testing of the model and the findings of that process and the implications for agencies whether government or non-government.

This Chapter (One) has introduced the thesis. It has set the scene and provided the background and reasoning for the study. It has introduced the questions and themes that will guide the content in other chapters. It is a 'taster' of what is to follow in the rest of the work.

Chapter Two presents a discussion of theory that had relevance to the thesis. Four theories are referred to in the chapter. In addition there is a discussion of my journey to the position I have taken. That journey clearly demonstrates in my mind that I have not 'accidently' happened upon the notion that there is a model to grow young Māori entrepreneurs in the Māui stories. Instead I have moved rather elegantly toward it by my previous work in analysing the whakataūakī 'E tipu e rea' (Grow oh tender youth) and 'Ka pū te ruha..' (The old net is cast aside…).

Chapter Three is an analysis of fifteen Māui stories. The methodology of how that is done is presented in the chapter. In short, various versions of the stories were read to see how widely they varied and to get a good understanding of the content of each one. As each story was read the key concepts were identified. They are presented in the order in which they appear in the story and not in order of importance. The chapter also has the justification for using traditional stories. That is, the reasoning behind the argument that they are sites of traditional knowledge, Māori theory and related practice.

Chapter Four takes the key concepts and organises them into the MĀUI model. The model is explained diagrammatically and descriptively. The key elements of the model are presented with explanations as to why each is important and how they relate to one another.

Chapter Five presents the methodology for the testing of the model. Specifically through the wānanga process where the various elements used are described then followed by findings as to their effectiveness.

Chapters Six and Seven present the discussion on the findings. That is what if anything was learned? Is the model effective? Does it mean anything? Could the same outcomes be achieved without the model? The chapter will also contain evidence of the MĀUI Model being taught in at least one university in Aotearoa New Zealand and articles that have been written about it.

Conclusion

Finally, the thesis is a story. The storytelling is used because stories were a major source in the research. They were an inspiration much in the same way that two whakataūaki, 'E tipu e rea' and 'Ka pū te ruha' referred to in greater detail in the

next chapter, were significant markers in the development of my thinking. The thesis is also the telling of my journey of learning about a whole variety of things. Perhaps the two most important ones for me were first what I learned about Māui and the lessons contained in the stories about him. Second, my own entrepreneurial bent. I like and enjoy the thrust and parry of starting something up. Third I learnt a lot about research especially about the processes. Some of those lessons were hard, especially where the community were involved. There were times when my ego took a bashing. But the learning that took place at the wānanga where the MĀUI model was tested far outstripped all the negatives. I knew I was on the right track at the first wānanga. I just had to weigh up all the evidence both good and bad and learn from it. Some of that is recorded here, some of it is not because it has been published and reported on elsewhere and does not fit with the theme of the thesis that there is a model to grow young Māori entrepreneurs in the Māui stories.

CHAPTER 2

A DISCUSSION OF THEORY

Researcher or Trickster?

Barbara Dray (2003)

Researcher
A person skilled in the use of questioning
Observing
Analyzing
To create a story, unspoken.

Searching for answers
Empowering the people
Giving voice…
Reporting the reality

Trickster
A person skilled in the use of tricks
And illusion
To create a false reality, trick.

Creating and destroying myth
Transforming reality
Hero Saviour…
Telling the truth?

Dray's poem making a comparison between the researcher and the trickster made me think about my role as a researcher. In this instance when investigating whether from a Mātauranga Māori perspective there was a model to grow young Māori entrepreneurs in the Māui stories. Was I a trickster? Was I skilled in the use of questioning, observing and analysing? Or was I more skilled in the use of tricks and illusion to create a false reality? Was I reporting reality or telling the truth? There are those who would argue that the researcher is in reality the trickster and indigenous experiences of research have been thus reported (Smith, 1999). However, I would

argue that the researcher does a bit of both. That is the researcher both reports a reality and tells a truth using the information available and collected. In the course of developing the thesis however, that argument was not the most important when it came to the theory that informed the methodology I used.

A real issue for me when it came to considering the methodology was the theoretical perspective. When I decided to undertake doctoral studies, I was clear that I was going to use Kaupapa Māori theory. When I began the research project that informed the thesis, colleagues spoke about how I was using grounded theory and action research. I was also intrigued with hermeneutics. The exercise then was to look at each one then to decide which best facilitated the development of my work.

Hermeneutics seemed to suit because it carries the name of another trickster, Hermes. It also seemed to suit because it is about translating or explaining. As Gadamer says

> Hermeneutics' is a term that covers many different levels of reflection, as is frequently the case with Greek words that have become part of the terminology in our scholarly disciplines. Hermeneutics refers, first of all, to a practice, an art, that requires a special skill. This points to a further Greek word, namely *technē*. Hermeneutics is the practical art, that is, a *technē*, involved in such things as preaching, interpreting other languages, explaining and explicating texts, and, as the basis of all of these, the art of understanding, an art particularly required any time the meaning of something is not clear and unambiguous. (2006:29)

Gadamer also goes on to make reference to Hermes. Specifically that Hermes was the messenger of the Gods and that as the messenger he repeated the words of the Gods to humans. However Gadamer notes that often "the business of the hermēneús [interpreter] was more precisely that of translating something foreign or unintelligible into the language everybody speaks and understands" (op cit.). Part of the thesis is explaining a set of stories and translating them within a particular context for application in a contemporary world. In this case fifteen Māui stories. In the contemporary context, the Māui stories are not necessarily foreign or unintelligible. However they have been relegated to either the world of children only or as embellishments during whaikōrero (formal speech). For the purposes of the thesis they have been translated or interpreted to ascertain whether or not they contain a model to grow young Māori entrepreneurs.

Grounded theory also seemed to inform the thesis – at least that is what 'others' told me. Grounded theory was developed by Glaser and Strauss (1967) when they undertook research on and about dying patients. There are four stages in grounded theory. Stage 1 is that of coding when the anchors that allow the key points of the data to be gathered are identified. Stage 2 is the collecting of codes of similar content allowing data to be grouped. Stage 3 is the creation of broad groups of similar concepts that are used to generate a theory. Stage 4 is a collection of explanations that explain the subject of the research.

When I started out I didn't identify anchors to allow key points of data to be collected. However I did identify key concepts when reading the various versions of the different Māui stories. These did allow me to group observations made about the stories. From this I developed categories to generate a model. So yes, what I was doing fitted grounded theory. Then there was action research.

Action research is the integration of theory and practice where reflection on what has taken place influences the next steps to be taken. In this context both researchers and participants work together during the research activities. However, that was not what happened in the analysis of the Māui stories. That activity was my work. Participants gave feedback on activities that occurred during the research that informs this thesis but not for every action that took place. Critics of action research point to the lack of measures of achievement as being evidence of a weak methodology. Others argue that action research is a good counterpoint to positivist sciences allowing groups and organisations to better problem solve (Susman and Evered, 1978). Again there are those who argue that participatory action research should lead to social action and knowledge generation (Greenwood, Whyte and Harkavy, 1993). Although there are some aspects of the research that informed the thesis that leant towards action research, it was not a theoretical perspective that drove what took place.

Finally there was Kaupapa Māori theory – the theory some argue is not a theory but a perspective loaded with privilege that benefits the educated middle-class Māori (Rata, 2004). Kaupapa Māori theory had its origins in education-focused research (Nepe, 1991; Smith G. H., 1987, 1997; Smith L. T., 1997). It

is still used primarily in education but is also being applied in other fields especially in the social sciences e.g. social work (Pohatu, 2004). The theory seeks to privilege tikanga (true and correct procedures developed over time) and Mātauranga Māori in a world that previously only privileged western theory and knowledge. Specifically when introduced, in relation to research methodologies. However, Nepe for example would argue that for Kaupapa Māori theory to be truly effective its language of transmission is te reo Māori (1991). Nevertheless, English has been the primary language of transmission to date.

Kaupapa Māori as a concept is relatively modern. That is, kaupapa that has its origins in a Māori world view has always existed. Likewise, Māori theorised about many concepts best illustrated by whakataukī, whakatauākī and the stories relegated to the status of myths and legends. Taki stated that "[K]aupapa Māori theorising is not a new phenomenon" (1996). What is new is that it is identified as such. In a truly Māori world, all kaupapa is Māori and does not have to be identified as such. Rather it is identified in terms of the content or context e.g. tikanga or tangi (wake) or mātauranga (knowledge) or te mahi kai (food production). However, in stepping outside of the Māori world-view it becomes necessary to identify kaupapa as being Māori as opposed to say perhaps French or English or American or in our own context in Aotearoa New Zealand, Pākeha.

Kaupapa Māori assumes that Māori culture and language are valid and legitimate ways of communicating and being; it has a focus on the survival of both; it recognises that the struggle for autonomy is important for the survival of Māori culture (Smith, L. T., 1997). It also states that the researcher's practice sits in a Māori world view. That it is about culturally safe research practices that celebrate tikanga Māori. Irwin talks about the "urgent need to be engaged in a process which was 'culturally safe', where Māori institutions, principles and practices were highly valued and followed" (1994, p. 27). All of these ideas fit with what I wanted to do – proceed in a culturally safe manner; create learning environments for everyone; celebrate tikanga and mātauranga Māori. There was no argument against the case for Kaupapa Māori and that did not require justification but here I am justifying it for the academy! The problem however is that in the generic world of science there are those who argue

that Kaupapa Māori theory has yet to demonstrate measurables. That is despite the work of a number of researchers using Kaupapa Māori theory. An example is Te Kotahitanga, a research programme commissioned by the Ministry of Education under Te Tere Auraki the Professional Development Strategy and developed by the Māori Education Research Institute, School of Education, University of Waikato, and Poutama Pounamu Research and Development Centre.

Te Kotahitanga is an initiative developed to improve teaching strategies and the effectiveness of teachers to increase the engagement and academic achievement of Māori students within mainstream secondary schools. Various papers have been written throughout the research process in which scientific data collected using Kaupapa Māori methodologies have been presented. Surely that is evidence that implementation of the theory can be measured? What else is required to prove it is as scientific or on a par with any western theory argued and debated over time? It has been around for nigh on 20 years now but until there is recognition of those research activities using Kaupapa Māori theory its very existence will always have detractors among the purists. And it will continue to be criticised by those who seek to privilege western theory.

Research Problems and Hypothesis

The hypothesis was that in a Mātauranga Māori context the Māui stories hold the blueprint for growing young Māori entrepreneurs. The problem was how to find that blueprint, organise it into a model that was easy to follow and implement and then test its robustness. In addition there were associated problems. One of them was the negative perception of Māui as a role model. Another was entrepreneurship being associated with capitalism and individualism and therefore 'un-Māori'. Then there was the focus on youth rather than the whānau. But I get ahead of myself. There was quite a long journey in arriving at the hypothesis.

My previous work had been about arguing that whakataukī/whakatauākī (proverbs) were sites of Māori theory. Specifically I had completed analyses of the whakatauāki "E tipu e rea" (2001) and "Ka pu te ruha, ka hao te rangātahi" (2003). I had argued that "E tipu e rea", written by Apirana Ngata to Rangi Barcham (nee Bennett) at a hui (gathering) at Uepōhatu in Ruatoria in 1947 when she was seven years old (information given personally to me by Rangi Barcham when I met her in

2001) contained all the elements for Māori youth development. I also argued that "Ka pū te ruha ka hao te rangātahi", also credited to Apirana Ngata, contained the blueprint for youth development in the context of human growth. It is useful therefore to spend some time elaborating on both to provide evidence of my journey in creating space for Māori knowledge.

E Tipu E Rea

The whakatauāki " E tipu e rea" reads in full:

E tipu e rea mō ngā rā ō tou ao
Kō tō ringā ki ngā rākau ō te Pākeha hei ara mō tō Tīnana
Kō tō ngākau ki ngā taonga ā ō tīpuna Māori, Hei tikitiki mō tō māhuna
Kō tō wairua ki tō atua, nānā nei ngā mea katoa.

When translated it reads with my interpretations of the line in brackets:

Grow up oh tender youth in your own time
(Time and place)
Your hands to the tools of the Pākeha for your material well-being
(Resources)
Your heart to the customs of your ancestors to wear as a plume upon
your head
(Cultural integrity)
Your soul to your god, the maker of all things.
(Spiritual integrity).
Source: Brougham, Reed, Kāretu ed'n, 1974

Each line was analysed to arrive at the model of time and place, resourcing, cultural integrity and spiritual integrity.

By 'time and place' I argued Ngata had meant the time and place of the young person or young people who are the focus of any programme or activity. I argued that what was important was that in the designing of programmes for young people, their needs and wants were placed at the centre of the planning and designing. I further argued this could only be done with integrity if they were fully involved in the planning. In the context of participation, the argument sat along various scales depending on the different models of participation used.

In his work "Children's Participation: The Theory And Practice Of Involving Young Citizens In Community Development And Environmental Care" for UNICEF

in 1997 Roger Hart addressed the issue of youth and adults working together. A tool that he proposed in that book was based on the metaphor of the ladder. It is also based on an earlier piece of work by Sherry Arnstein (1969, 1971), about levels of community participation.

Hart's "Ladder of Participation" suggests there are eight rungs or levels of participation. They are presented in the following table with Arnstein's 'rungs' alongside for comparison.

Table 2.1: Hart and Arnstein's Ladders of Participation.

Hart's Ladder	Arnstein's Ladder
8) Young people-initiated, shared decisions with adults	Citizen Control
7) Young people-initiated and directed	Delegated Power
6) Adult-initiated, shared decisions with young people	Partnership that enables negotiation and engāgement in trade-offs
5) Consulted and informed	Placation
4) Assigned but informed	Consultation
3) Tokenism	Informing
2) Decoration	Therapy
1) Manipulation	Manipulation

Both works are criticised for different reasons. Hart's because he places adults in a shared decision-making position with young people at the top of the ladder. Arnstein's because she allows people (citizens) to have control. Hart's critics are those who assert that real youth participation is youth initiated and directed which currently sits on the 7th rung rather than the top. Arnstein's critics are usually authorities who perceive that citizen control does not acknowledge their (the authorities') own governance roles. However, the real value of the two ladders is that they allow us to examine how participation occurs and where we sit on that ladder. For the 'time and place' concept in 'E Tipu E Rea' to work, youth participation must occur. In the context of Hart's ladder, that is probably going to occur at the levels of rungs 6, 7 and 8. In the case of the 'E Tipu E Rea: A Framework for Taiohi Māori

Development" (2002), used and promoted by the Ministry of Youth Development, youth participation in its design occurred at Level 6.

Resources in 'E tipu e rea' refer specifically to non-Māori resources. Although when he wrote the whakatauākī he was referring specifically to Pākeha, Ngata was encouraging young Māori to take advantage of all resources available to advance in the world. Certainly taking advantage of resources available is what an entrepreneur must do to make a dream or an idea work – seek out the resources from whatever source.

The cultural integrity that Ngata referred to was specifically Māori. It was to exhort the young Māori to actively participate in the culture in a positive way. The metaphor he used was the tikitiki (topknot). In tikangā terms the head is the most sacred part of the body. When Māori first decreed that the head was the most sacred part of the body it was because they knew it was where knowledge was stored. It was also the place where food was accepted to nourish the body, breath was inhaled to assist in maintaining the body, the hearing and listening happened through the ears and thinking and learning happened. They had no scientific evidence as we now know it but they knew from observation that the head was essential in the thinking, doing and being process. So in using the tikitiki as the metaphor, Ngata was saying that it was important for young people and especially young Māori to learn, know and understand their culture in an intimate way. He was also saying that they should be seen to be practising their culture much in the same way as the wearing of a topknot is tangible. It can be seen and is a physical manifestation of adornment. Notably, Māui's name made reference to the tikitiki albeit that of his mother. Its inclusion in his name identified him as the child of Tāranga his mother therefore the tikitiki can be seen as an identifier.

The final element of 'E tipu e rea' is spiritual integrity. Ngata was a practising Christian so when he wrote the whakatauākī he was thinking of that religious system. However, this element can be seen to embrace all religions because of the way it is written. The phrase "Tō wairua ki tō Atua, nana nei ngā mea katoa" just mentions God and does not refer to a specific God. Here then is further evidence that the whakatauākī is all embracing.

'E Tipu E Rea' (2002) was written for the Ministry of Youth Development. It was written because when the consultation was being done for the National Youth Suicide Strategy in the late nineties, Māori youth had said that a big issue for them was being excluded from whānau, hapū and iwi decision-making. The Ministry invited different people to submit proposals on writing a programme to involve young Māori in decision-making. My proposal was to involve 30 young Māori through three different community-based Māori organizations in coming up with such a programme. Their ideas and input would be sought by way of three wānanga. Each wānanga would target different age groups but would follow exactly the same programme and use the same instrument in identifying the programme.

The community based organizations included Ngāti Awa Social Services, Te Runangā o Ngāti Porou, Waipareira Social Services and Kōkiri Marae Health and Social Services. All of the organisations were given criteria by which to select the young people who would attend the wānanga. There were not many of these and included an equal number of males and females (ignored by one organisation that nominated females only); in the age range for each wānanga and young people who were unafraid to put their point of view.

The young people selected by the agencies were aged between 14 and 26 years. They included the employed, unemployed, in school, at university, those on welfare benefits and young parents. A major criticism when the model has been presented to the public is that no seriously at risk young people were involved in the design. Whenever I met the challenge by inviting the challengers to invite me to go through the same programme with their 'seriously at risk' youth, the invitation never arrived.

The outcome of the wānanga was three amazingly similar sets of activities that the young people thought were important in a programme for young Māori. Each group of wānanga participants then nominated one of the group with whom I liaised in integrating all three sets into one. However, because I had the email addresses of several participants, the framework of activities was sent to as many as possible for their input and approval of the final one presented to the then Ministry of Youth Affairs.

A logistics framework, which is a planning tool demonstrating the relationship between a number of different factors, was used at each of the wānanga to put the

activities together. The framework showed the relationship between the goal, objectives, outputs and activities with indicators, means of verification, risks and constraints and risk management. As facilitator, my role at the wānanga was to set the scene out of which the ideas would flow, to motivate, to answer questions, to be the 'bouncing board' for the ideas. Each wānanga was an amazing place of emotion (high and low), ideas, laughter, music, colour, food and drink as we lived and worked together in a marae setting.

When the model was written as opposed to the set of activities that the young people had developed, it included guidelines for those who used it with more expansive explanations in the body of the text. Table 2.3 shows the elements of the 'E Tipu E Rea' model with guidelines.

Table 2.2: E Tipu E Rea: Guidelines for implementation

Element	Guidelines for Implementation
Time and Place	• Relevant to the here and now of the young people involved. • Uses the space of young people. • Young people involved in deciding on content. • Programme moves at the pace of young people.
Resourcing	• Programme resourced to ensure success. • Programme resources suit the needs of the young people involved. • Young people involved in identifying and securing resources.
Cultural integrity	• The culture(s) of young people involved are integrated into the programme. • Young people are encouraged and supported to know about their culture and the cultures of others.
Spiritual integrity	• Spirituality is integrated into the programme. • Spirituality is regarded as normal. • No one is teased or mocked for their beliefs. • Respect is highly valued as a norm.

Whilst working with the young people to finalise the logistics framework that integrated the activities from the three wānanga, I thought about the best way to organise the material. During discussions with colleagues, 'E tipu e rea', the whakatauāki, kept coming up. Thus it was that I settled on analysing the whakatauāki

to understand its depth and to examine whether or not it would provide the blueprint for the framework. The result is "E Tipu E Rea: a Framework for Taiohi Māori Development" which I and 11 of the young people involved in the design of the activities presented to the then Ministry of Youth Affairs in February 2001. The Framework has been until 2009 one of the resources available on the Ministry's website.

Each year since its presentation until recently, the Ministry has delivered at least six workshops promoting it at various locations around the country. Interestingly, it is mainly non-Māori who adopt the Framework and comment to me on its applicability in their work. No Māori have told me why they do not find it useful. However, I know that there are those who criticise the whakatauāki. They say it is lacking in depth and promotes the adoption of Pākeha culture. Perhaps these are the reasons for their reluctance to adopt it. However, to me both reasons demonstrate more their lack of knowledge and analysis of the full whakatauāki and how it can be applied every day.

When "E Tipu E Rea: A Framework for Taiohi Māori Development" was completed, the young people nominated by each community based organization and I returned to the organization to present it. The greatest criticism received was in my own rohe (region) of Ngāti Porou. Primarily the criticism was who had given me permission to use the whakatauāki. Had I asked the Ngata family? Had I asked Ngata Memorial College who use it as their school motto? A woman in the audience commented to me afterward over a cup of tea that everyone assumed that Apirana Ngata's family should be asked for permission or that Ngata College should. But by rights the person who should be asked was Rangi Bennett. After all it was written for her.

The reality was I had asked no one because I had assumed that as the whakatauākī was widely used, it was public property. However, the criticism made me think about my actions and arrogance in assuming I could do what I had done. So, not knowing whether Rangi Bennett was still alive I decided I would write an open letter to her and send it to TuMAI magazine for publication. My letter in full was published (February, 2003) in the magazine. Two days later I received an email from Rangi now Rangi Barcham. She was living in Hastings and working for the then

District Health Board. I was overwhelmed by emotion at the time but the initial telephone conversation led to correspondence by email and a meeting in Hastings.

She talked about her sadness that she was seldom acknowledged when the whakatauākī was used. She recounted a particularly poignant moment when she was completing a tertiary qualification as a mature student. During a lecture the lecturer used 'E tipu e rea…' and never once made reference to her although she was present. She also said that she was glad I had asked for her permission to use it even if somewhat after the fact. She indicated she was very happy with the interpretation and its use in the context of the Taiohi Māori Development Framework.

 I was able to look through the 'autograph' book in which Ngata had made the inscription. She had inscriptions from a number of well-known leaders who were Ngata's cohorts like Princess Te Puea and Turi Carroll. She gave me a photocopy of the page with the inscription and Ngata's translation written in his hand, which is a little different to that accepted these days. In acknowledging Rangi she is to be thanked for her generosity in and acceptance that the whakatauākī is public property if with some sadness. He mihi aroha tenei ki a koe Rangi me tō whānau hoki mō tēnei tāonga kua whoatu koe, arā koutou, ki te ao.

Despite the lack of acknowledgement of the muse of the whakatauākī it is used often by different organizations in the presentation of their strategic plans, reports, and funding proposals including my own employer. In almost all instances, usually with no further reference in the body of the text thus continuing to undervalue its contribution to our collective knowledge base. It is undervalued because as Durie says, here in a nutshell is a model of development (2001). He is referring to Māori development in general.

Ka Pū Te Ruha Ka Hao Te Rangātahi

The commonly used translation of this whakatauākī is 'the old net is cast aside as the new net is put to use' (Karetu: 1963). It is another whakatauākī that is attributed to Apirana Ngata. There is no explanation of why he may have written it. However, it is probable that its origins can be found in a letter that he wrote published on 9th December 1900 in Pipiwharauroa, a Māori language newspaper. The letter can also be found in Kōhere (1996). Interestingly Royal refers to the same piece in his

47

report on Mātauranga Māori. To make good sense of it, the letter up to the use of 'Ka pu te ruha…' has been included interspersed with Royal's translation (2006: 22-26). (The macrons are as they appear in Royal's work.) From it we can get a sense of the context in which Ngāta was writing.

> Ko te kupu nui tēnei o ngā huihuinga ki Pōneke i tēnei tau, ahakoa te maha o ngā kupu e pūaki ana i ngā tangata matau i reira o ngā tikanga e hangaia ana e ngā rangatira o te motu mo ngā pire i kōkiritia ki te Whare Paremata. Na Tamahau Mahupuku i whakatakoto te take hei tirohanga mā ngā tangata whai māhara o ia iwi, o ia iwi, arā, kia tukua ki ngā tamariki ngā kupu mē ngā whakahaere mo te iwi a ēnei ra e tū mai nei.

> Among the many things said at this year's meetings held in Wellington – including many things concerning various Bills presented before Parliament – the most important statement was Tamahau Mahupuku's suggestion that the young people be encouraged into positions of leadership and responsibilities.

> Kāti ake ngā kaumatua hei tautoko. Ka haupū te kupenga tawhito ki uta, ki ngā parenga o ngā wai tauraki ai ki te rā, ka marokē, ka pakapaka. Kua taha ngā ra i hao ai i te ika o te moana, o te wai Māori; ka waiho hei tirohanga kanohi, hei mihi ma ngā tira e tuku ana ki te wai, 'Tēna koutou ngā kaihao o era rangi, te manawa o te iti o te rahi.' **Kua pu te ruha**. Ka tuku ki tewai ko te kupenga hou, no nanahi tata nei i whatua ai, he pakari te mea e hou ana ngā whiri, kaore anō i pūngohe i te ia o te wai, i te taimaha o te haongā ika. **Ka hao ko te rangatahi**.

> (The bold lettering has been inserted for the purposes of the thesis and does not appear in Royal's work).

> It is for the elders to support. The old nets are piled on shore, at the water's edge where they dry out and perish in the sun. Their fishing days have now passed and they are now lauded by the new fishing parties who head for the water. "Greetings to the fishermen of yesterday, the heart of the great and small". They have been exhausted. The new net goes fishing, the one who was woven only yesterday. It is strong because its bindings are new. They have not been stretched and stressed through the weight of drawing up fish. The new net goes fishing.

The whakatauākī has been used in reference to psychology (Stewart, 1995), entrepreneurship (Frederick, 2002), environmental issues (A new net: Special Edition, 2001), the internet (Smith, A. G.,1997), youth (Dyall, Bridgman, Bidois, Gurney, Hawira, Tangitu and Huata, 1999) and leadership and succession (Mataira, 2003; Coates, 2004). Stewart was writing about the need for the field of psychology to move away from its ethnocentric roots and to value indigenous contributions. He addressed the barriers to the acceptance of Māori and indigenous contributions to the

field as did Levy. Federick used the whakatauākī in reference to the Māori uptake of new technology. Dyall et al used it as an introduction to the section reporting the youth findings of the article presenting their research. Mataira and Coates used the whakatauākī in reference to leadership and succession. The latter two usages in reference to youth leadership and succession are the usual ways in which it is used. That is not to say however, that its use by others to demonstrate the uptake of 'new' knowledge from within Māori and other indigenous knowledge banks is not correct. Its application in this manner demonstrates its value in a variety of fields.

My own work in relation to the whakatauākī came about in two ways. First when lecturing on a paper called Te Whakatiputanga Tangata on the Bachelor of Māori Development at Auckland University of Technology. The paper was a human growth and development paper taught and delivered from a Māori perspective that used whakatauākī as the sites of knowledge in the field. Comparisons were made with the usual Eurocentric theories and perspectives when and where appropriate. My contribution to the paper was the work I did on both 'E tipu e rea…' and 'Ka pū te ruha…'. Second my work in relation to the whakatauākī came about when I was invited by Wendy Drewery and Lise Bird to write a small piece that would be included in the second edition of their book "Human Growth in Aotearoa New Zealand" (2003). My piece was to be about a Māori dimension to human growth focusing on youth. The invitation provided me with the opportunity to take a close look at 'Ka pū te ruha ka hao te rangātahi'.

My choice of this whakatauākī was based on a number of reasons. First and foremost, it is often quoted as a means by which to acknowledge the potential of following generations to assume leadership roles – the leadership and succession referred to by Mataira and Coates. However, there is no discussion on how that may occur. Rather it is assumed that the process will take place. It is also likely that it is here that we find the source of the modern day use of the word 'rangātahi' in reference to young people.

It is interesting Māori and indeed Aotearoa New Zealand as a whole use rangātahi when referencing youth because according to various dictionaries 'rangatahi' is a fishing net (Williams, 1985). The fact we do use it demonstrates that the Māori use of metaphor has been adopted for modern usage without any real

understanding of origin. If you were to ask someone who uses the term 'rangātahi' when referring to youth why they use it or its meaning, very few would be able to tell you. Instead they would be likely to tell you that rangatahi means youth but would not be able to say why a word that has its origins in fishing is used in that context. In fact there are other words that were used quite regularly up until quite recently. Some are returning into everyday use. Table 1.1 has a list of those words and their meanings among others.

The point in listing the words was to demonstrate there are words that are not metaphorical e.g. taiohingā and tai-tamariki that directly mean youth. So why use rangatahi? The question led me to examine the whakatauākī a little closer for the book. To do this I took the metaphor and asked myself the question – what does a fishing net and fishing have to do with the human growth of the young Māori person?

When I looked at the whakatauākī for the work in the Drewery/Bird book, I looked at the metaphor of fishing and devised the following table:

Table 2.3: Ka pū te ruha ka hao te rangatahi: The metaphor and human development.

Fishing	Human Development Context
You are well prepared: • The right rod/net/line to catch the particular fish that you seek. • The right bait to tempt the fish to bite. • The right boat for the type of fishing. • The right clothing eg a suit would be completely out of place although you could still fish in it. • You know what to do in an emergency.	You are well prepared: • The whānau/family is supportive. • There are appropriate and well resourced services available to you and to your whānau/family. These include work, education, health and housing.
The weather is conducive to fishing.	The environment is a safe and secure one in which the person can grow and develop.
The place in which you are fishing has fish and is particular to the fish you are going after.	Behaviour is appropriate to the surroundings.
You are in the right fishing grounds.	Presence or attendance is important and necessary.
You are fishing in the right season if the fish is seasonal.	You are responsible for your actions as are

	those who interact with you.
You do not put yourself and others with you at risk.	You and others with you are not put at risk. Safety is important.
You ask for protection as you fish.	Guidance (spiritual, physical and psychological) is sought.
If you have more than you need, you share some of your catch with whānau, friends and neighbours.	Sharing resources is important for a sense of community.
You give thanks for your catch.	Achievements are celebrated.

I was once at a hui in my own rohe of Ngāti Porou on the development of a Ngāti Porou curriculum to be taught in schools in the rohe when criticism was made of how some people were too literal when examining whakatauākī. It was said the reason for the 'literal' interpretations was because the interpreters did not have the depth of language and knowledge required to understand its full import. Then reference was made to 'Ka pū te ruha…'. Specifically, it was not about fishing but about 'enfolding' the person within the whānau. What the person who was making the criticism failed to recognise was that the explanation she was giving was a literal interpretation of the fishing metaphor. That is, the action of 'enfolding' being similar to that of the net being drawn with the catch firmly 'enfolded' inside. Within the context of the wharenui the listeners' role is to receive statements and to reflect upon them for learning. On reflection I can look at the table above and see that whānau is definitely included and its encompassing embrace important in human development within the context of the whakatauākī and the model. The table was composed prior to receiving the criticism.

Reaching The Hypothesis

Having previously completed work using whakatauākī, moving on to taking traditional stories as sites of knowledge and theory seemed the logical next step. It was just a matter of deciding which set of stories. There was no debate as to the relevancy of the stories or that they contained a model whatever that might look like. Rather it was an assumption that the model was there and that the work had to expose

its presence. 'E tipu e rea' and 'Ka pū te ruha' were the journey to the hypothesis. They provided important learning along the way and demonstrated that the models do exist in what Royal terms 'Te Ao Mārama'.

Associated Problems

Having decided the hypothesis was that in a Mātauranga Māori context the Māui stories held a model for growing young Māori entrepreneurs, it was a matter of finding the blueprint, organising it into a model that was easy to follow and implement and then testing its veracity. The earlier works on 'E tipu e rea' and 'Ka pū te ruha' were good experience in analysis and interpretation. They were an indication that the intent was definitely possible. All that was necessary was a matter of identifying a process and undertaking the work.

In addition there were associated problems. One of them was the negative perception of Māui as a role model. Māui is variously described as a rascal, lazy, a trickster and misogynist. In fact the list of adjectives used to describe him is long. The problem then was how to present Māui in a positive way to balance out the negative perceptions. The answer was to talk about his contributions to humankind through his (ad)ventures. Also to talk about the learning that can be arrived at from his bad behaviour. In the world of entrepreneurship, just as much learning is made from mistakes as from successes.

Another problem was entrepreneurship being associated with capitalism and individualism and therefore 'un-Māori'. I found no evidence for this statement. Rather it is based on comments that have been made at hui or during conversations. Whilst it can therefore be dismissed as lacking authority, it does provide a barrier when promoting a programme that focuses on entrepreneurship. There are ways to deal with the problem. They include working with Māori and non-Māori who know the history of Māori entrepreneurship and its contribution to national development. It also means telling the stories of successful Māori entrepreneurs – even those ones who have never admitted to being Māori and there are quite a few of those. In addition there are the stories of the young Māori entrepreneurs who take into consideration the ways and means by which they can give gifts back to the communities out of which they have grown. Finally, it is about telling the stories to the academy so they can be included in the teaching of entrepreneurship.

Another associated problem was the focus on youth rather than the whānau. Criticism of that focus is that it removes young people from the collective of the whānau. However, the focus on them can also be seen positively. That is, by providing opportunities for young Māori to succeed, whānau, hapū, iwi and communities will benefit. They will benefit because if the young Māori entrepreneur is successful that young entrepreneur becomes a role model for younger Māori. If they are not successful, everyone can learn from whatever has not worked well. Any contribution they make to their whānau, hapū, iwi and community can only be beneficial in the long term. Therefore what is good for young Māori can have benefits for everyone else with whom they associate.

Associated problems need not be significant. What they can do and have done in this case is ensure that all possibilities are addressed when considering the hypothesis. The result is taking into consideration and planning for all possible contingencies. Something that Māui was reasonably good at doing until he met his match in Hinenuitepo.

Justification for Research

What justification was there for developing and testing a model to grow young Māori entrepreneurs? Surely models existed? Why use traditional stories and especially the Māui stories as the source of the model? Could the model lie elsewhere? For instance, if young Māori are always referred to metaphorically as rēanga or whakatipuranga, the model could have had a more organic reference base. A reference that had its origins in the plant world perhaps? However, the justification for the research lay elsewhere.

Statistically the Māori population is youthful. The median age of Māori at the 2001 census was 22years (Statistics New Zealand, 2002:9). In 1996, Māori aged 15 – 24 years made up 19% of the total Māori population. By comparison, the non-Māori population in the same age group was 14%. In the 2006 census, 15 – 24 year olds made up 17% of the total Māori population (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2006). If we add to this the under-fifteen population statistics, it is clear that although the Māori population is ageing, by comparison to the non-Māori and especially to the Pākeha population, it is young and will remain so for some time. When we begin to add this statistic to others like educational achievement and median income levels then there is cause for worry.

Reports do indicate that Māori education achievement is improving (Wang, Harkess, and Parkin, 2007). Despite this improvement, there are still areas for concern. For example, Māori boys continue to leave school with little or no qualifications. And, although Māori return to education later in life as mature students Māori women outstrip Māori men in achieving qualifications. However, for this to be meaningful for the non-Māori population, the impact a poorly educated Māori workforce will have on their livelihood will need to be emphasised at some point. The emphasis will be needed so they too can understand the long-term ramifications on their preferred lifestyles because not all of them will be able to retire to the Gold Coast of Australia. Many will have to remain in Aotearoa New Zealand, dependant upon a labour force lacking in skills to provide the taxes out of which their superannuation will be drawn.

So, if the median Māori income as reported by Statistics New Zealand in April 2002 was $14,800 then it is highly likely that a government in the near future will move to review the provision of superannuation. Relying on a workforce that has a low median income to provide the taxes that fund superannuation is not an intelligent action for any government. Even if a government were to make 'saving for superannuation' compulsory throughout one's working life, would not adequately provide for future generations of an ageing population. The possibility therefore of people having to plan to supplement a government provided superannuation with private investment into superannuation funds is highly probable. But why would this justify developing a model to grow young Māori entrepreneurs?

The model in and of itself may not necessarily produce great entrepreneurs. Nor is it probable that every young Māori who participates will follow an entrepreneurial pathway. However, what it can and is highly likely to do is produce young Māori whose worlds have been widened through their engagement because of it. It is also highly likely that through that participation they are able to see themselves as following a pathway they had not considered before. It may be one that sees them leave their home to pursue further education or employment. If through their participation they aspire to a lifestyle that is better than the one in which they have been raised, no matter how small, then the long-term benefits to the country are likely to be good. They will be young people who will go on to understand that education is a life-long process; that they have a real part to play in the economy of

their whānau, hapū, iwi and community; that their dreams can become a reality with focused energy and commitment. They will know they have a real opportunity to make a realistic contribution to their nation.

Simply put, the justification for the research was to provide a model that celebrates Mātaurangā Māori. However, in doing that to also celebrate young Māori who can make the model and the programme that demonstrates its practical application come alive.

Conclusion

At the end of the day, it was not theory that was important but the processes used. Were they more the trickster or the researcher? Is there a difference and does it really matter? In the world of the trickster, it is about the learning that takes place and I had learned.

There was what I learned from previous work on "E Tipu e Rea" and "Ka pū te ruha ka hao te rangatahi". The first where I worked with three groups of young people to design a taiohi Māori development package and the second where I interpreted a well-known whakatauākī for modern usage. There were also my practices as a youth and community development worker for almost forty years at local, national and international levels. Practices that developed skills and knowledge of what are good solid practices resulting in regular invitations to facilitate action planning. Those invitations would not arrive if my practices were under question for any reason.

There was also what I learned as I progressed the research and then as I have written this thesis. So, I could say that the lessons of Māui, trickster and ancestor hero have been the kete (basket) that have helped develop my knowledge in this particular instance. In the next three chapters first, a number of the Māui stories are analysed to identify whether or not there is a model to grow young Māori entrepreneurs in them. Next the model is presented with descriptions of its various elements. When that is done the process by which it was tested, a wānanga series, is presented and analysed.

CHAPTER 3

THE MĀUI STORIES

"How can stories lead us home? Is 'home' something 'out there' in the world, or is it something 'in here' that we call culture?" (Tidwell, 1997)

The same question can be asked of the Māui stories. Do they lead us home or anywhere for that matter? What was their purpose in ancient times? Does that purpose still exist or has it changed?   Those questions were best answered by reading the stories. Not just one or two but as many of them as possible and as many variations as possible. So I read Māui stories. Some were told by some of the first to record them in writing. Some were told with a specific audience in mind including versions written for children and versions written by children. I tried to read as many variations on the stories as I possibly could. But, what about the stories, how are they viewed? How do they stand up to the competition?

In this age of global interests and communication, the stories of Māui's exploits are seemingly insignificant. They compete with the stories of Hans Christian Anderson, the Brothers Grimm, Tolkein, J. K. Rowling, Margaret Mahy and every other teller of tales. They fall into the myths and legends genre and are seldom thought of as anything more than ways by which Māori ancestors explained natural phenomena or as great stories to read to children. Certainly in this country, the latter is so strongly the case that there are many versions of the Māui stories with children in mind as the target audience.   It was how I was introduced to Māui. They were stories that teachers read out loud or my mother read out loud to us at home. Since

those first introductions however, I have heard the Māui stories retold many times in speeches to either emphasise a point or to give relish to a particular event. I have also told the stories to others, namely nieces and nephews.

As I explained in Chapter One, in the tribe I identify most closely with, Ngāti Porou, Māui features significantly and we often hear how his waka, Nukutaimemeha lies on the top of Hikurangi, the sacred mountain of Ngāti Porou, in petrified form. Of course there is that other version of the story that tells us that Māui's waka is the South Island of Aotearoa New Zealand. One of the journeys that a citizen of Ngāti Porou must make at some time is a pilgrimage to the summit of Hikurangi. An activity of the pilgrimage is to pay homage to Māui by visiting the petrified waka. At the celebration of the new millennium, the carvings done by Derek Lardelli, a lecturer at Toihoukura the school of art at Tairāwhiti Polytechnic in Tūranganui-A-Kiwa and his students celebrating the life of Māui were unveiled to the world where they sit on the slopes of Hikurangi. They too are now a must when making the pilgrimage.

Ngāti Porou are raised to believe they are the Māui people. Various reasons are given for this including the fact that after raising Te Ika a Māui, Māui and his brothers inhabited the new land. Erlbeck's telling of the story (2000:131-133) has Māui kidnapping a group of children and bringing them to inhabit his fish implying that this makes Ngāti Porou the original inhabitants of the land having evolved here after that very first migration. Of course this story contradicts the other story of the migration on the waka, Horouta. Then again, that is another one of those things that entrepreneurs do – they create their reality.

Chapter Three therefore seeks to extend the analysis of the Māui stories and to examine whether or not they provide a blueprint for Māori development with specific reference to the elements necessary to grow young Māori entrepreneurs. It will be done by first amalgamating each of the versions of each of the sets of the better known of the Māui stories into one. Different versions will only be referred to if they deviate substantially from the main thrust of the storyline. Each story will then be examined to see whether or not the elements that will be essential for growing young Māori entrepreneurs can be identified. Key concepts will be assigned when interpreting the stories to give some meaning to the events thus described. These will then be translated into a contemporary context and in this way another layer will be

added to the depth of analysis. Reference to the lesser-known stories will be added only where they add new key concepts. So why look at the Māui stories?

Māui is variously described as wise, deceitful, courageous (Best, 1982), a demi-god, an adventurer, as reckless, mischievous, devious, a misogynist and very bitter about not being accepted by his whānau (Erlbeck, 2000). He can also be viewed as an individual who pushed the boundaries and changed the patterns of the time. He would see something and where others would accept whatever as a given he would test its validity and seek to change that given if he found it wanting. He took his ideas and made them a reality. Despite this he was still the member of a family because many of his adventures were undertaken in the company of his brothers, his mother, his grandparents and other members of his extended family. Also, his accomplishments benefited everyone and not just himself.

Māui was not averse however to taking advantage of and using his family to prove a point or to make change and this is a feature of some of the stories about him. Such action can be seen as recognition of the complexity of families and family relationships as he selects members of his extended family to engage with him in his activities. Also, other characters in the stories can be seen as counterpoints to his own innovativeness therefore defying the contemporary myth that Māori are not competitive. That is, Māui had to be innovative in order to compete with others. Māui sought to make his mark, to change the course of history, to take his ideas and to make them into a reality even when the risk was high. It is this attitude that makes him the ultimate role model for entrepreneurship in a Māori context. Perhaps even in an Aotearoa New Zealand and world contexts.

The main sources for the Māui stories were Best's, "Māori Religion and Mythology: Part II" (1982: 329-386), Reeds, "Reed Book of Māori Mythology" (2004 ed.), Orbell's, "The Illustrated Encyclopedia of Māori Myth and Legend" (1995) and Erlbeck's, "Māui: The Legend of the demi-god Māui-Tikitiki-A-Taranga"(2000).

Best provides the most comprehensive retelling of the stories from people who would have been considered experts in the 1800s. Noticeably all the storytellers he worked with are men. The absence of female storytellers is not surprising when put into the context of the period during which he was collecting the stories. Best, a white man from Britain, was collecting stories at a time when men from that part of

the world considered themselves to be the only repositories of authority so he would only have spoken to men. He would not have considered women to be repositories of knowledge and therefore would not have consulted with them. Thus the female versions of the stories have been partially lost. There have been recent efforts to retell those stories by Māori women (Kahukiwa and Grace, 1984).

Reed's work was written as an anthology of Māori stories. Orbell has written about the Māui stories as part of her works recording historical Māori society. That is, her understanding of pre-European Māori society. Erlbeck is the other major reference because she is a Ngāti Porou woman writing in a contemporary context. Her retelling of the stories is quite different to those of both Best and Orbell. I can make assumptions about this based on the fact that she is a woman and Ngāti Porou. The former because when women tell stories they have different perspectives to men. The latter assumption is because each tribe has its own version of the stories however slight the difference. In addition to these major sources I read a wide range of Māui stories for children, by children, in books and online. I read many versions of the well-known Māui stories and the few versions of the lesser-known stories that are available.

One thing that can be confusing is that Māui and all of his brothers are called Māui. One explanation I have heard recounted as to why they all carried the name Māui is that they were in fact the many manifestations of the character Māui, the names being an indication of his ability to change. Another explanation could of course be that the name Māui was a way of indicating the birth connection of brothers much in the same way we now tend to carry surnames or family names. For the purposes of the thesis, the Māuis are brothers. Māui-Tikitiki-Ā-Tāranga, the main character of the stories will always be referred to as Māui unless it is important to use his full name. His brothers will be referred to by their full names e.g. the mātāmua or the eldest sibling will always be referred to as Māui-mua where necessary. However, to place this in some context, I need to make reference to the place of stories including myths and legends as sites of knowledge and Māui the trickster.

Māori sites of Mātauranga Māori

The written versions of the stories about Māui are an opportunity to know (mōhiotanga) and understand (māramatanga) the knowledge they contained.

Knowing and understanding the stories have also provided the opportunity to look for meanings that would inform the proposition they contained a model for growing young Māori entrepreneurs in a Mātauranga Māori context. Looking for those meanings would give a deeper understanding of the teaching contained in each story. At the end, I should have a depth of knowledge about the stories that others would not necessarily have. At least that was my assumption.

Stories are one site of traditional knowledge in a Māori context. Pre-European Māori had many different sites of knowledge. Here I concern myself only with those sites that contain knowledge that was, and still is, imparted orally. Hence the lack of discussion on other sites like whakairo (carving), tukutuku (woven panels) and the various methods of rāranga (weaving).

For me it is significant to start with the karanga that is performed by women from both sides during the ceremony of pōhiri (welcome ceremony). The karanga is the female version in many tribes of the whaikōrero or formal speech. It is a calling cry during which the woman or women calling cover a number of topics. They greet the visitors and link their arrival to the purpose of the gathering. They invoke the spirits of the ancestors to support the gathering. They acknowledge the recently departed of all who are gathered. Finally they provide the opportunity for everyone present to take their place so the formal speechmaking can take place. The voice used is suggestive of song or wailing depending upon the occasion. Where the occasion is joyous the voice is one of song. Where the occasion is sad, then the voice used is the wail of the bereaved.

Despite the simplicity of the pattern, a good caller will use metaphor throughout the process. Every caller needs to have a depth of whānau, hapū and iwi knowledge to deliver memorable karanga. The call is an opportunity not only to indicate the visitors are welcome but also to inform all those listening about some of the events that have marked the whānau and hapū history in particular and the iwi history generally. In those tribes that forbid the participation of women in the formal speechmaking, the karanga is Māori women's opportunity to do so. A caller is therefore important as she represents the very best of female skills in the art of speaking. Ngā Puhi are the only tribe where women are unlikely to respond to the karanga. Instead the role is taken on by the men.

Occasionally men from other iwi will also respond to the karanga. When they do so their action is regarded as an intrusion into the world of women. However, they may be doing so because none of the women present are responding and they find it necessary to step into the breach. Not to reply is considered both rude and a demonstration of lack of ability. The group that does not reply therefore loses mana and is immediately treated with the right amount of disdain in the next part of the process, the whaikōrero.

In a formal gathering the karanga is followed (with some exceptions) by the whaikōrero. The purpose of the whaikōrero is to provide the speaker with an opportunity to inform and debate the topic of the gathering or to celebrate and remember. The whaikōrero is highly structured and usually begins with a tauparapara. The tauparapara is "a poetic chant containing a traditional or philosophical statement" (Walker in King, 1975:24). It is here that the speaker links to the place at which the speech is being made or to the people listening or to the topic of the speech. The tauparapara is often metaphorical in its content and requires the listeners to have a depth of knowledge on a range of topics. It can also be used as a teaching and learning tool.

The content part of the whaikōrero deals specifically with the purpose for which the gathering is taking place. A skilled speaker may never refer directly to the purpose of the gathering at all. Rather, he or she may use metaphor to guide listeners to its purpose. Many of those metaphors are references to stories handed down through generations of storytelling. When such a speaker holds forth it is a test of listeners' depth of knowledge. Nowadays such speakers are seldom heard although efforts are being made to revive the art of whaikōrero through wānanga specifically for that purpose. Speeches are often followed by waiata which are stories told in chants. Waiata are sung after a speech as a relish. They should add to the content of the speech and are expected to be relevant to the occasion and are another opportunity to inform and educate listeners. For a time modern pop tunes either in English or te reo Māori were sung. Sometimes they had no relevance to the purpose of the occasion but were merely sung because of the pressure to conform to the process. Nowadays, there is an expectation that traditional waiata will be sung. Those who sing anything that is even slightly modern are considered to be inferior in the arts necessary during the pōhiri or welcoming process. The result is they may forfeit

some of their mana during the process although that is not always the case as leniency is often provided. Unfortunately that very leniency can contribute to ongoing loss of the art of waiata and therefore the Mātauranga Māori contained therein.

Waiata can also be sung at other times for entertainment or to make a point during a gathering. Sometimes a speaker will perform a haka instead which are stories told in the form of dance that accompanies words. However, like waiata, haka can be performed on other occasions when wanting to make a point. The words of haka either tell a story or make a point about a particular issue. Many are quite political in their content e.g. 'Poropeihana' which is about prohibition and others quite sexual e.g. 'Rūaumoko' which is about sexual intercourse. Both haka are from Ngāti Porou.

Another performance method of storytelling for Māori is the poi. The poi is storytelling in the form of dancing using the instrument of a poi (a ball on the end of a string) usually accompanied by song. It is a performance art most often performed by women nowadays as a means by which to display feminine wiles and to flirt. Traditionally men also used the poi to strengthen their wrists and to develop suppleness in anticipation of using weapons during warfare. In recent times the poi has become another political tool. The words in the musical accompaniment to the actions contain information the performers have identified as important for the occasion. They might have been composed specifically or the point might be one that is well known to all those listening and also thought to be relevant to the occasion. Finally, there are the pūrākau - ancient legends, myths and incredible stories (Williams, 1985). The Māui stories are pūrākau.

All societies have pūrakau. The purpose of pūrākau was to inform and educate through the medium of entertainment. "Traditionally, Pūrākau have been handed down from generation to generation to provide advice and insights to the thoughts, actions and feelings of our ancestors. … In contemporary Māori society knowledge and use of Pūrākau has increased alongside the resurgence of Māori language and identity" (Cherrington, 2002: 118). Pūrākau were educational tools during an age where information and knowledge was transferred orally.

The storyteller influenced the telling of the story. Storytellers changed content when they wanted to make the content relevant to the listeners. Their telling

of the story accounts for the many versions of any one story.   The result is that sometimes nowadays there is debate over which version is the true version. The reality is they are all true versions because fundamentally the lesson they contain is still the same. All that may have changed is the name of the protagonist, some of the minor characters or the place where an event occurred. It is the educational aspect of the stories that interests me. I wanted to see if the message in a particular series of stories could still be applied today. Particularly whether or not there was a model for growing young Māori entrepreneurs. The set of stories were those about Māui-Tikitiki-A-Taranga.

International context

There are two aspects to the international context that I am concerned with. The first is the discussion around the use of traditional stories sometimes referred to as myths and legends as methods of teaching important lessons and telling histories. The second is that of the trickster. I have had several people tell me that Māui belongs to the genre of the trickster. It is a definition of him that unfortunately has all sorts of negative connotations. However, I need to understand the place and purpose of the trickster before deciding in my mind whether or not he belongs in the genre.

Stories: Myths and Legends.

I grew up with stories, myths and legends from both Māori and non-Māori worlds. I read and had read to me Aesop's fables, Homer's Odyssey, the stories of Hercules, Hatupatu, the creation stories of Māori and Judeo-Christianity, the fairytales of Hans Christian Anderson and The Bible among many. Our mother was unusual for a Māori woman of the 1950s, 60s and 70s – she bought books for her children and instilled in us a love of reading.

In addition, I went to a school that invested in books whilst I was there and stocked a good library from which we could borrow just like going to a library 'in town'. The school was out in the country and we walked to school along the main highway so for our school to have a library in the 1960s was quite amazing. It said much about our parents and the teachers who came there to do their 'country service' – they valued the written word and invested in it. It was here, this time in my life, that my interest in the so-called myths and legends was first stimulated. It was here

that I first learned there was more to the stories than for merely telling. The teachers and my mother, who also taught at the school, when they read the stories to us like any good teacher entered into discussions with us about why a character may have taken a particular type of action. For me therefore, stories of whatever genre were not just read for their entertainment value but also for the lessons they contained. But what are myths and legends and what is their purpose? Are pūrākau the same thing and therefore are the Māui stories pūrākau or are they myths and legends and is such a differentiation really important?

Myths and legends are almost always described as being truths about what it is to be human (Rosenberg, 1997, Simpson & Coombes, 2001). They are journeys of discovery that present profound human truths. The main characters in myths and legends go through a series of tests that reflect on the human condition and tell of the close relationship between animals and humans. There are often some religious elements to the stories.

Simpson and Coombes (op cit) note that Pearson identified six main archetypal plots. These are outlined in Table 3.1 next:

Table 3.1: Archetypal Plots (Simpson and Coombes 2001)

Archetype	Plot/Structure	Gift
Orphan	How I suffered/How I survived.	Resilience
Wanderer	How I escaped/ How I found my way in the world.	Independence
Warrior	How I achieved my goals/ How I defeated my enemies	Courage
Altruist	How I gave to others/ how I sacrificed.	Compassion
Returned Innocent	How I found happiness/ The promised land.	Faith
Magician	How I changed my world.	Power

From my limited knowledge of the Māui stories before embarking on this journey of learning, I can agree they illustrate every plot except that of 'Returned Innocent' unless Māui is viewed as being innocent in terms of his lack of knowledge

of human interactions leading to his poor relationships with his family and community. What therefore is the case of the Māori myth and legend?

In considering Māori myths and legends, Orbell noted that "[T]raditions from different parts of Aotearoa have a general similarity, despite their differences" (1995:11). The statement acknowledges that the tribes had different ways of telling the same story. She also noted that "…the interaction of tradition and the landmark reinforced belief: while the myth explained the existence of the landmark, the presence of the landmark confirmed the truth of the myth" (op cit). In other words, the myth moved out of the realm of make-believe and into the realm of fact. The movement from make-believe to fact would support the Māori belief that Māui was a real person hence his appearance in whakapapa. Reed wrote (2004:1):

> The creation myths of the Māori were inherited from their Polynesian forebears, but through centuries of isolation from the main current of thought a rich and distinctive tradition was developed. In detail as well as in broad outline, many of these beliefs are akin to the universal speculations of other peoples, but have a quality that is shared only by the legends of Polynesia. On the other hand, the development and adaptation of Polynesian mythology, and the new elements introduced by Māori, provide a fascinating study in cosmogony. Closely allied to cosmogony, the study of the origin of the cosmos, is anthropogony, a subject of perennial interest, in which humankind is concerned with its own origins. ….

Reed went on to talk about theogony the study of primal gods, creative powers and how they relate to one another, which is another subject of what are termed Māori myths and legends.

Reed's linking of Māori stories to the rest of Polynesia and therefore the Pacific, reinforces the earlier statement made in Chapter One that Māui is a character who features throughout the Pacific. The statement was made as evidence for the argument that any model to grow young Māori entrepreneurs that emerged out of an analysis of the Māui stories was international because the Māui stories are told in many Pacific nations.

Māori myths and legends therefore do follow the archetypal plots of myths and legends. They have their origin in the greater alliance of Polynesia but have been adapted over time to be relevant to Aotearoa, the place in which Māori found themselves living as a result of migration. Through the adaptation, many of what may

have started out as myths became legends as they name actual places and became based on real people as opposed to purely gods and god-like beings. In some cases, the human took on god-like stature as the story grew in the fantastic.

Trickster Discourse

In the movement to reclaim and celebrate culture, indigenous people the world over have begun to acknowledge the place of the trickster. That is not to say the trickster had not been written about before. Certainly anthropologists and sociologists had written about the trickster. In his essay on trickster discourse, Vizenor noted how social science has presented tribal cultures. He says that

> [S]ocial science theories constrain tribal landscapes to institutional values, representationalism, and the politics of academic determination. The narrow teleologies deducted from social science monologues and the ideologies that arise from structuralism, have reduced tribal literatures to an 'objective' collection of consumable artifacts (1990: 277).

Included in the tribal literatures he is referring to are the stories about tricksters.

On reading that statement, it is easy to place the Māui stories as 'reduced consumable artifacts'. Their purpose as educational tools for all ages has been reduced to stories for children to be read either in the early years of school or at bedtime.   It is time to reclaim them for everyone – children, adults, communities and organisations (public and private). With that in mind it is useful to look at the trickster personality and to decide whether it fits with what we know about Māui.

The trickster is usually an animal, bird or insect that represents humankind and is usually though not always male. The descriptions of the trickster are not flattering and include lawless, asocial and amoral (Tekpetey, 2006). The literary function of the trickster according to Tekpetey was to expose the danger of indulging in such behaviour and to allow humans the opportunity to experience it vicariously. The trickster faces the same life struggles as humans and is a social being who marries, has children, has an occupation but may not be particularly good at it, does not make and keep friends because of anti-social behaviour, is an opportunist and thief. However as Tekpetey says when referring to Kweku Ananse the trickster spider of the Ananse,

Kweku Ananse is an opportunist and thief who will take advantage of whatever possibilities a situation may hold out for him. He ignores few opportunities for trickery and self-aggrandizement, and his greed is only matched by his viciousness. Whatever the circumstance, Kweku Ananse moves in and masters it or he loses the game. He wins some and loses others, but always returns for more, incredibly returns to create challenges where they do not exist and meet challenges where they exist. (2006:76)

In one of the few references to a trickster who was human, Gabriel writes about Odysseus. Specifically he is talking about Odysseus the manager and organiser. He describes Odysseus as trickster and bricoleur, schemer and bully, lover and family man, leader and reader of situations. He says that Odysseus is the prototype of the modern manager using subterfuge, trickery and disguise to pursue a goal, downsizing his crew as situations demanded and displaying a wide range of leadership virtues and vices (2003).

Vizenor argues however, that the trickster is post-modern. He says

[H]istories read the past; or the past in historical present, criticism reads the narrative, and the trickster reads neither; here in trickster discourse, the trickster unties the hypotragedies imposed on tribal narratives – tribal narratives have been under-read in criticism and over-read in social science. (1990: 280-281).

His argument that the trickster is post-modern applies to my analysis of the Māui stories. It is my attempt to make the Māui stories relevant in a modern context as sites of learning in the world of entrepreneurial endeavour. Therefore I am taking the original lessons the stories contain and interpreting them to fit expectations of 21st century entrepreneurial behaviours. I set out the details of each story and follow each with a list of key concepts identified in the story. These will be used in the next chapter to identify a model of entrepreneurship.

Finally, the Māui stories are metaphors and metaphors bring together two different ideas to create a new one (Cameron and Deignan, 2006) e.g. the term 'the captains of industry' brings together the domains of the military and commerce (Keelan and Woods, 2006). An example is the story of Māui slowing the sun when he uses karakia to protect himself and his brothers and a net to physically restrain the sun bringing together the domains of religion and technology. The identification of key concepts in the stories is another way of explaining the metaphors – what Cameron and Deignan identify as emergentist discourse (op cit) – the 'behaviour in

the dialogic dynamics of contextualized interaction: that is as people talk with each other' (p. 674). I have used this definition because the stories had oral beginnings and to a large extent are still shared with the community at large in oral contexts – people talking with each other. So when the stories are told to identify key concepts that may then be interpreted into the behaviours of the entrepreneur, that is the emergent discourse. However, each Māui story contains several metaphors and each metaphor adds another dimension for interpretation.

Nga Pakiwaitara: the Stories

The Events At Māui's Birth

All the versions of Māui's birth acknowledge that he was born prematurely although some interpretations speculate that he was an aborted foetus. It can therefore be safely said that he was not a full term baby. In one version (Best, 1982: 337), it is said that he was born after twelve days of labour on the 30th day of Tāperewai (September or October). The premature baby was wrapped in his mother Tāranga's tikitiki (topknot or girdle) and taken by her attendants to the cave Whāraurangi, a reef or rocky coastline, where the bones of Murirangawhenua lay.

Mokomokouri, Māui's uncle, was walking along the beach at Haumiri when he observed a common summer phenomenon - the shimmering air often seen on beaches on a hot day. There was a difference to this shimmering air however because it did not recede as he walked toward it. Instead, it stayed in one place. As he reached the spot where the shimmering was on the beach, he found a mixture of a jellyfish and sea-foam and in the centre of this was a baby. He took the infant home to his wife Taputeranga for the two of them to raise. The baby was baptised Māui-Tikitiki-Ā-Tāranga. In another version, the embryo that was to become Māui was deposited in a cave at Te Ākau-roa-a-Maura named Kowhaonui-O-Mokomokouri. Moko was instructed by a 'strange visitant' to go to the beach at Haumiri where he found Māui enveloped in sea foam. He took Māui to his wife Māuimui to care for him. Tawhirimatea gave Māui his name when the tua (naming rite) was performed at Te Auroa.

In another version, Tāranga took the premature baby to the seaside. There she pierced a hole in the hollow stem of a piece of kelp. She put the baby into the stem and closed the opening then threw the stem into the Pool of Mārau. She made a declamatory speech, assigning the baby into the care of the supernormal beings who lived in the ocean. The baby was swept out to the water desert of Māhora-nui-ātea where he was nurtured by strange beings. When he was well grown, the beings brought him back and deposited him on the beach at Te Rēhua. He was covered in sea foam and a jelly-like substance to protect him from being attacked by sea birds. Timutahi who, from an elevated position, had observed the birds hovering over one spot, found him. Timutahi then took him to the place where rites were performed to remove tapu after which he took the child to the fireside to be warmed. Māui was reared here until he was able to take part in village sports.

In a Tuhoe version, when crossing the waterside at Ōwainewaha one day, Tāranga cast the embryo away in the bark that she was using to tie her hair back. Ocean beings, including Karumoana, took the embryo to Murirangawhenua at Awaroa where the developing Māui was cradled in ocean foam and nurtured by ocean denizens of Hinemoana. A South Island version has it that the embryo was taken by Mū and Weka and developed into a human being. Aonui and other personified forms of clouds, took Māui-tikitiki to the heavens where he dwelt at Maru-te-whareihi.

The common elements in each of the stories begin with Tāranga's long and difficult labour.   Also, the fact she did not carry to full term implies that Māui was not fully formed when born. The embryo was then nurtured until fully formed at which time the child was returned to humankind. He was wrapped in a personal belonging of his mother's at birth that was described as being either her girdle or her hair wrap. A girdle and a topknot (an extension of which can be her hair wrapping) are called tikitiki (Williams, 1985:417) and this was integrated into one of the names by which he is known, Māui-Tikitiki-Ā-Tāranga.

The second element was that he was cast out by his mother or as in one version, the attendants at the birth. Such action of casting out of the baby probably occurred because he was unformed and not expected to live or that he was thought to be dead. The prevailing thought would have been that it was better to cast him out before becoming attached to him. In one version his mother makes a speech of

declamation when she casts him out. She probably did this to deal with any feelings of guilt that she might have about disposing or rejecting of the unformed infant. The embryo is raised in the water desert (a poetic translation of the ocean) by the creatures of the sea. That reference identifies the link to human development where the embryo begins its growth in amniotic fluid. The fully formed baby is returned to humankind and left on a beach to be found. However it is left protected by jellyfish, seaweed and sea foam, a continuation of the water metaphor for amniotic fluid. Māui is initially referred to in most stories as the 'embryo' and then the baby. He does not become a person until the tapu is lifted during the pure (ritual to remove tapu) ceremony and he is named at the tua rite. Another recurring element relates to the way in which the baby Māui is found as described previously. These can all be interpreted as the need to investigate things that seem to be different from the usual. They also signal the continued engagement of the supernatural forces represented by the natural elements and by the child who in turn represents humankind.   The other important concept in this part of the story is the occasion of the 'event'. Māui's life as told in the stories is full of events beginning with his birth. Such a focus can be interpreted to mean that events may arise creating opportunities for action.

The baby is taken into a household other than that of its parents to be raised. In most versions, it is usual that the household is that of a couple. No age is given to the couple but one gets a sense they were aged and perhaps childless. In one version, a grandparent who is dead raises him. This is the version in which the premature baby is taken to the cave Kowhaonui where Murirangawhenua's bones lay.

From these stories the most significant concept is that of nurturing. Māui is nurtured by a variety of beings until he is ready to return to the world of humans. The different elements of nurturing are those that are organic and those that are relationship focussed. The organic elements of nurturing are those that ensure full growth specifically those that provide nutrition. The relationship-focussed elements of nurturing are those associated with the practises of manaaki (respect and kindness), āroha (love), tautoko (support), tiaki (protection) and tuku (release). That is, for baby Māui to be nurtured, the relationships he needed were those that provided respect and kindness, love, support and protection in ways that would also allow him space to grow and develop. Here is a good description of the ideal relationship between a

mentor and mentee from a mātauranga Māori perspective. Chapter Four has more discussion on mentoring including reference to the above tikanga.

> ***Key Concepts:***
> Curiosity.
>
> Events present opportunities.
>
> Nurturing.
>
> Mentoring.

Māui the Dart Thrower

Māui the Dart Thrower is the story of Māui's reunification with his mother and brothers. It occurs when Māui accompanies people from the village in which he has been raised, to a dart throwing competition on the beach at Haumiri where his mother and brothers lived. At the competition Tūrongonui made the farthest cast of a dart and no other was able to best him until Māui decided to contest Tūrongonui. To add distance to the casting of a dart, the thrower would bounce a dart off a mound of earth.   Māui however asked his brother Māui-pae to lay face down on the dirt and then used his back off which to bounce his dart. In another version he asked all of his brothers to lie on the ground and used all of their backs to add distance to his throw. Māui threw further than Tūrongonui and no one was able to surpass him.

At the end of the competition, Māui-mua invited Māui home For a meal. When they reached his mother Tāranga's home, Māui-mua asked him what his name was to which he replied, Māui-Tikitiki-A-Tāranga. Tāranga who overheard this exchange asked him where he was from to which he replied that he was from a far land. When she asked him what his name was, he told her to which she replied that she did not have a child of that name. When she asked him who his mother was, he told her that she was. She replied that her only children were Māui-mua, Māui-roto, Māui-taha and Māui-pae. Māui then told her the circumstance of his birth and how he had been raised by Murirangawhenua. It was at this point that Tāranga conceded that he was her child and they celebrated his return to the family.

In two slight variations, Māui casts the dart to find the way that Pani took it to the underworld (see a later story). In another, Māui follows his brothers' home to their mother and when she counts her children at night there is an extra child. When

she counts again, Māui has hidden away so she makes the correct count. However, Māui comes out of hiding and hides several times to create confusion for Tāranga and this is presented as the first evidence at the way in which he uses deceit and subterfuge to cloud reality.

The first points to come out of the story are those of observation and practice. To know how to throw a dart, Māui would have had to spend time observing how this was done and then he no doubt would have practiced although there would be those who would argue that he would have said a karakia to enhance his ability to throw a dart. The practice would have occurred in private so he could surprise everyone with his ability. In this way he could enhance the stories about him being different and gifted, as it would seem as though he had just picked up a dart and thrown it without any tuition or practice. Next is Māui's desire for competition. He is not afraid of competition in fact he welcomes it and seeks it out. Here is the encouragement to face competition but also to prepare for it.

The next key concept is that of caution. Māui does not make himself known to his brothers although he is interested in the fact that at the competition he meets these people who have the same name as he. This probably gave him time to find out a little more about them. Once engaged with them, Māui's curiosity meant he was keen to accept the invitation to accompany them back to their mother, Tāranga's house for food. When questioned by Tāranga, Māui demonstrated he could be honest when necessary although in one version of the story Māui plays games with Tāranga. This can be interpreted in a human development context as one way by which he is able to cause some mischief to the mother who abandoned or rejected him. In fact many of the ways in which he uses members of his family to achieve his ends can be interpreted as the revenge of the abandoned child. More importantly however is the need for identity. Māui establishes his identity both in relation to his family and as an individual (the demonstration of his skill as a dart thrower).

> ***Key concepts.***
> Observation.
>
> Practice.
>
> Competition.
>
> Caution.

| Curiosity. |
| Honesty is important. |
| Identity – family and individual. |

Descending To The Underworld With Tāranga

Descending to the Underworld with Tāranga is a story about identity and relationships as Māui seeks to know his mother. It is also about observation, planning, preparation, reflection, the seeking of examples, learning and understanding.

The basic facts of this story are that after Māui had been with his family for a while, he observed that his mother only slept at the house and during the day she disappeared. He asked his brothers if they knew where she went and they said they did not. Māui decided that he would find out and planned how he would do this by blocking the gaps in the house creating the illusion that it was still dark. The sun's rays would not shine through until the sun was high.

When he had finished doing this, he asked his mother if he could sleep with her at her end of the house. She agreed because she wanted to build her relationship with him by spending more time with him. When she was sleeping soundly, he took her kilt and hid it so she would have to spend time looking for it in the morning thereby delaying her leaving just a little bit longer. When Tāranga woke in the morning she asked if it was time to rise to which Māui replied that it was not. Eventually she rose but took some time to find her kilt. When she left the house, Māui watched her. He noticed that she went to a clump of toetoe mata (cutty grass) and disappeared. Māui went to the spot where he had seen her disappear and pulled up the plant. Underneath he found an entranceway to Rarohenga, the underworld where the sun was shining just like it was in the upper world.

Māui returned to his brothers and asked them who would go to Rarohenga. They replied that it had to be him because the tohi (baptism) rite had been performed over him and not over them. Māui agreed and went to the cave at Kowhaonui where he lay face down on the bones of his ancestor Murirangawhenua. There he recited a karakia (ritual chant) to the spirit of Murirangawhenua seeking power to transform

himself into a bird. As he concluded the karakia, a white pigeon alighted on the pole that supported Murirangawhenua's wrapped bones and Māui decided he wanted to take the form of the pigeon because it had appeared during his karakia. He took the bird, recited another karakia to assume its form but as he finished he heard the pigeon telling him to go back to the house and await Tāranga. The pigeon also told him that if he asked her where she went, she would tell him. Next, he was to ask her how she got there and then not to ask her any more questions. Māui agreed and returned to the house.

That night Māui asked her where her other home was and as the pigeon had said, she told him that it was in Rarohenga. He then asked her where the route was and she replied that it was by way of Poutererangi, the passage of Tahekeroa that was watched over by Te Kūwatawata one of the children of Ranginui and Papatuanuku. Māui then asked her if she went to Rarohenga in the form by which they knew her. She told him that the form he and his brothers saw her in was supernormal and not a normal human form. They then went to sleep.

When Tāranga eventually decided to leave the house, she couldn't find her kilt because Māui had hidden it among his belongings so she left without it. Māui overheard her say that the kilt was important in her descent to Rarohenga, as it was the means by which she would be comely. After she had left he took her kilt and went again to the cave at Kowhaonui and lay on the bones of Murirangawhenua. There he recited a karakia to open up a passageway to Rarohenga. Again a pigeon alighted on the pole and this time it told him that if he took its form he would reach the underworld. Māui did this and hung Tāranga's kilt around his neck.

Māui set off and when he arrived at Poutererangi he asked Te Kūwatawata if he would reach his destination in the form of the pigeon. Te Kūwatawata told him that he would and confirming that he was speaking to Māui, warned him to be on his best behaviour because his reputation was known. Māui then asked him what was happening in Rarohenga to which Te Kūwatawata replied that the festivities pertaining to Rango were being celebrated. These are celebrations of summer pastimes so we know that this event took place in summer. Māui then began his descent into Rarohenga and when he arrived at Māwhera where his mother was staying, he landed on a pohutukawa tree. The people saw him and attempted to slay him but Māui flew to the top of the tree to avoid their spears. One man climbed up

the tree and as he prepared to throw his spear, Māui defecated into his eye much to the amusement of the people. Māui then flew to a rata tree and the people decided they would capture the bird and keep it as a pet. As they stood looking up into the tree, Māui continued to avoid capture by defecating on them with devastating accuracy. The people noticed however that the faeces of the bird smelled like those of a human. Tāranga eventually heard about the strange bird and remarked that it was probably Māui who had followed her to Rarohenga.

Tāranga left the village and called out to Māui to confirm that it was indeed he. He replied that it was and she asked that he reveal himself to her. He then landed on her shoulder and she took him into the house where he resumed his human form.

Key concepts.

Identity

Relationships

Observation

Planning.

Preparation.

Reflection (as in a mirror) – look for examples.

Learn.

Seek understanding.

Taking Fire From Mahuika

As with the other stories there are several versions of this story with slight variations in each version. Essentially however, the story is the same. Māui decided that he would go and get fire from Mahuika. He set off and on meeting Mahuika, asked for fire. Mahuika would give him one of her fingers, which carried the fire and he would set off in the direction from whence he came. However, on reaching a particular stream, sometimes referred to as Taiau (Best, 1982: 348) he would throw the burning finger into the water and return to Mahuika saying that he had an accident and had dropped the fire into the water. Mahuika would give him another fiery finger and this carried on until Mahuika became angry and threw the subterranean fires at Māui and thus humankind had its first ever scorched earth action taken against it.

Māui chose to escape the flames by taking on the form of various birds that got bigger and stronger in each form as he fled Mahuika's wrath. Unfortunately he couldn't get away from the fires and had to ask for help from the personified forms of rain. In one version this is Ihorangi and the offspring of Tuanuku and Ranginui. In another, Māui called upon Whaitiri and Tawhirimatea who sent Uanui and Uaroa. The rains subdued Mahuika's fire and she sought shelter in the earth, stones and trees. Thus was humankind able to both create fire from using these elements and subdue its rage by using water to extinguish it.

There are two versions of the reason for Māui going to get fire. In the first it was as a result of his visit to the underworld with Tāranga. Whilst there, Tāranga was unable to cook their meal because there was no fire. Māui noticed smoke rising from a hill in the distance and he asked Tāranga about the smoke. She told him the smoke came from his elder Mahuika and warned him not to go near the elder. Māui, being daring and over-confident, declared that he would go to Mahuika to ask for fire. In the other versions, Māui extinguished the fires of the village so that someone had to go to get fire from Mahuika and of course that person ended up being himself because he cast spells to ensure that any other person who was selected would refuse to go until eventually he would be asked to undertake the task.

The Mahuika story accentuates the fact that Māui was not above using subterfuge thus enhancing his reputation for deviousness. It is also interpreted in the feminist context as being evidence that Māui was a misogynist. Specifically that when Mahuika (female) had fire she shared it with others but when Māui (male) took fire from her, he kept it for himself. However, the story of Māui learning about Mahuika's control of fire suggests that in fact she did not share her power e.g. in one version, Murirangawhenua eats raw meat because she has no fire to cook with. Therefore, Mahuika kept fire to herself and it wasn't until after she was vanquished by Māui and had fled into the earth, rocks and trees that she began to share. Another interpretation that lends understanding to his actions in deliberately taking fire from Mahuika is that of Māui asserting control. He understands that Mahuika is a source of power and to vanquish that power he must remove the source of her power, her fingers of fire. In the context of business this action can be likened to understanding the competition and knowing how to deal with it. In taking Mahuika's power away from her Māui almost destroyed humankind. He was able to prevent this by asking

for help. With this help he was then able to assert control over Mahuika's destructive power.

Destroying the competition however, is not the only choice. What should be taken into consideration are the consequences of the decision. Māui had been warned of Mahuika's awesome power yet he still chose to pursue action to subdue her. Here is evidence of the risk that he was prepared to take in order to assert the power of humankind.

Mahuika's actions in retaliating against Māui's can be interpreted as a time of testing. That is, Māui was being tested to see how long it would take him recognize the limitations of his ability and that he would have to ask for help. The learning here is to recognise one's ability and to know when to ask for assistance. Interestingly, when he asked for help, it was of water beings, personifications of rain. Again Māui is being nurtured and cared for by water. Perhaps this is another reference to him being nurtured in the womb with the water beings representing the amniotic fluid. In asking for help however, he has access to other expertise and is able to succeed in exerting control over an otherwise dangerous being and situation.

Key concepts:

Understand competition and decide how to relate to it.

Failure may sometimes seem inevitable.

Know your limitations and when to ask for help.

Asking for help may facilitate access to expertise.

There is no escape from being tested.

Māui Invents The Barbed Hook And Spear.

Māui Invents the Barbed Hook and Spear is also told in Ngāti Awa with Tāwhaki as the main character. One day Māui and his brothers went fishing. Whereas they had plain spears, his had a hook with a barb on it. The result, Māui was the only one catching fish because the fish always managed to wriggle off his brothers' fishing spears. When his brothers asked to see his spear he was careful to remove the barb on the hook and as a result they marvelled at his skill as a fisherman. Soon it was time to spear birds, presumably in preparation for winter and Māui began

to make himself a spear. His mother asked him what he was making a spear for and he said that he was making it for hunting birds. She commented that he would not be able to do so and he angrily commented that he supposed that only her other children would be successful. She chastised him for being disparaging about his brothers.

When Māui had finished making his spear, he named it Murirangawhenua after his dead grandmother. He went bird hunting and in one day killed so many birds that he was unable to carry them all home. After this, the spear he had made became famous. He had designed the spear point after observing the back of a tuatara and incorporated this into the point. That is why the point of a bird spear is called tara.

In another version of the same story the idea for the barb came from Tāranga. Māui and his brothers had gone out hunting birds and had been unsuccessful because the birds were able to wriggle off their plain spears. They went home and told Tāranga who told them that they needed barbs on their spear points similar to the barb that she took everywhere with her. She then showed the barb to Māui who made a barbed spear point. After testing the spear successfully for some time, Māui told his brothers and in this way the information became available to everyone.

Essentially, this story is about design, testing the design and then sharing knowledge once and only when the design is proven to be useful. First Māui designs a spear point whether it was by observing the back of a tuatara or from a barb his mother had shown him is not the important point. Instead it is the fact he spent time doing so. Next, he tests the design by fishing and hunting with a barbed spear. The stories present this action as being done in deceit because he hides his actions from his brother. There is another explanation however that does not include deceit. Rather, Māui preferred to make his actions known only when he was sure that his design worked. To share information before he was sure of his design was to expose himself to possible ridicule. Once he was sure that his invention worked, he shared his knowledge and information with his brothers and others who were interested. The result was the barb being adopted.

Māui Invents The Crayfish And Eel Pots.

One day Māui was watching his older brothers making crayfish pots. He noticed that on some, the entrance was in the side of the pot and on others, the bottom. He told his brothers that their pot design and the way they made them were flawed. They then challenged him to make his own. Māui did so leaving the entrance to the pot at the top but he did not include the kōrohe (net). When the brothers including Māui went to set their pots, Māui secretly attached the kōrohe to his pot. The next day when his older brothers rose to go and check the pots, Māui slept on. His mother Tāranga woke him and told him that his brothers had gone and so should he to which he replied it was better to wait a little longer to give more time for his pot to fill. When the brothers returned they were empty-handed and said the weather had affected their catch.

Eventually Māui accompanied by his mother and their attendants went to pull his pot in. His mother went to please him but no one thought he would catch anything. When Māui tried to pull his pot in he was unable and Tāranga and the attendants helped him. They found the pot full, took some crayfish out and returned feeling somewhat chagrined by the fact they had not had faith in the design of Māui's pot. Meanwhile, Māui had remained behind to conceal the kōrohe so his design would remain a secret for a little longer. His older brothers eventually found out about the design through what would nowadays be deemed to be industrial espionage – they had to spy on him.

A similar situation occurred when Māui made his eel pot. He attached a tohe (retracted mouth) to the pot which prevented the eels from escaping. Again he

removed the key design feature after every usage to prevent his brothers from learning how he achieved success. When they would ask him why his pots were successful, he would tell them that he didn't know because what they saw was what he put down to catch eels. His subterfuge in both stories only added to his reputation as being deceitful.

Although these two stories are presented as evidence of Māui's deceitfulness they can also be presented as evidence of his not wanting to share information about his designs until he was absolutely sure they would work. If he had not done so and immediately shown off the features of his designs and the pots had failed, in all likelihood, he would have been ridiculed by his brothers. After all, he was the youngest and it would have been assumed that he would have lacked both prior knowledge and skills in such matters. The ways in which the stories are presented imply that he kept his knowledge of the design features to himself out of deceit. Another explanation however is that he shared his designs when he was sure of their capability.

Key concepts

Design and design features.

It is important to test new equipment to assess their success when in use.

When people want knowledge you are unwilling to share they will use every means by which to get it (industrial spying).

Māui Snares The Sun.

In the first days of creation, humankind found the sun moved across the sky so quickly they were unable to complete many of their daily tasks. Likewise, the nights were so short they did not get enough sleep. There was therefore a great deal of dissatisfaction. Māui thought about this and decided there must be a way to slow the sun's movement across the sky. It was decided to make strong ropes to capture and control the sun and so the people set about making ropes. Many different methods of plaiting ropes were used and it is thought this story tells the origin of the different styles of plaiting – tāmaka (a round cord of four or more plaited strands), paraha (flat, broad weaving), kōpuku (close weaving) and takawiri (twisted, cross grained).

When the ropes were ready, Māui and his brothers set off to the place where the sun rose. When they got there, they set about forming nooses to snare the sun. When the sun emerged, they cast their snares, caught and held the sun until he cried out for mercy. They only let him go when he agreed to move more slowly across the sky.

This story is one of the most well known of the Māui stories. It is a story about needs assessment, organising, planning, leading, controlling, and time management. Important management concepts necessary when facing a major task for surely capturing and holding a force such as the sun until he capitulated and agreed to move at a slower pace is a major task. Other concepts that emerge in this story are of the need to involve everyone in a major operation and therefore not to undertake it alone, to use appropriate tools (plaited rope) and methods (nooses and snares) to complete tasks.

Key concepts

Needs assessment.

Organising.

Planning.

Leading.

Controlling.

Time management.

Preparation.

Commitment.

Involve everyone when faced with major tasks. Do not try to do things on your own.

Use appropriate tools and methods.

Māui And Irawaru

There are two versions of this story where the main characters differ and so they are both retold here. In the first version Best notes from an Arawa source, (1982: 360), Māui and his brother-in-law Irawaru, husband of Māui's sister Hineuri, went

fishing. Irawaru was successful and Māui was not. Māui had a look at Irawaru's hook and noticed that it had a barb on it whilst his was plain. Best has interpreted this story to be a contradiction to that in which Māui invented the barbed hook (1982: 360). When they landed, Māui contrived to haul the canoe over Irawaru seriously injuring him. He then changed Irawaru into a dog and returned home alone. Hineuri asked him where Irawaru was and he told her that he did not know but that when she called him she should call as though she were calling a dog. She did so and Irawaru the dog came at her bidding. The story then continues with Hineuri as the main character as she travels to forget what has happened to her husband.

In another version Best notes is from Takitimu a confederation of tribes associated with the canoe Takitimu (1982: 361), after the battle with Mahuika has raged for some time in retaliation for Māui having taken almost all fire from her, (see earlier story) Māui decided that he would make peace with her. When he arrived at Horotea, he found that the fighting was over. On the journey however, he married Hinerautipu before returning home to Wharaurangi where he and his brothers lived. When he returned, he took the art of tattooing and as his knowledge of the art form became known people gathered to see the designs. Irawaru asked Māui to tattoo him. Māui had noticed a fine garment that Irawaru owned and decided that he wanted it and took the tattooing as an opportunity to get it. When he had finished tattooing Irawaru, he suggested they go to the stream to bathe and it was here that Māui changed Irawaru into a dog, returning home alone afterward. In this version, it is Māui's wife Hinerautipu and her sister Te Awhenga who go in search of Irawaru and again it is only when they call as if calling a dog that Irawaru appears.

In this story, the motivation for Māui's action appears to be greed and jealousy. Some explanations of his treatment of Irawaru include:
- It was Irawaru's sister Whatunui whom Māui married and she was 'interfered' with by Māui's oldest brother Māui-mua. However, this still does not justify Māui's treatment of Irawaru unless Whatunui had willingly initiated a relationship with Māui-mua and the main Māui of these stories punished her brother for her indiscretion.
- Irawaru ate all of the bait when they went fishing.
- Māui changed Irawaru into a dog to act as the protector of dogs.

- The English interpretation of Irawaru is incest therefore it could be interpreted that Māui transformed Irawaru into a dog as punishment for an incestuous relationship.

Leaving aside what appears to be ordinary nastiness as a result of jealousy and spite, this story can also be interpreted to mean that by taking the action he did, Māui exerted control over a situation, whatever that happened to be. In taking control, he had to be aware his actions had an impact on others because although he did not tell his sister outright what he had done to her husband, he did tell her if she called for Irawaru as though calling for a dog, then he might appear. In the version where he returned with knowledge of tattooing, he shares that knowledge with others taking on the roles of showman and teacher.

Key concepts

Exert control over situations.

Be aware that your actions impact on others.

Share knowledge and information.

Adopt roles when necessary e.g. be a showman and a teacher.

Māui And Rohe

The story of Māui and Rohe is one from the Moriori, a tribal group from Wharekauri an island to the east of the South Island of Aotearoa New Zealand. Māui married Rohe who was the sister of the sun. Rohe was beautiful and she is said to have made disparaging remarks about Māui's looks. In anger, he destroyed her by using magic to take her face as his own. After her death, Rohe became a powerful force in the underworld where she gathered the spirits as they journeyed from the upper world. In Māori stories, this character is Hinenuitepō who was to conquer Māui as he sought to obtain immortality.

Again this is a story that demonstrates the nasty side of Māui but there is learning in the story and it is one that has been evident in other stories (Taking fire from Mahuika and turning Irawaru into a dog). The lesson is that when taking action one should also be aware of the consequences of that action. Another lesson in the story is that although a person may not succeed in one endeavour, success may occur elsewhere. The lesson is taken from the fact that although Rohe was destroyed by

Māui she did become a powerful force to be reckoned with and in her Māori personification as Hinenuitepō, conquered Māui in his bid to become immortal.

> **Key concepts**
>
> There are consequences attached to action.
>
> Success may come at another time.
>
> Defeat or failure may result in better opportunities.
>
> Take care in how you treat others.

Māui And Niniwa-i-te-Rangi

Māui heard about a woman called Niniwa-i-te-rangi and set off to visit her. At this time, Māui did not have a permanently marked tattoo but rather a design was drawn on to his face. When Māui and Niniwa met, she liked what she saw and invited him into her house. After some time in the house, the drawn on facial design began to run and Māui no longer looked as handsome. Niniwa lost interest in him and Māui decided that he would go and get the more permanent facial markings. Mataora did these. When Māui returned to Niniwa's house she again expressed interest in him and they married. Later Māui abandoned Niniwa and eventually she killed herself in despair.

The main themes in this story are that reputation and appearance are important. Māui went to see Niniwa because he had heard of her reputation. When he arrived and spent some time with her, his appearance was marred because his drawn on facial design began to run in the heat. He decided to do something about it and went to Mataora for the more permanent punctured skin markings.

> **Key concepts**
>
> Be aware of reputation.
>
> Appearance matters.

Māui, Tuna And Hina

The story is about a woman being seduced and/or raped by Tuna. Interestingly, Tuna is the common word for the eel and therefore the eel in the context of this story is a phallic symbol. The woman in the story is Māui's wife and is said to

be either Hinerautipu or Hine for short, or Hina. Essentially, Hine tells Māui that she has been seduced/raped by Tuna and Māui sets out to avenge this wrong. He sets a trap that involves the construction of a skid way with the assistance of the people. He and one other then lure Tuna on to the skid way with the use of a chant and when Tuna is on the last skid, they kill him. His tail escapes to sea and becomes the conger eel. His head escapes into the fresh waters and becomes the eel that we know today. The hair from his head becomes the aka, a climbing plant, his blood infuses the rimu, totara, toatoa, and matai trees with colour and add the splash of colour to the kākā and pukeko birds.

The learning in this story is about how one action can result in a series of consequences. That is, Tuna's action in seducing/raping Hine resulted in Māui organising the people to help him to take action against Tuna. There were several consequences from Tuna's death. All of them were good e.g. the different species of eel, the colouring of the trees and birds. This indicates that good does arise out of what may seem to be sad circumstances and drastic action.

Key concepts
There are consequences attached to actions.
Sometimes good arises out of adversity.

Māui, Tangaroa And Te Mokoroaiata

The story provides an explanation for the existence of the Milky Way. One of Māui's foster-parents Tangaroa had a great battle with a monster – a battle that he lost. Later Māui captured the monster's descendants and placed them in the sky.

The learning that can be taken from this story is that you cannot win/conquer everything. It is likely that sometimes there will be failure but something else may happen as a result of that failure e.g. Māui placed the monsters descendants in the heavens and in that way not only put them somewhere where they could not harm him and his kind but could provide a spectacle of beauty at nights and be a guide for travellers.

Māui Hauls Up Land From The Ocean Depths.

Here we have the other most known of the Māui stories. It tells the tale of how he fished Te Ika A Māui (The Fish of Māui known also as the North Island of Aotearoa New Zealand) from the ocean depths. There are several versions of this story but the main elements are relatively similar in each one.

At certain times Māui's village would go fishing at the three rocks that marked the fishing grounds (Haupāroa, Tapuārau and Whakahauhau). Māui's brothers would invite him to go fishing with them but he always declined preferring to stay behind and sleep, sing or play his trumpet (Hauerangi). Another time Māui's wife Hinerautipu asked him to go fishing and again he refused preferring to sleep. His brothers in the meantime had been sharing their catch with Māui's family but they grew angry with him because of his laziness and stopped taking fish to his house. Unbeknown to them however, Puhiāriki, Māui-mua's wife sneaked fish to the family. After a time, a group of people visited Māui's house and much to the embarrassment of his wife and children (Whakahuka and Tikiāhua) they had no food to provide for the guests. Māui went to ask his older brothers for some fish and they refused to give him some so he returned home empty-handed. After he had left, Māui-mua commented that if the season had been plentiful they would not have treated Māui in that manner despite his laziness and so he told Māui-pae to take some fish to Māui's house which he did to the relief of Hinerautipu, her sister Te Awhenga and the children.

The next day Māui-mua went to Māui's house to pay his respects to Māui's visitors. When he left, he invited Māui to go fishing and Māui agreed to do so. On leaving his house, Māui went to the cave at Kowhaonui where the bones of his grandparent Murirangawhenua lay and took the jaw-bone to use as a hook knowing

that his brothers already thought poorly of him. In some stories, Murirangawhenua is female and is again one of those points in the Māui stories that feminists focus as an example of Māui the misogynist. However, in some of the stories, Murirangawhenua is alive and in others dead. The stories where Murirangawhenua is alive are when the character is female. She removes her jaw-bone and gives it to Māui in exchange for something he does for her e.g. acquiring fire from Mahuika. But in all stories it is the jaw-bone of Murirangawhenua that is essential.

In addition, Māui had no bait. When he arrived at the departure point (Waihao) two of his brothers (Māui-taha and Māui-roto) told him they objected to his presence because he was lazy and deceitful. He then challenged them to qualify their remarks to which they raised the incidents of him hiding their mother's skirt when he was trying to find out where she went during the day (See Māui descending to the Underworld with Tāranga), how he deceived Mahuika into giving him all of her fingers of fire and his treatment of Irawaru. At this point Māui-mua commanded them to stop and told Māui to take his place in the bow of the canoe. They then paddled out to sea.

Soon Māui-pae called for them to stop but Māui said they should continue out to the deep because they had stopped over a sandbar and the fish were small. The older brothers agreed and they paddled out further until another brother called for them to stop and this time they lowered the anchor (Horapunga). Māui asked his brother's for a hook and they told him to use the jaw-bone. He asked them for some bait and Māui-taha told him to use a part of his body. Māui was annoyed that his brother's would not share with him so stood, took his line in his right hand and his grandparent's jawbone in his left hand and recited a karakia over them. While doing this he hit his nose with the jawbone causing it to bleed and surreptitiously wiped his blood on the jawbone without his brothers seeing what he did. He then cast his line repeating the karakia until the jawbone caught on something and the fish was hauled to the surface. They asked him whose jaw he had used and he replied that the jawbone wasn't important but rather they should rejoice in the catch.

Māui then left to take the mauri of the fish to the priests at the sacred place. Before he left however, he told his brothers not to trample the fish or cut it up but to allow it to cool before preparing it. After he had left, his brothers began to divide the

fish up among themselves with each selecting a part they liked and marking the boundaries. It is at this point in the story that the fish is identified as being a metaphor for land and that the action of the brothers in dividing the fish results in the creation of mountains, ranges, hills, valleys, swamps and other formations that are the common landmarks we know. Māui fishing up land is told throughout the Pacific and is further evidence of placing any analysis of the stories in an international context. With each telling of the story, the place and name of the land that Māui has fished up changes. Here in Aotearoa New Zealand, it is said to be the North Island which carries the Māori name of Te-Ika-A-Māui (The Fish of Māui).

Māui learned the hard way that there is no such thing as a free lunch. Instead it is necessary to work in order to achieve and if you don't work, then you are likely to place your family in a state of hardship as well. Māui retrieving his grandparent's jaw-bone to use as the hook can be interpreted as meaning it is a good idea to use the best possible tools for the job. By reciting the karakia, he was covering all of his bases to ensure he would be successful. The use of karakia can also be interpreted as an indication that sometimes it is necessary to ask for help. Once he had landed his catch he was not above sharing with his brothers despite their reluctance to have him accompany them. He also gave thanks for the catch hence the reference to taking the mauri of the fish to the priests at the sacred place. Although he left instructions with his brothers not to touch the fish he did not attach a condition to the instruction and they proceeded to ignore him.

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Key concepts

Achievement requires effort.

Ask for help.

Share what you have when necessary and appropriate.

Give thanks by celebrating.

When giving instructions it is sometimes important to also give a condition.

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Māui And Hinenuitepo

This is the story that is told to explain humankind's mortality. There are many versions of the story including some in which Māui does not figure at all. However

the story as it relates to Māui has him for one reason or another journeying to the underworld to attempt to overcome or kill Hinenuitepo. Prior to the journey he had spent time preparing by reciting karakia that would protect him, provide him with different forms by which to get close to his target and with the fortitude by which he could face the formidable Hinenuitepo. He chose three small forest birds as companions for the journey including them in his preparations.

Māui chose to journey to Rarohenga, the home of Hine-nui-te-po, in bird form. On his way to Rarohenga, insects saw him and warned Hinenuitepo of his arrival. She sent the insects back to retrieve a drop of Māui's blood but they were unable to do so as many were slaughtered in a battle with Māui and his companions. She then sent the sandfly who was successful and returned with some of Māui's blood. Hinenuitepo smeared it on the doorframe of her house. That action was part of her preparation for his assault.

When Māui and his companions arrived at her house, they found Hinenuitepo asleep. Māui decided he would overcome her by entering her body through her vagina in a form other than the bird of his journey. After his travelling companions rejected other forms, he chose that of a worm. He warned his companions not to laugh as he entered Hinenuitepo and began the final stage of his journey. Unfortunately for him, his companions fell about in hysterical laughter as they watched the worm that was Māui, enter the vagina of Hinenuitepo. She awoke and the usual telling of the story at this point is that she squeezed her thighs together and squashed him dead. Best uses the word 'came' a common word to describe the state of orgasm thus providing one explanation of how Hinenuitepo overcame Māui.

In Erlbeck's version of the story, Māui neither chose his companions nor decided to enter Hinenuitepo through her vagina. Instead he ended up in Rarohenga after his brother Māui-taha, in the form of a dog, took him to Rarohenga in retaliation for Māui kidnapping his two daughters. Māui-taha knew of his young brother's plan to overcome Hinenuitepo and combined this with his own desire to seek redress for a wrong done to his family. He captured his younger brother and took him to Rarohenga where Māui asked his older brother to take him to the house of Hinenuitepo. To get there he travelled in the form of a lizard in Māui-taha's fur. When he left Māui-taha, still in the form of a lizard, he was seen by a piwakawaka

(fantail) that decided the lizard was just the thing for a meal. To escape the piwakawaka, Māui entered Hinenuitepo's vagina, the piwakawaka followed and struck Māui's lizard form tail waking her. She thereupon squeezed her thighs and killed Māui.

Ignoring the obvious sexual nature of the story and the dominance of woman over man and therefore looking at other aspects of it's telling there are some obvious concepts relevant to entrepreneurship. First is that of preparation. Māui did not rush off to vanquish Hinenuitepo. Instead he spent time preparing. Two important aspects of his preparation were the reciting of karakia and the choosing of companions. Notably, Hinenuitepo also prepared once she was informed of his impending assault. The storytelling does not inform the reader (or listener) that Māui prepared for both a surprise attack or for Hinenuitepo being aware of his purpose. It is assumed that this was in fact the case. If it was, then he underestimated her counter-preparation and the lesson, is that it is not enough to plan for what is known but also to plan for what is unknown.

In relation to the choosing of companions, Māui obviously chose his companions for something other than their ability to either follow orders or to protect his back. His three companions were small birds of the forest – the tatahore, miro and tiwaiwaka. The birds are known for being playful characters and more likely to have been chosen for their entertainment value rather than either their bravery or intelligence. They would have been the kind of companions to tell a good joke or to laugh uproariously at a joke – their own or someone else's. The learning here is that in choosing others to embark on a journey of any kind choose those who will fit the task and enable you to succeed.

Finally, Māui's last tactic was his greatest mistake and cost him his life. He chose or was forced to enter Hinenuitepo's body through her vagina despite the fact she had other bodily openings by which an attack on her person could be made.   It is not clear why he chose this means of entrance unless we believe the Erlbeck explanation that he was forced to when under attack by the piwakawaka. Māui entering Hinenuitepo in the form of the lizard is the story I grew up with. The fact that when she awoke she squeezed her legs shut is probably the sanitised version for telling to children otherwise there is the need to explain the details of sex. The

learning here is one should consider all possibilities, have sets of contingency plans and simplify things so complications are minimised.

<div style="border:1px solid black; padding:10px;">

Key concepts

Plan for all possibilities.

Always have a contingency plan.

Choose companions for the task.

Know the opposition.

Keep things simple.

</div>

Conclusion

By examining the stories for key concepts, I have been able to discern that they do contain a blueprint that can be used to develop a model for growing young Māori entrepreneurs in both the business and social venturing or social entrepreneurship sense. That will be addressed in the next chapter. The list of key concepts from each story is presented here. The list here is probably not a finite one. No doubt others when they read the stories will find key concepts not listed. Their task is to add those to the analysis and model. Any such additions in future will add to the depth of the model.

Key concepts

Exert control over situations.

Be aware that your actions impact on others.

Share knowledge and information.

Identity is important

Relationships are important

Observation is a valuable way of learning

Reflect on past

Look for examples

Adopt roles when necessary – be a showman and a teacher.

There are consequences attached to action.

Success may come at another time.

Defeat or failure may result in better opportunities.

Take care in how you treat others.

Be aware of reputation.

Appearance matters.

There are consequences attached to actions.

Sometimes good arises out of adversity.

Sometimes there is failure.

Learn from that failure.

Failure can also result in positive outcomes. Resolve differences and problems.

You have to work to achieve.

Ask for help.

Share what you have when necessary and appropriate.

Give thanks by celebrating.

When giving instructions it is sometimes important to also give a condition.

Plan for all possibilities.

Always have a contingency plan.

Choose companions for the task.

Know the opposition.

Keep things simple.

An analysis of the stories and how well they fit the archetypical plots of myths is set out in the table below.

Table 3.2: Archetypal Plots (Simpson and Coombes, 2001) and the Māui stories

Archetype	Plot/Structure	Gift	Māui Story
Orphan	How I suffered/How I survived.	Resilience	The Events at Māui's Birth.
Wanderer	How I escaped/ How I found my way in the world.	Independence	Māui the Dart Thrower. Descending to the Underworld with Tāranga.
Warrior	How I achieved my	Courage	Māui and Mahuika

	goals/ How I defeated my enemies		Māui Tames the Sun
Altruist	How I gave to others/ how I sacrificed.	Compassion	Māui invents the Barbed Hook and Spear. Māui Invents the Crayfish and Eel Pots.Taking Fire From Mahuika. Māui Snares the Sun. Māui Hauls Up Land From The Ocean Depths.
Returned Innocent	How I found happiness/ The promised land.	Faith	
Magician	How I changed my world.	Power	Māui invents the Barbed Hook and Spear. Māui Invents the Crayfish and Eel Pots. Taking Fire From Mahuika. Māui Snares the Sun. Māui Hauls Up Land From The Ocean Depths.

Rather than include the model that may be designed from the analysis of the stories in this chapter, it is in the next one. Addressing it separate from the analysis of the stories gives it emphasis. Finally, is Māui a trickster?

The descriptions of him seem to fit those of the trickster although he was not an animal or bird or insect. He was however known to change himself into these creatures to achieve his goal. Like Odysseus, Māui was organised and planned. Like Kweku Ananse he was known to be lazy and did not keep his friends. Also like both Kweku Anase and Odysseus, Māui could be vicious in his revenge. The one description that does not fit too well is that of the comic. Māui himself was not known for being a comic as such although he did poke fun at others by putting them in comical situations. Also he chose comical figures as his companions in some

stories - notably so in the last one when he sought immortality. One could say in that case the last laugh was on him as Hinenuitepo was woken by the laughter of his companions and brought her thighs together crushing him thus ending humankind's quest for immortality. But the fact we still talk about Māui is evidence he achieved immortality – just not in the way he intended.

CHAPTER 4

MĀUI MODEL

In the previous chapter an analysis of fourteen Māui stories was presented. The analysis identified key concepts in each of the stories. In this chapter the key concepts are interpreted into a model named 'MĀUI' and it is presented with diagrammatic explanations and descriptions. Included are detailed explanations of the meanings of the various elements of the model. Also included is a presentation of how the key concepts extracted from each of the stories fit into the model. It is not a treatment that debates the meanings of the words but rather one that takes particular meanings from the range of possibilities. Māori words like words from other languages can have multiple meanings. Specific meanings have been identified for use in the thesis. The intention is to show how those words give definition to the key concepts are then organised into the elements of a model for entrepreneurship in a Mātauranga Māori context.

In an article jointly written with Christine Woods (2006) I explored Māui's name in more detail. The exploration was done by taking the two syllables that make up his name – MĀ and UI – and by drawing on the understanding of entrepreneurial behaviour as involving alertness to opportunity. See also Chapter One. The word 'Māuipreneur' was also first published in that article wherein it was used to describe the Māori entrepreneur.

The word MĀ can mean to free up from tapu (a state of the profane or sacred). When something is tapu, there are strict rules about how it can be used and/or approached. The state of tapu is invoked usually as a means of protection e.g. urupā (burial grounds) are tapu or the setting of boundaries. When leaving the urupā, people go through a ritual of washing. There is a simple and scientific reason for the washing ritual.

In pre-European times, Māori burial rituals sometimes took many days during which time decomposition could become quite advanced. By the time the body was placed somewhere for decomposition to take its full course, the mourners had been in contact with it on several occasions. The ancestors did not know about micro-organisms and germs but they knew about bad spirits. They knew that decomposing bodies had bad spirits that could cause harm. They also knew that washing decreased the potential for harm. Therefore, they placed a tapu on urupā and required those who went near the corpse to wash to control the impact of the bad spirits. The same practises are still in place in this the 21st century although somewhat modified. Urupā and corpses are still tapu and the washing process is now maintained by the symbolic washing of hands and splashing of water over the body (especially the head) when leaving both the urupā and the presence of the corpse.

Once tapu is invoked, lifting or removing it involves karakia and other procedures depending upon the situation. When the state of tapu is lifted a window of opportunity is created. In the case of death, being able to move on with life. In the context of entrepreneurship, creating something new. Once the new opportunity has been recognised the second part of Māui's name – UI – is actioned.

The word UI is the science involving asking, questioning and enquiry (Williams, 1985). Here then in a Mātauranga Māori context is the investigation, the entrepreneurial research and development. Very few entrepreneurs set off to do something without first investigating, without first undertaking research in order to develop. Māui almost always did exactly that e.g. he observed the sun before he attempted to slow its path across the sky. He then set about working out the best way to achieve the goal of creating more time in the day for humankind to accomplish chores.

Exploring four appropriate tikanga principles that begin with the letters 'M' and 'A' then expands the model. These are given depth by application of tikanga principles that build on the two letters 'U' and 'I' as hoa-haere (companions). The arrangement grounds the MĀ (sacred and profane: theory) with the application of UI (questioning: application).

The MĀUI Model

The MĀUI model is taken from the letters of the first part of Māui Tikitiki-A-Tāranga's name. There are three reasons for this. First there is the celebration of the individual, his personality, his strengths and weaknesses, his daring, skill, leadership and capacity to pursue new ideas to fruition. Second, is the acknowledgment of the fact that Māui-Tikitiki-A-Tāranga was not the only carrier of the name Māui. So did his brothers. In this way there is the recognition of the whānau and community. Also, Māui did very little on his own although the stories are a celebration of his (ad)ventures. Instead he always sought the company of others even when they mocked his efforts and ultimately cost him his life. Third, despite his perceived 'laziness' and 'selfishness', his family and the community of humankind are major beneficiaries of many of his exploits (Walker, 1996).

There is however a slight twist to the model for it is not simply a matter of taking each letter and attaching a word to it. Rather, the first two letters of the name are the indicators for particular tikanga concepts that stand-alone and the last two letters of the name are indicators for tikanga concepts that are hoa-haere or companions of the other four. Hoa-haere are applied to core concepts and give depth to the interpretation and analysis of them. The purpose for presenting the model in this way is to ground it in the practical. That is, the tikanga principles are guides and the hoa-haere ground those principles in the material foundations of resources and people. In a matrix they would appear as:

Table 4.1: The MĀUI Model Matrix

Mauri – Life force: Energy **M**ana – Authority: Relationships determining behaviour.	**Ū** – Resources; Resolve
Āta – Planning and Research **A**rataki – Leadership	**I**wi – The people and community

In the diagram at Figure 4.1 below, the (young) person is at the beginning of the process of actualising an entrepreneurial activity. During the process, the young

person and the activity are influenced to different degrees first by the states of mana, mauri, āta and arataki. These states are in turn impacted upon by ū and iwi. All of these exist in the environment of Te Ao Hurihuri. Literally translated Te Ao Hurihuri is The Turning World. It reminds us that the Māori World View is not static but one that embraces an ever-changing environment. It is taken to signify development is an ongoing process with no finite end.

MĀUI Model: The Core Elements

Here are some simple explanations of each of the tikanga principles. Reference is made to work that has been done by others that provide us with models and explanations of how these can be applied in practise. Explanations are then provided on how these are applied within the context of the model.

Figure 4.1: Diagram of MĀUI Model

Te Ao Hurihuri

| Taiohi Māori | Mauri Mana | Āta Arataki | U/Iwi | Enterprise |

Te Ao Hurihuri
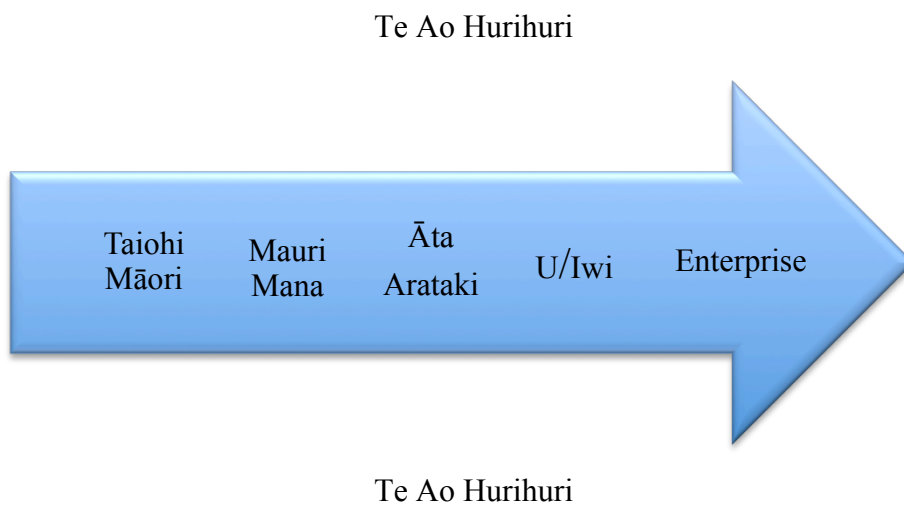
Mauri

Mauri is usually interpreted as the life principle (Durie, 2001; Pohatu, 2002) or the component that indicates that life is evident (Mead 2003). The belief here is that everything has a life force or an energy that keeps it alive. Kereopa however notes that inanimate objects e.g. rocks only have a life force because of human interaction (Moon, 2003). Given that idea then, it can be said that an entrepreneurial activity or a social venture has a life force. The person or people who then drive it are those with the passion to sustain the energy needed to maintain the mauri.

Two people have developed models based on the mauri principle. Pohatu did that within the social work field and Morgan (2006) in the context of environmental science and engineering sustainability. Table 4.2 presents Pohatu's model and Figure 4.3 Morgan's.

Table 4.2: Pohatu's Mauri Model

Mauri Moe (Tihe)	Mauri Oho (Tihe)	Mauri Ora (Tihe)
Kaiarataki (unrealised potential) Mātao (Distance, isolation)	Mahana (Warmth is experienced) Spark of interest, possibility of change.	State of being fully aware Participants plan towards change taking place.
Unrealised potential for change.	**Need for change is acknowledged.**	**Change has been achieved.**
Tihe adds depth to the analysis of Mauri Moe	Tihe adds depth to the analysis of Mauri Oho.	Tihe adds depth to the analysis of Mauri Ora.
Evaluation	**Evaluation.**	**Evaluation**

(Source: Leoni, 2007:59)

Morgan created the Mauri Model (See Figure 4.2) "[I]n order to include indigenous perspectives appropriately in infrastructure evaluation and decision making.." (2006:127). He defined mauri as "…the essence that has been passed from Ranginui and Papatuanuku to their progeny … and down to all living things through whakapapa in the Māori notion of creation. Mauri is considered to be the essence or life force that provides life to all living things." (2006:130).

His model is about impact. That is, "…whether the option is identified as enhancing, diminishing or neutral for the mauri of the aspect being considered" (op cit). The criteria of his Mauri Model are economic, social and cultural successive sub-sets of the environment. Specifically the impacts of an option on the mauri of the whānau or family (economic), the mauri of the community (social), the mauri of the hapū (cultural) and the mauri of the ecosystem (environment). The model has a ratings system that measures the long-term viability and therefore sustainability of a particular option from a tangata whenua perspective.

Figure 4.2: Morgan's Mauri Model

Neutral 0

Diminishing   Maintaining

Mauri noho -1   Mauri ora/kaha +1

Destroyed   Enhanced

Mauri mate -2   Mauri ora/kaha +2
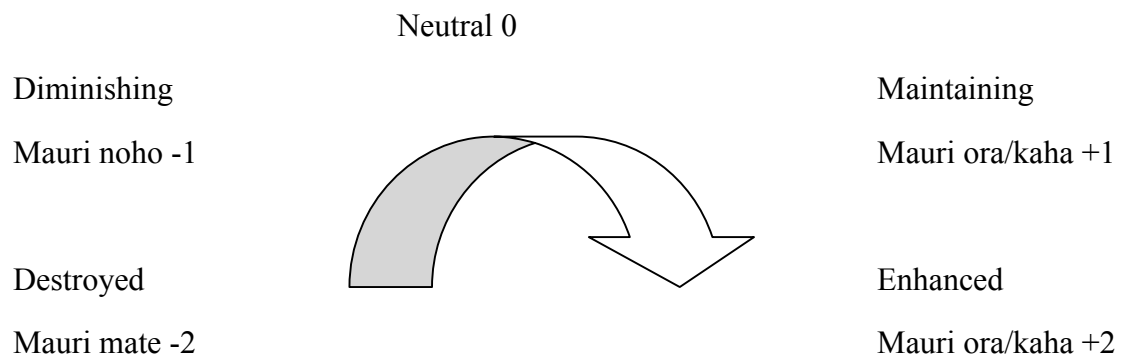
The model can be applied in the MĀUI Model. However, I would add venture to the economic criteria to cover the application of the model to a business or social enterprise idea. What is ideal about Morgan's Mauri Model is its simplicity. It can easily be applied by anyone no matter what age. All they would need to do is ask themselves the following set of questions:

1.   Does this option diminish my family/whānau/venture; community; hapū; environment?

2.   Does this option destroy my family/whānau/venture; community; hapū; environment?

3.   Does this option maintain my family/whānau/venture; community; hapū; environment?

4.   Does this option enhance my family/whānau/venture; community; hapū; environment? Does this option have a neutral impact on my family/whānau/venture, community, hapū, environment?

Such an application would enable the entrepreneur to make informed Mauri related decisions.

Mana

Unlike Mauri there are no Mana models in use. However, much has been written about mana (Durie, 1998, 2003; Mead, 2003; Ka'ai et al, 2004; Marsden in King, 1975). In hierarchical Māori society, mana is often referred to as an ascribed state of being. That is, one is born with mana and depending on one's position in the

order of the world, one's mana is greater or lesser e.g. the eldest child's mana will always be greater than that of the younger siblings. There are those however who say that a younger sibling can achieve mana greater than older siblings through developing personal power, drive and group achievement (Hohepa, 1999). Such was Māui's case. He was the youngest child whose mana grew to be greater than that of his older siblings as a result of his education, his drive, his personal desire for power and his service to humankind.

Mana in the MĀUI Model describes 'authority and control'. In this sense, a young Māori entrepreneur must have authority and control that is real in every sense. Others can be involved as mentors and guides but authority and control remains with the young person.

In spite of his last venture, Māui always had control over whatever he did. From time to time he would involve others but they would act on his plan and under his direction. Therefore in the MĀUI model, others who work with a young person do so under their direction rather than directing the young person. In this context therefore, an entrepreneurial activity that is generated by an adult who engages young people in its execution does not fit.

Āta

Āta in the MĀUI Model is about deliberation. Deliberation does not mean to slow down but rather to exert control over the processes involved in a venture from planning through to the execution and then in the ongoing management and development. So Āta is about planning and management. Many of the Māui stories show the elements of planning and management e.g. when he exerted control over the pace of the sun's journey across the sky he spent time planning on how he would do this and managed the process including the involvement of his brothers. At no time did he behave totally irrationally. Each action was taken after some time of deliberation during which he gathered information, decided on the action to be taken and then planned how best to execute that action.

Pohatu developed the Āta model for the social work context (2004). He says the Āta constituents are that it:

1. Focuses on our relationships.

2. Informs behaviours when engaging with others.

3. Intensifies perceptions in relation to quality time and space, effort and energy, respectfulness, reciprocity, reflection and critical analysis, discipline and ensures that transformation can occur.

4. Incorporates planning.

5. Incorporates strategising.

His model confirms the focus of Āta in the MĀUI Model as being on planning. The other elements of his model can be used to affirm how the planning should be undertaken. That is, planning includes giving due consideration to the relationships or networks needed and behaviours when engaging with others. It also requires that quality time and space is given to projects and activities; builds in reciprocity; allows for reflection and critical analysis through evaluation and review; provides for processes that will facilitate governance, management and production. If those factors are in place then ideally, transformation should occur.

Arataki

The concept here is of leading. Māui was a leader even though he was the youngest of the brothers. In different iwi, there is a specific name for the oldest (mātāmua) and the youngest (pōtiki) in each whānau. The naming was perhaps an indication not only of their position in the family but also of the sets of behaviours expected of them. There is also the link between the word pōtiki and Māui in the second syllable, tiki a reference to Māui being wrapped in the hair from his mother's topknot.

Pōtiki surface in stories as being those most likely to challenge authority e.g. Te Rauparaha was a pōtiki and chose to take his followers with him to establish himself as chief of a branch of Ngāti Raukawa in the area around Otaki and Levin south of where his hapū were sited in the rohe of Tainui (a confederation of tribes, south of Auckland, that are bound together by the waka the ancestors travelled on when migrating to Aotearoa New Zealand). Pōtiki are also perceived as being indulged by parents, siblings, grandparents and aunts and uncles, the whānau and the pā. Certainly as an only child being raised by elders and the gods, Māui was an indulged child. He was provided with the education and training to be successful and to lead. Unfortunately for him, when he returned to his family and the world of humans, he was part of a large and extended family. He no longer had the position of

the indulged only child. Nor was he the indulged youngest sibling. Rather he was at the bottom of the pecking order and to assert a leadership role, he had to break the conventions of behaviour required of tuakana and teina. The point however is that pōtiki often feature in stories of leadership being taken by someone not necessarily born to the role in a society that was hierarchical. Māui did not let his position prevent him from taking the leadership role when and where necessary even when this meant that he was undermining the role and status of his older brothers in the very hierarchical structure of his society. In the words of Ranginui Walker, "[h]e stands as a model to all teina (juniors) that they too can succeed provided they have the required personal qualities" (1996: 19)

In the context of the model therefore, Arataki is about leadership in terms of human resources and in terms of projects or ventures. The entrepreneur is required to be a leader when relating to others with the objective being that the interaction occurs for the success of the endeavour. The other aspect of leadership in this context is that the entrepreneur becomes a leader because of the nature of the entrepreneurial activity. It is something new. It requires someone take leadership.

Māui Model: Hoa-Haere

These are the elements that are integral to every core element. That is they are integral to the application of Mana, Mauri, Āta and Arataki. In the following explanations and definitions this will be demonstrated.

Ū

The interpretations of Ū in the context of the model are those of 'resources' and 'to be resolute'. Resources is taken from one of the meanings of Ū, breast milk. In this case, breast milk sustains the infant or the entrepreneurial idea or the new enterprise or social venture being undertaken. The Mauri of the idea/enterprise/social venture will determine how it progresses and the resources required. Three aspects of Ū are identified here. They are access, appropriateness and sharing. For an entrepreneur to take an idea through to fruition, there must be access to resources. Those resources however need to be appropriate for the particular venture but sometimes they may be used because they are the only things available at the time.

Finally, it is really important to share resources especially the outcomes of the venture. Sharing is one way in which arataki can be realised because a good leader will also be willing to share.

Māui almost always spent time considering the resources available to him including those of an esoteric nature, the karakia. The only time he failed was when he sought to conquer mortality. Here he did not take into consideration the ability and commitment of those he enlisted as his support. That mistake was fatal for him. Also, in the stories, Māui shared the benefits of the outcomes with all of humankind. He did nothing for himself although some of his actions may have appeared so and begun because of his perceived laziness and selfishness. Thus his leadership capability was demonstrated in another way other than in planning and managing and thereby he increased his mana.

To be resolute is another meaning of the word Ū. In the context of the model it is about staying with the idea even when others abandon it or plainly say that it won't work. Thus the mauri of the project remains intact. Entrepreneurs and social venturers need to be resolute. Māui's brothers told him that he would not be able to control the sun. He was resolute in his conviction that he could; planned and prepared for the demonstration of his ability and prevailed against all odds. By remaining resolute he was able to maintain his mana which grew as a result of this belief.

Iwi

Iwi represents the human element. The root word for iwi is kōiwi (bones). One could take this to mean foundation or support structure as the bones support the body. Until recently the English word 'bones' was often used by Māori when referring to relatives. So iwi could also mean the people one is related to. However, the use of iwi here is not a reference to the tribe but rather to the wider community of humankind from whom the young Māori can learn to manage the process (Mauri) assert control (Mana), access resources (Ū), seek guidance (Āta) and take leadership (Arataki). As a hoa-haere, iwi adds depth to the framework because a venture cannot be undertaken without the relationships that the young entrepreneur establishes whether that is within the whānau or external to it.

As already stated, Māui always considered the impact of his actions on others. Sometimes the impact was negative to the individual involved e.g. in his acquisition of fire he reduced Mahuika's power source but in doing so, he gave it to the rest of

humankind for their use. That action was another demonstration of his leadership ability, that he was happy to share the outcome of his actions. Therefore, Iwi in this context is about how relationships are built and maintained to nurture the Mauri of an enterprise or venture. How the Mana of those involved is also nurtured. The planning and management that needs to take place so that this may occur thereby demonstrating the notion of Āta in action and through all of this leading by example thereby establishing Arataki as an essential ingredient.

Māui Model: Key Concepts from the Stories

The key concepts from the stories and identified in Chapter Three are presented in Table 4.3 in relation to the relevant core elements of the model. Included is a short discussion on why they are included. However, it must also be noted that the key concepts are interrelated. That is, they can appear in one or more of the core elements of the Māui model. The discussion begins with the core element of Mauri. If Mauri is about the life force or energy generated by an idea or concept then curiosity is one thing that keeps it alive. By curiosity is meant the desire to know and explore. Through exploring and thereby being informed and having knowledge, then there is room for planning which will include design and design features. However, all the knowledge in the world will not mean that there will never be failure because as the Māui stories tell us, sometimes there is failure and it can have consequences. Likewise, success has consequences and good planning will take both the possibility of failure and success and their impacts into consideration because all of these have an impact on the Mauri of an entrepreneurial activity. Where there is success give thanks because this adds to the growth of the Mauri of an activity but also know that positivity can arise out of adversity. Take for example the death of Māui. Even though he was killed in seeking immortality, his Mana was greater after the fact than before.

The behaviours consistent in Āta are those identified with caution and are specifically about planning, seeking information and knowledge and being aware of the consequences of action. Planning also requires reflection because out of reflection comes knowing and understanding that can lead to further panning. With planning comes the need to consider the resources that are necessary for the development of an

Table 4.3: Key concepts in relation to core elements of MĀUI Model

Mauri	**Mana**
• Curiosity • Identity • Planning • Honesty is important • 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.	• Identity • Honesty is important • Exert control over others • 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.
Āta	**Arataki**
• 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.	• Curiosity • Take advantage of opportunities • Nurturing, Mentoring. • Observation • Identity • Planning • Seek understanding • Adopt roles • Appearance does matter • Learn from failure • Resolve differences • Work to achieve • Ask for help • When instructing, set conditions. • Share • Give thanks by celebrating. • Plan. • Choose companions for the task. • Keep things simple.

idea into a venture. These include human resources and the relationships therein which relates to the hoa-haere of Iwi.

Leadership in this model combines, adventurousness with the ability to plan, work hard, learn, nurture, share and give thanks. It takes from the adventurous spirit

that was Māui, his ability to observe and learn from that action and to use it in planning prior to taking action. It also borrows from the fact that he adopted different roles and persona when setting out to achieve a goal. Māui always knew who he was and constantly sough to assert who he was e.g. when he introduced himself to his family. He wasn't always good at resolving differences e.g. his long battle with Maru in which they destroyed each other's crops. Unresolved differences can do a lot of damage

Māui Model: Principles, Hoa-Haere and Practice

How does this work therefore in the world of the practitioner – the young Māori entrepreneurs and those who work with them? That question is presented in Table 4.4 which shows the relationship between the tikanga principles, hoa-haere and practice and behaviours.

Table 4.4: Tikanga Principles, Hoa-haere and Practice.

Tikanga Principles	Hoa-haere	Practices and Behaviours
Mauri: Life Force and Energy	Ū and Iwi: Resources & People	See an opportunity/gap. Seek information to know and understand. (Training and education) Plan and research. Seek role models and mentors. Identify resources needed; in possession; needed and how they may be acquired. Use resources.
Mana: Authority; Relationships determining behaviour.	Ū and Iwi: Resources & People	Determine who is or will be in control of the idea that takes advantage of the opportunity/gap. Determine role(s). Identify the relationships needed to sustain *Mauri*. Examine existing network to identify who is there and who is not. Add to the network if necessary but be clear as to the purpose of those added.
Āta: Planning and Research.	Ū and Iwi: Resources &	Take time to make things happen. Set goals and state the way by which they can be

	People	achieved.
		Reflect as progress is made.
		Get templates of plans if that helps.
		Ask others if they have a plan template; use a planning programme; see what is on the internet.
		Do not be afraid of the unknown – plan for it.
		Regularly review and adjust the plan when necessary.
		Seek information.
		Identify the people needed and include them in the plan.
Arataki: Leadership	Ū and Iwi: Resources & People	Take control.
		Know your skills and how those fit into the plan.
		Understand the various roles, the skills needed and how these can be acquired e.g. by hiring, employing, contracting.
		Identify the gaps and how they can be addressed.

Conclusion

Māui is most often presented as a mischievous rogue of a demi-god who spent his time making fools out of those whose lives he touched as he subdued various gods and elements for selfish reasons. The model presented in this chapter takes those very behaviours and turns them into positive determinants for a model in the context of entrepreneurship. Māui recognised an opportunity; he planned on how he would maximise that opportunity; he took leadership and asserted control even when it was resented; when planning, he identified the resources he would need and how they would best be effective and then took steps to ensure they were ready when needed. He was seldom reckless although he was often single minded. It is this last quality that will set the entrepreneur apart - the single-mindedness that will take the opportunity and work to maximise its potential. The next chapter sets out the methodology at the wānanga analysing how the tools and processes used sit in the model.

CHAPTER 5

THE TESTING OF THE MĀUI MODEL

Māui's main method of researching was primarily by using observation. He spent much of his time watching others, often in the guise of a bird. As a bird he would learn what was happening and why and then plan how he would approach a particular subject. It was one of the reasons why others including his family felt uneasy around him – they never knew when he was observing them. That aspect of his trickster persona is what Dray (2003) makes reference to in her poem that opens Chapter Two. Specifically, the researcher as "[T]he person skilled in the use of tricks" who can "create a false reality". So were my research practices 'tricks'?

I have often made reference to 'the research that informed the thesis'. The statement is in reference to a research project called "Growing Young Māori Entrepreneurs" (GYME) that was funded by the Foundation for Research Science and Technology (FRST). Ethics approval was granted by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee (AUTEC) for that project in 2004. Papers and reports (to FRST and participating groups and communities) were presented on a regular basis. Those presentations were opportunities for the outputs and outcomes of the research to be made public. Some of the presentations included but are not limited to the:

- Centre for Māori Innovation and Development's Te Ara Matariki Conference in Rotorua, 20-21 June 2005;
- Hui Taumata Roadshow, May and June 2006 at 11 hui around the country from as far north as Whangarei in the North Island and as far south as Invercargill in the South Island.
- Ngā Pae o Te Māramatanga Traditional Knowledge Conference, Mātauranga Taketake: Indigenous Indicators of Well-being:

Perspectives, Practices and Solutions, Te Papa Tongarewa, Wellington, 14-17 June 2006.

Observations made for that research and reported on previously have been drawn upon to inform the thesis. No new data was collected specifically for the thesis. Instead the thesis has allowed for more detailed analysis of the piloting and testing of a model that is a result of an analysis of the Māui stories.

The Details of The Methodology.

In relation to the thesis, the methodology included the analysis of fourteen Māui stories (see Chapter Four), the development of the MĀUI model (see Chapter Five) and the testing of the model through a series of three wānanga. The analysis of the stories and the design of the model were elaborated on in the previous two chapters. The focus of this chapter therefore is on the elements of the wānanga methodology. As they are presented, how they fit in the context of the model is identified and discussed. Also described are related observations of outcomes of each wānanga.

The Wānanga

In the GYME research, one method proposed was an annual conference where young Māori entrepreneurs could come together, share ideas and listen to accomplished speakers. It was also to be an opportunity to report on the progress that had been made to date on the research. Through the process the young entrepreneurs would be motivated to continue with what they were currently engaged in or embark on a new endeavour. The conference was reconstituted as wānanga. The reason for the change was to affirm tikanga in the minds and hearts of young Māori entrepreneurs. There was good reason for a focus on tikanga.

Perhaps the best definition of tikanga in terms of the thesis is that of Mead (2003). He talks about tikanga being

> …the set of beliefs associated with practices and procedures to be followed in conducting the affairs of a group or an individual. These procedures are established through time, are held to be ritually correct, are

validated by usually more than one generation and are always subject to what a group or an individual is able to do. (p. 12)

He then goes on to explain that tikanga differ in scale; are tools of thought and understanding; packages of ideas to organize behaviour and provide some predictability of how things can proceed; templates and frameworks to be used as guidelines; ways by which to distinguish between right and wrong.

In reformatting the conference as wānanga, what was intended was to demonstrate to the youth participants how tikanga and Mātauranga Māori has a valid place in enterprise whether social or business. That as entrepreneurs they need not cast aside either but rather embrace them as vital to whatever enterprise they sought to develop. Also, the intention was to demonstrate to them that by integrating either or both into their enterprise they could give themselves the market edge. In addition, there were some quite practical considerations. Dominant among these was the value of tikanga associated with gathering together Māori style – in this case for a wānanga.

The usual understanding of wānanga is in relation to wharewānanga. That is not the reference here. Wharewānanga is the institution of learning (Hemara, 2000). In the current context when the word wānanga is used, most people think it is in reference to one of the three contemporary wharewānanga – Raukawa, Awanuiarangi and Aotearoa (Mead, 2003). Failing that, the next thought is that it is in reference to the pre-settler institutions of learning like Te Rāwheoro in Te Aitanga-A-Hauiti (Ka'ai, Moorfield, Reilly and Mosley, 2004).

The usual modes of learning in the pre-European wharewānanga were learning by rote a vast amount of information specific to the whānau, hapū and iwi; being prompted by the artful use of surprise and feigned anger; being taught at night and or during the winter months when labour to produce food was not in high demand; being mentored; being educated through exposure (Hemara, 2000). The GYME wānanga combined the latter two modes – being mentored and being educated through exposure. Table 3.1 presents a comparison of the elements of a conference and a wānanga first presented in a report to Hui Taumata (Keelan & Mihaere: 2006) and further developed for the thesis. An examination of the table easily identifies that there are more differences than similarities.

Table 5.1: A comparison of a conference and a wānanga

Conference	Wānanga
• The conference has a theme. • There may be several sub-themes. • Time frame open. • Speakers present. • Questions after speaker presents. • Speakers submit abstracts prior to conference and full papers after for inclusion in the published conference proceedings. • Speakers generally compete for a space to present. • Participants usually stay at a venue other than where the conference is being held. • Not all meals are provided. • There is a set programme usually with someone who sits in the chair and directs proceedings. Sometimes there is an emcee. • There may be several sessions running concurrently. • There may be a plenary session where the proceedings are summarized. • Any language can be the official language of a conference depending upon the country and the participants.	• The wānanga has a kaupapa (agenda) or take (topic) • All discussion and exchange of information focuses on the kaupapa or take. • No stated sub-themes as is often found at conferences. • Time frame open in relation to the kaupapa or take. • Speakers present and discussion on the subject matter of each speaker is up for debate and discussion. • Kōrero (discussion) is important. • Purpose of speakers is to motivate. • Focus of sessions is on deep learning. • Proceedings can change depending on the direction of learning taking place. • Where accommodation required, participants stay together. • All food provided. • Participants may be involved not only in discussing the kaupapa or take but the provision of meals and the maintenance of the living arrangements. • A publication as an output is not a requirement. • Tikanga Māori is observed. • Te reo Māori is the first language followed by English and then other languages.

In relation to the testing of the MĀUI model, wānanga is referring to the
process by which knowledge and information is exchanged and the depth that can be
achieved during that exchange. It is not about rote learning or the extensive
development of memory as was the learning process in pre-European wharewānanga
(Hemara, 2000). Rather it aligns more with the word wānangatia that is often used in

relation to the process of discussion. The purpose of the discussion is to move from Te Po (a state of darkness signaling potential) to what Charles Royal calls Te Ao Mārama (see Chapter One). It is probably best described by Taina Pohatu when he says, "The pitch now allows the topic to be intensely debated, 'wānangatia te take'" (1999:30). He goes on further to say

> The notion of deep thought, intense and wide research and in-depth dialogue is implicit; the intent being to resolve issues, confirm a position, but also ensuring that cultural requirements hold a central and affirming position.

The GYME wānanga ran over a weekend beginning on a Friday late afternoon and ending on the Sunday afternoon. A weekend was decided upon as the best time for the wānanga so that it would not interrupt normal teaching and learning in the school environment. It was also chosen because it would test the commitment of the participants to the learning process.

Wānanga were designed to facilitate an exchange of knowledge that would enable deep learning. They were also designed to engage with the tikanga principles of the MĀUI Model. Table 5.2 sets out the design with explanations for the inclusion of design elements. The table is followed by a more detailed explanation of each of the design elements. The meanings of the elements of the model can be found in Chapter Four.

Table 5.2: Design elements and reasons for their use.

Design element	Reason for use	MĀUI Model
Pānui (Notices)	Inform the youth participants, the schools they attended and their parents of the wānanga date, venue.	Mana Āta Ū
Speakers	Motivate and to be role models for the youth participants.	Mana Arataki Ū Iwi
Application Form	Inform the organisers of the participants' details especially the business idea/product so that mentors could be matched with groups of youth participants.	Mauri Mana
Programme	Motivate and provide a curriculum over the wānanga.	Mauri Mana Āta Arataki Ū

		Iwi
The Rules	Provide behaviour boundaries for the youth participants.	Mauri Mana
Mentors	Intensive transmission of knowledge.	Mauri Mana Arataki Ū Iwi
Mentor training	Ensure mentors knew what their role was during the wānanga.	Mauri Mana Arataki Ū
Pōhiri	Affirm tikanga and to remind the youth participants that although the focus was entrepreneurship, the learning was taking place in a Māori context.	Mauri Mana
Whakawhānaungatanga	Provide a forum for introductions in addition to the pōhiri. Also used to introduce Māui the ultimate entrepreneurial role model.	Mauri Mana Arataki Ū Iwi
Competition	Focus for the learning exchange. Affirm that competition is natural in the Māori world.	Mauri Mana Āta
Prizes	To acknowledge the work undertaken. Three prizes awarded – best business plan, leadership and most innovative product.	Mauri Mana Ū
Accommodation and venue	Affirm tikanga and to build a network of young Māori entrepreneurs. Introduce youth participants to the tertiary environment.	Mauri Mana Ū
Duties	Affirm tikanga and working together to keep the venue clean and tidy. Part of the competition	Mauri Mana Iwi
T-shirts	Build a sense of belonging.	Mana Mauri Ū
Evaluation	Provided for feedback in the western definition of the process.	Mauri Mana Āta Ū
Poroporoaki	Affirm tikanga and to provide for feedback in a tikanga context	Mauri Mana Āta Iwi

Pānui

The pānui was specific to the wānanga. Its purpose was to provide information about the desired participants (Māori), date, venue, accommodation and programme. Where participants were Lion Foundation Young Enterprise Scheme (YES) Māori directors, the pānui was sent to the teacher coordinating that programme in their school. Otherwise it was sent directly to the young person. A total of 96 schools were contacted over the duration of the three wānanga that took place in 2005 (1) and 2006 (2). A total of 18 had students participate. It was hoped that through those pānui, information would be passed on to the YES Māori participants. In addition another 28 individual young Māori who had found out about GYME, usually from relatives, made contact and were also sent pānui. Table 3.3 shows the number of applications received and the number of actual participants at each of the wānanga.

Table 5.3: Registrations and actual numbers at each wānanga

	Registrations Received	Actual numbers of Participants
Wānanga 1	60	28
Wānanga 2	54	39
Wānanga 3	35	15
Total	149	82

The pānui was followed up with telephone calls and emails. Follow-up was necessary because of the busy schedules that people had. The youth participants not only had school life but extra-curricular activities e.g. sport, their home life and for many, a part time job. The teachers were busy with their normal work responsibilities, their own extra-curricular activities e.g. volunteering and unless they were absolutely passionate about entrepreneurship or YES or enterprise, then the pānui went unacknowledged. All pānui carried the logos of sponsoring organisations/programmes.

Generally the pānui achieved their purpose. Young Māori participants responded either directly or through a teacher. Where the response was through a teacher, there was a clear indication that teachers were excellent in supporting the

young people to make a decision e.g. they provided access to telephones and fax machines in the school. The fact the young people did respond was an affirmation their Mana was intact and in their control because they made the final decision whether or not to participate. It must be noted not all young people contacted chose to participate.

The pānui were also a demonstration of the principle of Mauri. The Mauri related to two contexts – the wānanga and the enterprise activity of the young people. The pānui was the first indication to the participants that there was an activity called a wānanga that had a life of its own. In fact, that life was supportive of the Mauri associated with their enterprise concept. What they could do at the wānanga was expand the Mauri of their enterprise idea through the learning that would take place at the wānanga. In addition, in the context of the element of Ū, the pānui was a resource that provided important information about the wānanga.

Speakers

Almost all the speakers volunteered their time. The one who was paid did not charge his normal speaking fee. That was offset by him agreeing to be on the judging panel for the competition at the wānanga for which he was the speaker. There were a total of ten speakers to fill the three speaker slots for each of the three wānanga. One on the Friday night to generally set the scene for the wānanga; one on the Saturday morning to set the scene for the competition a focal point of the wānanga; one on the Saturday night to motivate. The Saturday night speakers covered the following topics at each respective wānanga:

- The transition from being a Māori boy growing up in the country to mixing with Kings, Queens, Presidents and Prime Ministers on the international stage and the people who made a difference on that journey.
- Being musicians performing internationally and making a living from it.
- Learning te reo Māori as a second language and carving out a place as the face of the language in the media.

The response to the speakers was interesting. In one instance three young people who came from the same tribe as the speaker leapt to their feet to acknowledge him with a haka. There is a funny story associated with that particular incident.

Prior to dinner, the two young males of the group had decided to bleach their hair. The girls at the wānanga had informed them they should wrap their hair in gladwrap (cling film) to help the bleach take effect. So, when they leapt to their feet they were still wearing the gladwrap. It was truly a sight to behold – the contradiction of the passion and the clown; the reflection of knowledge of tikanga; the confidence of those who know who they are and their connections to the speaker. There in all his glory was Māui the trickster for despite their clownish appearance they were the team to beat. They went on to win the competition (Keelan and Woods, 2006) at that wānanga.

The speakers all brought with them their own Mana – ascribed and achieved. Each was also a leader demonstrating the element of Arataki at work. They were Māori leaders in their field and in accepting the invitation to speak they knew they were role models to their youthful audience. They were also resources or Ū of the wānanga. They fulfilled their role as resources by being inspirational and motivating the young people listening to them to maximize what was on offer. Finally they were often connected by whakapapa or iwi to some of the young people present. That connection was important in motivating and inspiring a specific sector of their audience to achieve.

Application Form

The application form, sent out with the pānui, was simply a record of who would be attending, contact details and what their business or area of interest was. A group could use the same application form. The youth participants filled in their details and usually the teacher who was coordinating YES in the school sent it in. However it was noted there was a difference as time progressed in who returned the application form. For the first wānanga, it was usual that a teacher or other adult returned the application form. By the third wānanga the forms were returned by one of the student participants. There could be a number of reasons for the change.

One could be teachers trusted the applications forms would be treated with respect by the wānanga organisers. Another they could trust the student who was the

Communications Director to do what they were charged to do and that was return the application form. A third potential reason could have been that as the participants returned home and school, they told others what had happened at wānanga and recommended they attend the next ones and so students in the following year were willing to take responsibility for returning the application form. Whatever the reason it was noticeable that youth participants in the school setting began to return application forms by the third wānanga.

In terms of the model, the application form was related to Mauri. That is it was an affirmation of the Mauri of the wānanga specifically. A returned application form was an indication that a wānanga would proceed especially when enough were received. However when an application was received, it was also an affirmation of the Mauri of the enterprise of the applicants because attendance at a wānanga provided them with an opportunity to work on it.

The application form also enabled the application of Mana in relation to the model of both the YES teacher coordinator and youth participants. That is, the teacher in the first instance gave the application form to the students to complete if they chose to attend the wānanga. Later, their Mana was again affirmed when student applicants asked teachers to return the form. In addition when the teachers gave responsibility for the application form over to the students completely, both to complete filling in the details and returning it, that action contributed to their Mana. In some cases teachers were unaware the form had been returned until they were contacted to confirm wānanga details. Where students took responsibility for the application form, they made the decision to attend thereby affirming their own Mana.

Programme
The programme gave structure to the three wānanga. It highlighted time for learning and knowledge exchange and time for rest, recreation, sustenance and duties. Everybody was aware at all times about what should be happening. The programme was sent out prior to the wānanga. When participants registered, they received another copy of it and copies were visible at the venues because they were put up on walls. At some point during the first evening, the programme was explained in detail. Participants were then given an opportunity to clarify any issues or parts of it they did

not understand. The programme was where all elements of the model came together and was most evident.

Parts or sessions of the programme that affirmed the Mana of the youth participants were the pōhiri, whakawhānaungatanga, competition, presentations, prizes/awards, the dinner and the mentors. The first two did that because the youth participants had an opportunity to say who they were as groups, individuals and as representatives of their school and YES companies. The competition affirmed their Mana because they had an opportunity to work on developing their business plan to a level of excellence and to compete against others. Their presentations enabled them to demonstrate that level of excellence and to ascertain how they fared against the competition. The prizes and awards gave the youth participants something to strive for and for those who achieved Mana from being the winners. The mentors were among the resources provided for the participants. Their inclusion in the programme and time for them to meet their mentees meant they had opportunity to add to theirs and the Mana of the youth participants by the advice they were able to provide. A completed plan and presentation produced under their guidance was also another way by which they affirmed theirs and the Mana of the youth participants. In addition, the programme allowed for time when the participants could have access to other resources that would affirm their Mana. Besides the mentors there were other people available to the participants as motivators and additional mentors. There was access to physical resources of space, computer labs and the internet.

The programme gave form and control to the Mauri of the wānanga. It also gave form to the Mauri of the planning of the youth participants groups as they worked on their enterprise. Last it gave form to the way the resources and people (Ū and Iwi) were utilised. The Mauri of each wānanga carried on long past its end e.g. when companies that had members who attended a wānanga won either regional or national YES awards. An immediate example of how the Mauri of the wānanga kept going once a wānanga ended was perhaps best demonstrated by the fact that often it was difficult for the participants to leave and 'go home'. In one instance I had to demand they leave so I could return home to rest and recover.

In demonstrating the element of Āta, the programme was an example of how planning can be systematically processed, resources introduced at specific times to

add value and the importance of having people around who can advise and inspire. The result was business plans the youth participants could take back home with them. Plans they could introduce to group members who had not attended the wānanga. They could say they had done all the research for the plan especially in relation to the marketing aspects. They could also say once they got back to school they owned the plan – it was theirs and the whole companys' if everyone liked what they had done.

Two companies did adopt the plan worked on by two of their members who had attended one of the wānanga. YES annually has regional competitions and winners participate in the national competition. In addition there is a Māori company award for the best business plan. One company referred to earlier went on to win the Lion Foundation YES Leadership Award nationally for that year and another went on to win the Best Māori Business Plan Award. Evidence that good planning brings rewards.

There was at least one example of where a great idea and a plan worked on at a wānanga was undermined by a teacher who could not see the value and had the young participants work on the standard project he had YES companies undertake every year! The idea still sits with those young people and I hope one day one of them will develop it into a real product because it has great potential.

Arataki was affirmed in the programme by the provision of speakers, mentors and opportunity for individual youth participants to take leadership in their groups whilst they worked on their enterprise plans. There is one story that illustrates how building the notion of Arataki into the programme paid off.

During the first wānanga the leadership capabilities of some of the youth participants became evident. There was no leadership award at that wānanga so those who demonstrated that attribute could not be formally recognised. One particular young person stood out and not being able to reward her capability stayed with me and was influential in a leadership award being instituted at the next two wānanga. In addition the mentors had requested that a leadership award be added. However, later in the year, an opportunity for a scholarship came up and I contacted her school to see if she was interested in applying. Her principal was surprised when I spoke to him and said that it was unusual for the school to be thought about. I explained that the young person in question had made an impression and an opportunity had arisen that

she might be interested in. He said he would talk to her and get back to me but he thought she had already set her sights on something else when she left school. Eventually an email she had sent to the mentor who had supported her group was forwarded to me. Parts of it were later used – with her permission – to promote GYME. That email in full read as follows with no changes to grammar or spelling:

> I don't know if u remember me but u were my tutor for the growing young Māori entrepreneurs this year I thought I might try and get in touch with you and keep u up to date with whats happening with my life, (I think u asked me to keep in touch) life is pretty sweet at the moment iv been pursuing my cooking dreams and believe it or not there actually coming true, I entered the culinary fare this year unfortunately I was disqualified as their was uncertainty about my time, butim happy as one of my m8s took out first place and received a full year scholarship to the Auckland hotel and chefs training school, what I really wanted to tell you was that the guy who owns the school saw me cook and said that I had the best presentation hed seen from my age group I was stoked anyways he offered me a place in his school next year I start January 16th I cant wait I also have an interview next month for a 16 thousand dollar scholarship I never thought this kind of thing could ever happen.
>
> Do u remember josie she's the kuia from the GYME project she talked to my principle and told him that AUT has scholarships for business studies and she thinks I could get them if I wanted to, im rapt about that iv never had anyone believe in me so much. The GYME project was inspiring that's the only word I can think of to describe it I just wanted to say thanks u were awesome I could never thank you enough all of you involved with the project were totally awesome u really don't know how much you have done for me, Having someone who believes in you is the greatest feeling in the world.

Personal communication received 20 September 2005

The Rules

The Rules were distributed to the schools prior to participants arriving. They were also in the packs that participants were given on registering, read out on the first night and pinned up on notice boards. Explicit in The Rules was that if anyone broke a rule, they forfeit the right of their team to participate in the competition. The incentive to abide by The Rules was the monetary value of the prize for the best presentation.

Essentially The Rules covered issues of smoking (in designated places), no drugs and alcohol, being prompt to sessions, completing allocated duties, time to be

back at the venue after allocated recreation time on Saturday afternoon, expected behaviour at night, informing organisers if going off campus for market research. Usually the latter was done with the approval and/or presence of the mentors.

The Rules were put into place because the organisers had the role of parents and therefore were required to provide boundaries about expected behaviours and consequences that arise when the boundaries are breached. As the youth participants were still residing in family homes, parents and schools had to be sure that boundaries were being set. Opportunity was also provided for parents and school representatives to contact the organisers to clarify arrangements. At least one parent did so. However, parents, teachers or student advisors also accompanied youth participants. In at least one case a teacher stayed over at the marae and her advice was invaluable. Otherwise once accompanying adults were satisfied their young people were safe, they left but returned for the presentations.

The Rules also affirmed the Mana element by enabling the youth participants to exercise their own behaviours. They chose to either abide by The Rules or to challenge them. There were examples of behaviour testing The Rules e.g. at about 1am on a Saturday night at one of the wānanga I heard a guitar playing somewhere in the marae complex we were using for a wānanga after lights had just been turned off and the young participants had been advised to get some sleep because they had a stressful few hours the next morning. I tracked down the music to a stall in the men's toilets, confiscated the guitar and sent the young person to bed with the admonition that if he overstepped the mark again, his team would not be able to compete the next morning. He went to bed because the mana of his team and more especially his school was more important than taking the testing of The Rules to another level. Other members of his team/school also spoke to him about how he was jeopardizing their opportunity and insisted he conform.

The Rules also affirmed the Mauri element of the model by making it clear to the youth participants what was acceptable behaviour. The consequences should they be breached were also made clear. The result was that activities progressed without action being diverted into disciplining of participants.

Mentors

The idea of having mentors was to facilitate the transmission of knowledge on a more personal basis. The mentoring was formal only for the purposes of the wānanga. When the participants returned to their school they made personal choices as to whether or not they continued their relationship with the mentor they had at the wānanga. That was because usually through the school YES programme they had a more local mentor who worked with them on their business idea.

Research has shown that informal mentoring is likely to have better outcomes than formal structured mentoring (Chao, Walz and Gardner, 1992). Where the wānanga youth participants and mentors maintained contact post-wānanga, the mentoring became informal. From a Mātauranga Māori context, the relationship between mentors and the young people was more like that of tuakana and teina.

A tuakana/teina relationship references the older and younger sibling whether male or female. The relationship conveys to the participants a set of responsibilities. As Peter Sharples notes,

> …the older nurtures the younger, the one who knows helping the one who doesn't, the able helping the unable. It combines the wisdom and strategic edge gained through experience, with the enthusiasm and energy of the teina, to create a powerful driver of social change (2006: 8).

It was that type of relationship where responsibilities were known it was hoped the mentoring would follow. It was also a relationship somewhat reminiscent of that between Māui his grandparents and the gods that nurtured him so that he could effect the changes he made to the environment in which humankind lived when he returned to live among them.

Mentoring programmes that are similar in nature are the Auckland Young Women's Christian Association's Future Leaders and the internationally known Big Brother Big Sister. Future Leaders is yet to fully assess the success of their programme but having been a mentor on the programme, I know from experience the impact a mentor can have on the young women who choose to be involved. Research has been undertaken on the effectiveness of Big Brother Big Sister showing that mentoring had a significant positive impact (Grossman and Tierney, 1998).

The mentors were introduced to the youth participants on the Friday night and worked with them throughout the weekend. They were invited to stay at the marae. In addition to mentoring their group at Wānanga 2 and 3 they also had the opportunity to nominate anyone from their group who displayed leadership qualities for the Leadership Award. The inclusion of mentors again brought together all the elements of the MĀUI model.

I have previously made mention of how the mentors added to the Mana of the youth participants by the advice they provided. Also how as resources themselves, they were Ū that contributed to the Mana, Mauri, Āta and Arataki of the young people with whom they worked.

Mentor Training

The night before each of the wānanga basic training was provided for the mentors. The purpose of the training was to outline for the mentors the difference between mentoring and leading. That is, their role and function during the wānanga. Each training session started with a mihiwhakatau (speech of welcome) and karakia followed by a meal. Again the process was one of affirming tikanga. At the end of the training the mentors were given the opportunity to consider which of the groups of young participants they were best suited to mentor.

In matching, what was taken into consideration was the relativity of the business the mentor was engaged in to the business activity of the youth participants. Like was matched with like as much as it was possible to do so. The reason for doing this was simple in that mentors had prior knowledge in a specific field that would be valuable to the youth participants. That knowledge would facilitate bonding given the time in which the mentors and youth participants had to get to know each other was minimal by comparison to the usual processes of mentor and mentee relationship building.

The training affirmed the notion of Mauri in that the idea was it would ensure the mentors knew what was expected of them therefore progress would be made on the plans of the groups. In that way, the Mana of both the youth participants and the mentors would grow. Likewise, the mentors were examples of what could be achieved because they were practicing what the young people were hoping to do. As mentors they provided examples of how a leader does not need to be out in front but

can in fact sit behind and encourage. However, by showing they were doing what the young people hoped to do they were leaders.

Pōhiri

To affirm the place of tikanga in the world of the entrepreneur, the wānanga started with a pōhiri. The pohiri is the encounter between the manuhiri and tangata whenua where they engage in several rituals that enable the two groups to mingle informally (Mead, 2003; Ka'ai et al, 2004). Wānanga participants were welcomed and through the pōhiri became members of GYME, participants of the wānanga and especially residents of the marae on which the pōhiri took place. Being residents signalled that certain behaviours were expected. It was thought the prior knowledge of expected behaviours the young people brought with them would contribute to the maintenance of discipline.

The pōhiri brought together the MĀUI model elements of Mana and Mauri. The procedures of the pōhiri affirm Mana through the karanga, whaikōrero, waiata or relishes to the whaikōrero, the hongi (pressing of noses) and hariru (handshake) and taking of food together. The karanga affirms Mana because not only does the mana whenua (people with territorial rights) or those who are extending the welcome exercise the right to invite the visitors to join them but the visitors also make the decision to accept the invitation. They also make the decision to move on to the marae in peace or otherwise. The karanga allows both sides to declare who they are and to establish any links they may have with each other. They can do the same again during the whaikōrero and waiata. All these processes can become opportunities to display depth of knowledge by which to assert Mana. The following two processes of the hariru where the visitors and local group greet each other formally by mingling their breath and pressing noses in the hongi and the sharing of food also enable Mana to be affirmed. The two processes do this because both sides choose and therefore assert their Mana in deciding whether or not they will participate.

Participation is the way by which Mauri is also expressed. By that I mean that when either party chooses to participate, they are also affirming the Mauri of the occasion and their part in the gathering. At the wānanga no one refused to participate in the pōhiri. I can assume from this they assented to the conditions of participation and thereby contributed to its Mauri. In addition by participating, they were saying

that their participation contributed to the Mauri of their enterprise idea. Perhaps that was best illustrated by the fact at Wānanga 2 and 3 they worked on the idea their YES company had and by doing so added to its Mauri.

Whakawhanaungatanga

Whakawhānaungatanga used in the context of the wānanga is a fairly recent cultural practice. However it is about building relationships and working together. Attendees or participants at a wānanga may bring with them sets of whanaungatanga or relationships but like every other gathering, arrival at a wānanga requires opportunities where those who are unknown to each other are able to establish relationships so they can work toward whatever the goal is for the wānanga. Those processes also provide opportunities for those who do know each other to re-establish old ties before the business of the wānanga progresses any further.

Traditionally at hui and the wānanga were in another sense hui, the pōhiri is the process by which whakawhanaungatanga is established. However in a more modern context, the expectation now exists that a series of 'ice-breaker' activities will take place in addition to the pōhiri. The ice-breakers include opportunities to get to know people's names, where they come from, what they might do and what they may want to get out of the hui. Sometimes the process used to share this information is as straight forward as people standing to introduce themselves and sometimes it might involve a series of games by which that set of information is exchanged. It is this aspect of whakawhanaungatanga that is new because it is not traditional practice but is becoming accepted.

Several types of whakawhanaungatanga were used during wānanga with different sets of tikanga and different outcomes. The first was the ritual encounters during pōhiri followed by the sharing of some food. The second was a series of games and exercises that enabled the participants to learn about each other. The third was an exercise where participants had to present a short skit based on a Māui story. The fourth was their five-minute presentations of their business ideas. Next was their introduction to their mentor for the duration of the wānanga. Throughout the wānanga there were other opportunities for everyone to socialize.

All the different processes of whakawhanaungatanga contributed to the maintenance of the Mana of the youth participants, the mentors and everyone else

who had some input into the wānanga like the organisers. In that way the Mana element of the model was and is actioned. All participants got to decide whether or not they would take part in the different whakawhanaungatanga exercises. They also had the opportunity to decide the level at which they would participate. In this way they asserted their Mana. By asserting their Mana in this manner, they learnt how to manage it for personal and group advantage.

Whakawhanaungatanga also enabled individuals to shine and therefore to take leadership roles. This was the second process in which the element of Arataki could be seen in action. The first being during the pōhiri when youth participants could lead the karanga, stand to speak during the whaikōrero and perform the waiata relish. Those actions were also opportunities for them to assert and add to their mana. Taking leadership during sessions where whakawhanaungatanga was obvious when different young people took it upon themselves to take the first step or to organize the group they were in or to prompt others to respond.

What whakawhanaungatanga did was bond the participants into a unit - the beginnings of the network that it was hoped would be one of the outcomes of the wānanga. To achieve this, some of the exercises and activities undertaken during whakawhanaungatanga sessions required interaction between the participants so they would learn more about each other. Perhaps the best example of how this worked was something I have mentioned previously – after every one of the wānanga it took a long time for the participants to say their goodbyes and to leave. They were also still in contact with one another, their mentors and me long after. I still receive invitations to join social networks.

To facilitate the achievement of whanaungatanga during the sessions, a number of resources were used. Primary of these were tikanga that determined in the marae context how this was to occur. In addition there were a set of exercises all designed to enable participants to get to know each other, their strengths, weaknesses and skills. An example of how this worked was that participants often traded skills during wānanga. At one wānanga, one group realized they did not have te reo Māori necessary to complete their plan so they sought the services of another group in exchange for some skills they had. Trading in this manner often occurred throughout wānanga even though they were in competition with each other.

Competition

The competition gave purpose and form to the curriculum. It was also a strong motivator. The information sent out in the pānui informed potential participants that the wānanga included a competition with a monetary prize. The expectation therefore was that participants would arrive highly motivated to compete as the money they won could be invested into their company. The second and third wānanga also included awards for the most innovative idea and for leadership. Mentors were informed of the competition.

On the first morning of the wānanga, a speaker set the scene for the competition. At the very first wānanga, the competition was based on producing a business plan for a marae. Someone from the marae presented its current position and the participants were then free for the next twenty-four hours to develop their concept and to put together a business plan. At the following two wānanga, the competition was based on participants' own YES business plans. The reason for the change was because the feedback from the youth participants, the mentors and the accompanying teachers was that it would be useful for the participants to work on their YES business plans as a way of adding value to what they had learned at school. They could then take the anticipated improved plans back with them to share with those who had not attended.

Following the Saturday presentation, the terms and conditions of the competition were set out including that if anyone broke any of The Rules they forfeit the right of their group to compete. The youth participants were then free to work in their groups with their mentors to facilitate learning. Twenty-four hours later they were presenting their plan for judging. In addition to the mentor they had access to a computer lab and technicians to advise them on how to get the best use out of the technology available to them. They also had internet access, rooms and/or space to work in, paper and pens and if they needed anything else if they asked I or the research assistant and a young volunteer who worked with me would endeavour to provide it. At one of the wānanga one group asked if we could provide a sewing machine so they could make some samples of their product. Using our contacts we were able to oblige and they were able to show their samples during their presentation. But did the competition work in terms of the elements of the MĀUI model?

The specific elements the competition emphasized were Mauri, Mana and Āta. In terms of Mauri there were two aspects – the Mauri of the wānanga itself and the Mauri of the enterprise of the youth participants. The competition was the focus of the wānanga and gave life to it. It was here that the most interaction between the youth participants and the mentors took place and therefore the exchange of information and learning was at its most intense. It was also here that the Mana of both the youth participants and mentors was most affirmed. The end product was a plan (Āta) both written and in presentation form that the young people could take back with them to share with members of their company who were unable to attend. There were at least three examples of how those plans became winners for YES companies.

One was where a company took what they learned and used it to go on to win a regional award. In two other cases, companies took plans they had worked on, continued to develop them in to national award winning enterprises.

Awards

There were three awards – one monetary (best business plan presentation), one a book on a well-known leader or about a significant Māori event (leadership) and software or technology related (for the most innovative idea). As has been already mentioned the awards were incentives to participate. They were also a demonstration that Māori are competitive and competition is healthy. The MĀUI model elements in the awards were Mauri, Mana and Ū.

The awards were like a beacon for all the work undertaken during each wānanga. They were an indication of an end but not necessarily the end. An end that had a reward for the work invested. Working to that end was one way by which Mauri was maintained, specifically the life force of both the wānanga and the enterprise idea of the youth participants.

All the awards and especially the leadership award were affirmation of the Mana of the individual who won the award and the person who lead the group. The concept of Mana being that one cannot have it unless it is in relation to a group. In addition to the individual, the leader asserting Mana, the group also did by making the winning presentation.

In relation to both Mauri and Mana, the awards were resources the winners could take back with them to use in their bid to win other awards or to achieve in other areas. An example was how the monetary award for the overall best presentation could be used by the winners to invest in their company. Only one winning group chose not to take up that award – at least the principal declined on behalf of the group. No reason was given and I have not tried to analyse the decision. Suffice to say Mana had been exercised when declining.

Accommodation and Venue

The preferred choice of venue was a tertiary institution with a marae on campus or within walking distance. The participants would be accommodated at the marae and the university facilities could be used for planning sessions of the wānanga. Here the concept was the very best of both worlds where tikanga Māori was affirmed and the young participants and mentors could be introduced to the tertiary institute. Yes there was the idea that providing accommodation at the marae was 'cheap' but that was not the over-riding concern. Rather it was to create the right environment for a number of cultural practices from both worlds to come together to maximize the knowledge exchange.

Selecting a tertiary institution as the venue provided access to resources e.g. computer labs that participants could use to do market research and to prepare their presentations and rooms or space in which they could work. In this way they would be provided with the very best resources on offer. In addition they would be introduced to the tertiary environment in a safe and meaningful way.

Accommodating the participants at a marae was one way of reinforcing the idea that tikanga Māori has a valid place in the world of enterprise and being entrepreneurial. It was also a way to indicate to the young participants that certain behaviour was expected without being too obvious again because the assumption was some if not all participants would have some prior knowledge of that behaviour. At the very first wānanga, a colleague commented his amazement at the good behaviour of the participants. His experience of taking groups of young people especially teens away on camps and other outings was that behaviour can be trying for accompanying adults as the young people pushed the limits on what was acceptable. We discussed the possible reasons for behaviour being what it was.

First there was the naming of the gathering – it was a wānanga. The youth participants who had an understanding of te reo Māori immediately understood the nature of the gathering. It was to be an occasion where knowledge was exchanged, where there would be opportunity for respite but essentially, they would be in an environment of intense learning. Those who did not have the same understanding of te reo Māori very quickly picked up on that message during the pōhiri, whakawhanaungatanga periods and when the programme was discussed.

Next was the use of the marae for accommodation. Those participants who were used to being on a marae also knew the expected behaviours. They knew there was some requirement to keep the venue clean and tidy; to be quiet after lights went out so people could sleep; they did not have to be reminded. Those who did not have the same prior knowledge and there were some at each wānanga, learnt from the others. In addition the sheer intimidation of being in an unfamiliar environment, meant they were not prepared to do anything that might mean disqualification. There were some other reasons too like The Rules but I am concerned here specifically with those related to the accommodation.

However, the accommodation was not just there for sleeping and eating. How the participants engaged in the practices associated with it were included as part of the competition. That is, how well they maintained the tidiness and cleanliness of the sleeping quarters and ablutions; their behaviour when in the wharenui and wharekai; whether or not they only completed their assigned duties associated with living on a marae or they did those and helped out others. That criteria was clearly laid out for the participants in 'The Rules' and the criteria of the competition of which they had copies and copies of which were clearly displayed at all times on notice boards. Behaviour related to the wharenui and wharekai aspect of the competition was the deciding factor at one wānanga. That is, the group that won did so because their behaviour in respect to the accommodation (marae) was better than the other group who in my opinion had a slightly better plan and presentation.

The MĀUI model elements significant to the accommodation were Mauri, Mana and Ū. The Mauri element was significant because the marae environment provided a place to rest and food to maintain the body. Everyone needed time out to

replenish energy. It was also the place where the groups could come together and continue to develop their networking skills through interaction.

The Mana element was executed by the fact the youth participants chose to observe both the written and unspoken rules associated with the accommodation. They could have chosen at any time to adopt behaviours normally not acceptable in the marae environment. However, expectations were reinforced by the use of The Rules and the statement that to break those would result in the group being excluded from competing. Having caterers, The Rules and a duty roster were the resources to ensure the accommodation would support what the youth participants could achieve during the wānanga.

Duties

Although the participants did not have to cook they were rostered cleaning duties. The roster was made available to the participants by being put up on the wall. It was brought to their attention on the first night. They seldom had to be reminded thereafter and often when I went to remind them they had already begun what they needed to do. Partly that was because of The Rules and the implication of not undertaking duties (exclusion from competing). Again, an assumption was made that some if not all the participants knew that staying on a marae meant contributing to the overall maintenance of living arrangements. Rostering duties, was also quite simply a way by which to keep spaces used by a large group clean and tidy. It was also a way by which to illustrate that it doesn't matter how successful an entrepreneur can become, everyone contributes to even the most menial of tasks in the beginning.

The MĀUI model elements related to the duties are Mauri, Mana and Iwi. The Mauri aspect of the duties was the idea that every enterprise will have activities that need to be done in order to maintain the life of that enterprise. Likewise, the entrepreneur or in the case of the wānanga the participants, exercise their Mana by deciding whether or not they will undertake duties or activities necessary for the maintenance of the enterprise. As a resource, the duties support both Mauri and Mana. They do that by demonstrating there are some things that have to be done in order to move on to the next activity in the maintenance of Mauri. They also do that because participants can exercise their own authority (Mana) in terms of how much they will invest in an activity. The Iwi element is present in that at the wānanga and

in an enterprise the participants behave and act as a unit or units in order to complete roles and responsibilities so that goals and objectives can be achieved.

T-Shirts

At the very first wānanga with a group of potential young Māori entrepreneurs, one of the participants came up with the slogan "Māorivation". He gave his permission in writing for it to be used as a print on GYME t-shirts and the slogan was copyrighted to him. The t-shirts were an outward demonstration of the GYME network of young Māori entrepreneurs and were given to the participants when they registered. It was usual for participants to wear the t-shirts when making their presentations. That action could indicate their willingness to identify with GYME or it could simply have meant it provided a pseudo uniform for the purposes of presenting themselves in the best light.

The elements of the MĀUI model presented by the existence of the t-shirts were Mana, Mauri and Ū. As a manifestation of the notion of Mana, the t-shirt provided the participants with an opportunity to indicate by wearing the t-shirt when they presented their plans how much they wanted to engage in the overall GYME programme. It was also an opportunity for them to exercise their Mana by deciding to have a uniform look when presenting. In terms of Mauri when the youth participants had returned home, every time they wore the t-shirt or saw it among their belongings they were reminded of a number of things. Among those were what they had learnt and how that had contributed to their enterprise. In addition they were reminded of the people they met and the network they were now part of.

The young people could exercise their own Mana by choosing to wear the t-shirts and some did when presenting their business plans. Likewise it is probable that some chose not to and again some did exactly that, choosing instead to wear school uniform or their own clothing when making the presentations. But again, it was all designed so that at every point, participants had opportunities to exercise their own authority, to make choices and understand the consequences of those choices. So in their own way, the t-shirts were resources to emphasise the elements of Mauri and Mana.

Evaluation

The youth participants were given an opportunity to evaluate the wānanga they attended. The evaluation sheet they completed was not complex and designed with them in mind. They were asked to:

1. Rate 'The Food', 'The Accommodation' and 'The Resources Provided' on a scale of 1 to 5 where 1 = The Pits and 5 = Excellent .
2. To write down three things they liked about the weekend.
3. Three suggestions to improve the next wānanga.
4. Suggestions to keep them motivated as young Māori entrepreneurs as follow up to the wānanga.

Completion of the evaluation form was usually done while the judges were deliberating after the presentations.

The MĀUI model elements present in the evaluation were Mauri, Mana, Āta and Ū. In terms of the Mauri element, the evaluation form provided the participants with an opportunity to give an opinion on the wānanga as a whole and also to say what other actions should be taken. An example of this was that at the first wānanga they had said there should be regional wānanga so an effort was made to respond to that feedback with wānanga being held in two centres the next year. The research funding had not provided for that so additional funding was sought from elsewhere (Hui Taumata) and a report provided. The reason for including an extra wānanga the next year was the importance in demonstrating to the participants that their feedback was valued.

The evaluation also enabled the youth participants to assert their Mana in two ways. They could choose to complete the form and overwhelmingly they did. They also could choose to say what they wanted and again without exception, they did e.g. one of the marae we used as accommodation had forgotten to turn on the hot water switch which was located in an unusual place so we were unable to find it. That resulted in cold showers all around. There were also plumbing problems at the same marae so it was not the most comfortable of places to stay. Suffice to say the participants were loud in their feedback on those conditions. On the positive side they were strong in their appreciation of the food, the resources provided for them, all of the things they liked and they had many suggestions on what could be done in future.

The evaluation also provided the research assistant who worked with our advisors and me with valuable information on future action. It contained suggestions on possible future directions of the programme as a whole. In other words, it was a valuable planning tool thereby fulfilling the Āta element of the model. In addition it was a resource (Ū) in maintaining the combined Mauri, Mana and Āta elements. It did this because it contributed to the ongoing planning of wānanga, it allowed participants to make a conscious decision to contribute to the future and it collected information that could be used in future planning.

Poroporoaki

The poroporoaki is evaluation in a Mātauranga Māori context - it is the ceremonial leave taking wherein the case of the wānanga, an occasion is celebrated. There are those who say the poroporoaki is really for the final night during the tangi when family and friends celebrate the life of the deceased. However, I think that may perhaps be a tribal difference in interpretation or even a more modern interpretation. The Williams dictionary defines poroporoaki as to "leave instructions on departing" or to "take leave of" (1985:294) and that is the meaning applied here.

During the poroporoaki, a speaker representing a group about to leave stands to acknowledge the hosts and to extend invitations to visit at some point in the future. The speech will contain references to activities that took place both serious and hilarious. It will also have references to how well the hosts cared for the manuhiri (visitors). An invitation to visit is usually a sign of good hosting. The expectation was that groups would engage in the process without prompting even though it was noted on the programme. However, it was also anticipated that there might need to be some prompting. The elements of the MĀUI model found in this aspect of the wānanga are Mana, Mauri, Āta and Iwi.

At none of the wānanga were participants prompted to begin the process. Each time the poroporoaki was completed in the wharekai at the end of the last meal. There are a number of reasons why this may have occurred. One of those is that adults traveling with the young people knew the process and took action to make it so. Another is those young people who were raised knowing tikanga took it upon themselves to institute the practice and the others followed. What all the speakers did was to assert their Mana as individuals representing their group and also by

representing their whānau, hapū and iwi. I say the latter because often their speeches made reference to these groups. In addition their styles of speaking and the mita (rhthym) of their language was an indicator of their iwi connections. Any invitations they extended were manifestations of the elements of Mauri and Āta in that they were indicating a future for the programme.

Conclusion

Using the methodology of a wānanga was one way by which the MĀUI model was tested. Although the concept of wānanga is not new its use in this context is still being explored. That is, its use for short sessions of deep learning as opposed to lengthy periods of residential learning. Also, our modern day knowing of wānanga is tied to the modern construct of wharewānanga that take their structure and their qualifications from western tertiary institutions. However what this chapter explored was the way in which different aspects of the MĀUI Model were implemented in the wānanga and how those contributed to the notion of growing young Māori entrepreneurs. The latter was demonstrated by telling some of the stories and their outcomes as examples of how the elements worked.

The next two chapters will provide an analysis of the application of the model and how well it works. It will also include a discussion on the 'so what' question. That is, so what does that mean? Does it add anything to our collective knowledge base or was it all an exercise in self-indulgence on my part?

CHAPTER 6

Ancestor Hero, Role Model, Entrepreneur and Model of Entrepreneurship.

The Mātauranga Māori which provides the overall context for the thesis began long before the conception of the thesis. It started when the Māui stories were first conceived by tīpuna (ancestors) who needed a way to educate the populace. As trickster stories, their purpose was and still is to educate listeners on behaviours and the consequences thereof. In the context of pūrakau, they also provide an explanation for natural phenomena e.g. the existence of Te Ika a Māui, one of the better-known Māui stories. The exercise in the thesis was to make the stories come alive beyond metaphorical references in whaikōrero, the various forms of waiata and haka and their use as children's tales. Interpreting them in the context of growing young Māori entrepreneurs was one way of translating them for use in a modern context. To facilitate the interpretation I asked myself the question – is there a model to grow young Māori entrepreneurs in the Māui stories? How would I identify such a model and what would be its elements?

There have been people along the journey who have remarked 'you can find a model in anything' and that statement in itself was a challenge. It seemed to undermine the very purpose of the thesis. But in this journey it was about more than finding the model. It was also about testing it to find out how robust it was. In addition there was the very real possibility it could be a theory.

The selection of the Māui stories as a source of a model was arrived at after first considering the Tāwhaki journeys to get the three baskets of knowledge. They were decided upon for a number of reasons starting with the fact Māui is an ancestor of mine. He is also well known to most New Zealanders because his stories can be

found in almost every school, library if not home so he is known. A model based on his (ad)ventures therefore would not be new knowledge for the population in general. He is also common to the Pacific so there was also the potential for international application.

The research was also about demonstrating that the Māori world-view has a valid place within the context of entrepreneurship. That models that have their origin in that world-view are as valid as models that have their origins in other world-views. I had this notion that for some Māori and non-Māori for that matter, having an entrepreneurial model from a cultural template they recognised, would be affirming no matter where they came from. It would let them know that some of the things they did which did not seem to fit other models being espoused were in fact normal. They were not necessarily doing things the wrong way but differently because the way they saw the world was different and it was 'normal', 'ordinary' or in other words, 'Māori' in the true sense of the word.

I presumed that through the work I would also discover other things and I have. Some of those other things I will also discuss in this chapter but primarily the chapter is a discussion about the model, whether or not it works and the evidence that demonstrates that it does works.

To determine whether or not there was a model, I had read different versions of fifteen stories where Māui-Tikitiki-a-Tāranga was the main protagonist. An analysis of the stories is presented in Chapter Three. Whilst reading them I identified a number of key concepts. Once the key concepts were identified they were organised into a model based on Māui's name and using significant tikanga. Those tikanga were Mana, Mauri, Āta and Ārataki. Two hoa-haere or companions - Ū and Iwi, were also identified and are used to complement the tikanga. Details of each tikanga and hoa-haere are provided in Chapter Four.

The method by which I chose to test the model was a series of three wānanga with young Māori who had either expressed an interest in entrepreneurial activity or were involved in the Lion Foundation Young Enterprise Scheme (YES). The majority were from YES. The wānanga were held over a two-day period from a Friday evening to Sunday afternoon, focussed on a competition where the participants had to produce a business plan and at the end, the presentation of awards. Along the

way with the help of speakers and mentors, there would be an exchange of knowledge for the youth participants to build upon throughout their lives. But at the end of the day, what does it all mean? Among the many challenges put to me whenever I made a presentation of the Māui Model was why I had done this work. Was it just conforming to the requirements of the university? Ironically a challenge made by a student at a university. But, the question is fundamental to this chapter.

As I have previously explained the thesis is one way by which to demonstrate that Mātauranga Māori has and is capable of producing as many theories, models and frameworks as knowledge from any other world view. It is a valid source of knowledge for use by everyone and not just Māori and can stand alongside of those from other knowledge sources and other world-views. What is necessary is to demonstrate the knowledge in a way that is understood by all and to make it available for critique. The process of critique is not new to Māori – that is one of the things that often happens in whaikōrero and at hui so to make Mātauranga Māori available for critique cannot be avoided. However for the purposes of the thesis, it is probably best to go back to the questions raised in the first chapter and to examine whether or not they have been addressed.

Mātauranga Māori

The most important aspect of this modern term Mātauranga Māori in relation to the MĀUI Model is whether or not the model advances or promotes distinctive Māori contributions to a range of activities and enterprises (Royal, 2001: 16). Certainly it is an effort to value the Māori perspective in the areas of entrepreneurship and enterprise (Henry and Pene, 2001). Therefore I would argue that in both these ways the model adds value to Mātauranga Māori. It takes stories that have their origin in the far past, and interprets them for application in a specific field to add to their telling as children's tales and as relishes to formal speech making. It has been tested through a wānanga series aimed at young Māori entrepreneurs, it has been critiqued when presented at various conferences and reporting hui and there is no denying that it comes from a Māori world-view. However, it is open for challenge and it certainly has been in the time taken to test and write about it.

Adult students in Māori business postgraduate study have immediately identified with the model. For them it has been a validation of their culture in a world

that did not seem to do that for them. It was recognisable as originating from the cultural template they knew. Some challenged it because they did not like the Māui character. Others challenged it because Māui is not an ancestor hero from their Iwi – they have others considered more important. But generally it was accepted as a model of entrepreneurship emerging out of the Māori worldview. In addition others have begun to write scholarly work building on the model like Tapsell and Woods (2008) who explored the notion of pōtikitanga in relation to entrepreneurship. Pōtikitanga is a reference to Māui the pōtiki or youngest of the Māui's in his family - an assumption here that the youngest child is likely to be the most entrepreneurial. This is based on other research in human development that identifies the youngest child as being the one in the family least likely to conform to family norms and most likely to test the boundaries. As part of the larger GYME research project of which the wānanga were one methodology, a questionnaire was administered. One of the questions was about place in family to test the very notion of whether like Māui the youth participants were the youngest children. The data showed that in fact there was an even spread of where they were placed between being the eldest, a middle child and the youngest. Application of the same question in a more informal way by asking Māori who were undertaking postgraduate study in business studies where they were placed in family also found they were equally spread between the three. Therefore in that sense, Māori entrepreneurs do not necessarily follow Māui as being the youngest child.

The MĀUI Model was not presented to the youth participants of wānanga. Throughout wānanga they were focussed on their business plan and the competition. They were informed the wānanga were part of a research project and the MĀUI Model was being tested through the wānanga series. They were also informed the wānanga were organised using the model and in the programme there were activities based on the Māui stories. In the competition central to the wānanga they were challenged to integrate the stories and/or tikanga in some way into their product or way they operated. One group actually integrated one of the Māui stories into their product, which was babies' clothing. Their plan was to provide the story of Māui's birth on a tag to be attached to the clothing. However, it was never the plan for the young people to leave wānanga reciting Māui stories, nor to be experts in the application of the model. Rather it was a way by which adults and others working

with young people in the field of entrepreneurship and enterprise could do that by applying a Mātauranga Māori model.

The youth participants left owning their business plans and product prototypes for which they had done the research and writing. They evaluated wānanga and their feedback was integrated into those following whenever possible to improve on delivery. All initial indicators pointed to success as YES companies the participants belonged to began to win regional and national awards and individual participants sent messages of the impact the wānanga had on their lives. Therefore the model had by Royal's definition, advanced or promoted a distinctive Māori contribution to a range of activities and enterprises.

Youth Development

The issues relating Mātauranga Māori and youth development were discussed in Chapter One. Specifically they were about definitions, participation, the Youth Development Strategy Aotearoa (YDSA) and two theories of youth development – resiliency and strengths-based. Using Royal's definition again, does the MĀUI model add value in relation to those contexts and theories? Does it give an indigenous meaning to them and why would that be important?

Definitions

Definitions were included because they can have an impact on participation. More importantly the discussion for me was about the Mātauranga Māori context of the definitions of youth. Who are those we call youth? Does that matter and what definitions are we using? For the purposes of the thesis two aspects of definition were considered. One was focussed on age and the other focussed on cultural boundaries.

The funding body of the research project that informed the thesis, the Foundation for Research Science and Technology (FRST), determined the age definition of participants. FRST funding is aligned with government policy. In relation to a definition of youth, government policy states that youth are those young people between the ages of 12 – 24 years. When it called for proposals in 2003, FRST was specific that proposals had to conform to the government definition of youth. The research project 'Growing Young Māori Entrepreneurs (GYME)'

therefore was designed to involve those aged between 12 -24 years. The wānanga were an output of GYME.

The participants on the wānanga ranged in age from 15 – 21 years with the majority being 16 and 17 years. Some of the older ones were involved as organisers as opposed to being competition participants. No young Māori were turned away. The reason for the age being mainly 16 & 17 year olds was because during the first year of GYME, it was decided to work with the Lion Foundation Young Enterprise Scheme (YES), which is delivered through schools. The result was that most participants were involved in YES at their school. Almost every school offering YES makes it available to Years 12 & 13 students only – the final two years of compulsory education where students may be aged primarily from 15 – 17 years. That is the first point at which Māori participation in YES is affected. School attendance by Māori has dropped considerably by Years 12 and 13 and that fact and its impact will be discussed in more detail in the next section on 'participation'. That in turn had an impact on GYME wānanga participation.

The GYME wānanga youth participants were not concerned about definitions of who they were in relation to an age cohort. If they defined themselves it was either by school or tribal affiliation. When they used a youth related word to describe themselves they only ever used the word rangatahi. Any words used by their whānau, hapu and iwi to describe youth e.g. taitamariki was not used. The fact there is a magazine called 'Taiohi' which they have access to through their schools and talked about in reference to its content had made no impression. 'Taiohi' is merely the name of the magazine. Neither has the use of taiohi in the Māori name of the Ministry of Youth Development (MYD), nor its use on television programmes targeting their age group impressed the word upon the consciousness of the young people. At no time during the wānanga was there a rangatahi versus taiohi discussion. The youth participants did not raise it and neither did the researchers as that could have been seen as 'leading'. Simply put the young people used the word most known by them when referring to themselves, especially when referring to themselves as a group and that word was rangatahi.

In addition, because they were relatively of a similar age there was no discussion about who was or was not youth or rangatahi. If participants had been

wide ranging in age or covered all the ages of the current age definition, then some of the issues that sometimes emerge e.g. who are rangatahi with some thinking others are too old and vice versa, may have emerged. A wider age range may also have prompted some feedback on the problems of catering to that. However, preliminary evidence showed that where facilitators do not make an issue of an age definition or have participants who are similar in age, definitions determined by age are not relevant. Rather, it is the purpose of being together. But what of the rangatahi versus taiohi position and the definitions I made reference to in Chapter One? That discussion has implications in a cultural context because it can determine interactions between different age groups.

It could be argued that the lack of recognition of 'taiohi' by the youth participants as relating to them is because of weak brand recognition. It could also be argued that another reason is that the use of 'taiohi' when referencing youth is so recent it has not made any impact yet. If that is the case then my proposition in Chapter One that 'taiohi' be used in reference to those aged 12 – 17 and 'rangatahi' those aged 18 – 35 years has a long way to go if in fact it does go anywhere. It will require a complete rebranding exercise much the same as the unplanned one that saw the adoption of 'rangatahi' over several decades. To brand 'taiohi' would require a combination of a number of factors taking into consideration that it is not just Māori who recognise the 'rangatahi' brand. But, what is the 'rangatahi' brand?

Normally a brand is a marketing exercise that builds "an image around a particular brand name version of a product" (Klein, 2001: 6). Branding targeting the youth market has become big business (Klein, 2001; Quart, 2003). In the case of the word rangatahi there is no product as such but the word has been branded and an image has been developed around it. The image now associated with it is of youth and not of its origin, fishing net. Even when associating youth with rangatahi, that image is of a particular age grouping and it is not the group that Apirana Ngata was probably referring to in the 'Pipiwharauroa' article in 1900 (see Chapter Two) from which we get the whakatauāki 'Ka pū te ruha ka hao te rangatahi'. In that article Ngata was writing about the need for young people to be encouraged into positions of leadership because they were by comparison, young and strong. They had not been tested to the extent they would cave in through wear and tear. It is difficult to work out who he was referencing in the article but it is clear that the image of rangatahi in

the article is one of potential, hope, strength and energy and any other positive description associated with being young. When Māori use the word, it is seldom if ever used in a negative sense. The question however would be whether or not a rebranding exercise would change the image associated with the word. In addition, who would and should lead any discussion related to a rebranding exercise especially when that exercise is in a Mātauranga Māori context? Ideally one would argue that exercise is the responsibility of Māori therefore the first point of action should be with whānau, hapū and iwi. However there is a government policy response and the discussion will therefore begin there as government policy can have a major impact on the adoption of words and phrases by society at large e.g. government social policy uses 'whānau' juxtaposed with 'family' when writing or promoting anything family related especially in relation to Māori. This will then be followed by a discussion about whānau, hapū and iwi involvement or responsibility should a rebranding exercise take place.

One could assume the Ministry of Youth Development (MYD) should lead any rebranding exercise purely from the point of view that it is the lead government agency responsible for policies related to youth development. Another possibility is that Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori (The Māori Language Commission) as the keeper of the language for the country, lead a discussion. It is also possible Te Puni Kōkiri (TPK) as the lead government agency for Māori development policy might see the discussion as being its responsibility. It might be that another agency particularly a non-government agency might take responsibility for leading the discussion. However any rebranding would need the time, energy and resources of everyone to systematically promote the use of the two words to identify the two groups.

Likewise other government departments like the Ministry of Education (MoE), Tertiary Education Commission (TEC) and Ministry of Health (MOH) should have some involvement. Their involvement would be necessary because they are government agencies that have policies that impact on young people's lives. Currently as identified in Chapter One, to use the two words – rangatahi and taiohi - would result in a reorganisation of policy affecting what is one group lumped together at the moment. So the exercise would require a rebranding exercise that would re-position both taiohi and rangatahi in the collective consciousness of the nation. In the process it would also require a reorganisation of policies and related programmes.

Not an exercise any government would view positively. However it could also be that as new policies are introduced the word appropriate to the age group covered in it is used. A gradual introduction of the change would assist in facilitating acceptance of a re-branding.

In addition to a rebranding exercise by government agencies, whānau, hapū, iwi and community groups would also have to agree with the re-positioning and adopt the rebranding. A discussion on the two words and how they could be applied could begin the rebranding exercise. In addition, it is obvious the constant use of the whakatauāki 'Ka pū te ruha ka hao te rangatahi' has had a huge impact on the current branding of rangatahi. Does that necessarily mean that a whakatauāki using taiohi has to be used - probably not? What would be needed is a campaign that makes it clear the words are used referencing two quite distinct groups who self-identify as being different to each other in age, maturity, roles and responsibilities.

There should be very little objection to rebranding from the government perspective because the reality is policies targeting rangatahi (currently youth aged 12 – 24 years) for the most part relate to those aged 12 – 17 years. Where there might be some blurring of lines might be education policies particularly in reference to transition and tertiary education. However transition policies in the main affect those aged 12 – 17 years and tertiary education policies those aged 18 years and older. The rebranding therefore should not have a major impact on policy but require a mental shift as the brand is repositioned.

The interesting response to the rebranding would be that of whānau, hapū, iwi and communities who have adopted the 'rangatahi' branding to the extent that words like taitamariki that were common twenty to thirty years ago are now seldom used. Interestingly taitamariki is the word being used in the reporting of the Adolescent Health Survey 2007 and previous Adolescent Health Surveys. The Adolescent Health Survey 2007 included students at Whare Kura and that reporting uses the word taiohi. Even more interesting is that the participants of the Adolescent Health Survey 2007 are in some kind of schooling situation and no older than 17 years. Interesting because it does raise the issue of word definitions. Why did the Māori Reference Group of the Adolescent Health Survey 2007 decide to use taitamariki and taiohi instead of rangatahi? On investigation taitamariki was the preferred word of the

kaumātua advisor of the first two surveys and has remained the preferred word ever since without any follow-up discussion and taiohi was the preferred word of Whare Kura.

Adding to the rebranding mix would have to be the retreat from the gradual adoption of a 'common' Māori language in recent years to the exercise by different iwi of their tino rangatiratanga in the use of their idiom. By that I am referring to the fact several iwi including mine of Ngāti Porou have taken out Waitangi Tribunal claims related to their iwi specific idiom and how it has been endangered by current te reo Māori language use. A rebranding exercise therefore may in fact raise many other issues besides age groupings affecting levels of youth participation. But where does the MĀUI model fit in the discussion?

In relation to cultural determinants, the MĀUI model does not focus on age definitions. Rather it emphasises relationships between individuals and groups based on a particular set of cultural factors, roles and responsibilities. At the wānanga there were the relationships between the young people themselves, between the mentors and the young people, between the organisers and the young people, between the organisers and the mentors, between the organisers and the schools or groups that the young people attended and belonged to. In a Mātauranga Māori context those are the relationships between tuakana and teina where the elder of those interacting (tuakana) takes responsibility for ensuring the learning that the other (the teina) takes is one of a smooth transition. The elder does not necessarily mean elder in terms of years although that is its usual translation, it can also be in reference to the person who has more knowledge in a particular subject. In each of those relationships at the GYME wānanga Mana as described as an element of the model – that is without those relationships the notion of Mana could not exist – was affirmed.

Also the interactions that occurred at wānanga allowed the young people to exert the authority aspect of the Mana element. That is they were able to assert their Mana by making decisions at different times about their participation. In addition the participants were given opportunities to assert who they were through the pōhiri and other whakawhānaungatanga processes. They were also able to assert their Mana through their business plans and the presentation of those plans on the final morning. Being given responsibility for application of The Rules also ensured they were able to

demonstrate their ability both as individuals and members of groups and as groups to assert their Mana so they could compete. The result was young people who were able to present business plans with confidence and in some cases return to their home and school environment with a plan that the companies they were part of adopted and then went on to win awards.

The relationships between the youth participants and their mentors were such that the young people were able to make informed decisions with authority. That was perhaps best demonstrated when they made their final presentations. Generally the very first presentations they made on the Friday night were not made with confidence. By Sunday morning, the presentations were different. They were made with pride, passion and a lot more confidence where the young people stood and maintained eye contact with the audience. In addition, the assumption was that cultural behaviours would dictate younger Māori would treat older members at wānanga with respect because of their potential knowledge. That assumption worked. The youth participants did respond to the mentors in the ways anticipated. The result was they were open and received advice they then integrated into their plans. The evaluations indicated the advice they received was perceived as being beneficial for personal and group learning. Therefore in a cultural context age is not defined by years but rather by capability and acceptability. That is the capability of a person to undertake tasks and responsibilities as well as the acceptance by their social group (family, peers, friends, colleagues) of that capability determines age in a Mātauranga Māori context.

Participation

In Chapter One the discussion related to participation was in relation to Hart's Ladder. As a reminder, Hart's Ladder is about levels of participation with the least participatory being where the lowest rung registers 'manipulation' and moves on up through 'decoration', 'tokenism', 'assigned but informed', 'consulted and informed', 'adult-initiated, shared decisions with young people', 'young people-initiated and directed' up to 'young people-initiated, shared decisions with adults'.

On Hart's scale, the wānanga were adult initiated. However the business plans the young people worked on at wānanga were theirs. They had the ideas and they developed them with the advice and support of adults present. They owned the business ideas and plans and in most cases continued to work on them once they

returned home. So in terms of Hart's ladder of participation that was the very top rung.

Māori participation in YES and therefore attending the GYME wānanga however was affected by a number of factors. First it was limited because of the ways by which schools enable YES implementation. As previously discussed, schools have different ways by which YES is implemented. There are those that integrate it into the curriculum. That integration however tends to be only for those who are taking what are perceived as 'business' related subjects e.g. accounting. The number of Māori taking those subjects is unknown at least the Ministry of Education was unable to provide these figures when requested because they said schools are not required to report on those enrolled in each subject by ethnicity.

In addition, some schools only allow Years 12 and 13 to participate in YES. There is good reason for this because it leads to 24 credit equivalents at NCEA Level 3. Some schools allow students to be involved in YES as an extra-curricular activity. Even in this instance participation tends to be limited to those in years 12 and 13 although there are exceptions. A focus on only making YES available at Years 12 and 13 also limits the numbers of Māori who are likely to participate. That statement is based on the number of Māori who progress through the different years of secondary schooling.   Table 6.1 shows Māori student by gender and Year level from 2004 – 2006 which was the time period of the GYME wānanga.

Table 6.1: Māori Students by Gender and Year Level 2004 – 2006

Year of Schooling		Year 9	Year 10	Year 11	Year 12	Year 13	Total
2004	Male	7422	6486	5339	3153	1975	24375
	Female	6916	6560	5690	3968	2373	25507
2005	Male	7211	6901	5838	3327	1961	25238
	Female	6851	6693	6004	3882	2484	25914
2006	Male	7017	6856	5979	3452	2090	25394
	Female	6743	6614	5952	3993	2500	25802
Total		42160	40110	34802	21775	13383	152230

Source: Data Management Unit, Ministry of Education, 2008.

The table clearly shows that more female than male Māori stay at school which is consistent with world wide trends showing females remain in schooling for longer periods than males. The figures were reflected in the gender participation at wānanga and in YES with more Māori females participating than Māori males.

Table 6.2: Māori Students by Year Level 2004 – 2006.

Year of Schooling	Year 9	Year 10	Year 11	Year 12	Year 13	Total
2004	14338	13046	11029	7121	4348	49882
2005	14062	13594	11842	7209	4445	51152
2006	13760	13470	11931	7445	4590	51196
Total	42160	40110	34802	21775	13383	152230

Source: Data Management Unit, Ministry of Education, 2008

Table 6.2 shows that in 2006 by Year 11 around 18% of Māori who enrolled at Year 9 in secondary school have left. Likewise, of those enrolled in Year 11 in 2004, only about 42% had progressed to Year 13 by 2006. Therefore the number who could potentially participate in a programme like YES is affected and is reflected in the actual numbers of Māori participating in the programme. However, those who manage YES are open to the idea of Māori participation being by means other than through schools e.g. marae and whānau groups organising their own YES companies. That is potentially an excellent way to increase Māori levels of participation in a programme that offers much in the way of enterprise and financial literacy.

Some YES participants attending the wānanga indicated they were in the 'business related' subjects by default. What is meant by that is they had not been able to get into their subject of first choice when it came to electives and found themselves by default in subjects like economics because they had run out of options to enrol in. They considered the 'business' related subjects to be 'hard' and wished they had made choices earlier. While subject choices can be monitored via NCEA data it would be useful to ascertain what subjects Māori students perceive as being 'hard' and what influences that perception. There have always been subjects that students have perceived as being 'hard' no matter what generation and what ethnicity but it is worrying if Māori students are choosing subjects purely because they are perceived to

be 'easy' rather than in cognisance of their future career aspirations or their particular strengths and interests. It is a worry for two reasons the first of which is they limit their own choices in the long term. The other is that it has an impact on the capacity of their whānau, hapū, iwi and community to be able to fully participate in society politically, economically and socially, in a way that could be meaningful for them.

When looking at the GYME wānanga participants they were a mix of a range of types. There were those who were there because they were YES participants. There were those who were YES participants because they willingly took business related subjects in Years 12 or 13 and those who reluctantly found themselves taking those subjects. There were those who were there because their school opened YES up as an extra-curricula subject and they then chose to be in the programme. There were also older youth participants who were there to help and were that group who in a Māori context are often referred to as 'tonotono' or in the western context the 'gofers'. For all of them they usually chose to attend the GYME wānanga and in that way their participation added to the testing of the model. That is because experience as a trainer has shown me that when people choose to attend something they have high expectations and are quick to make their feelings known if those expectations are not met. Likewise it is also challenging if people attend something compulsorily. In those cases the challenge is to get them to participate as they will exhibit obvious signs of resistance.

Noticeably although invitations were sent out widely to schools participating in YES, especially where there were Māori students participating, wānanga attendees came primarily from rural and semi-rural areas. Feedback from teachers indicated that young people especially in urban centres are incredibly busy. They have sport, other extra-curricular activities like music and dance, home responsibilities and part-time jobs. Attending a wānanga meant much reorganising of their lives so it was a privilege to have the youth participants choose to attend. Organising the dates for the wānanga also proved challenging in being able to fit around all of those activities and to make them an experience that would add value to their YES curriculum.

Another factor that impacted on participation is not all schools participate in YES. Anecdotal reasons for this include the lack of staff who for a variety of reasons are able to coordinate the programme in schools. Another is that some schools

perceive the programme as being expensive because of the fees involved in participation. Noticeably the lower decile schools with high Māori populations are likely to be in this group although there are also schools from this group that do participate. YES is designed however so there are activities in the programme that enable students to raise the funds necessary to pay the fees required. It is all part of the curriculum for developing enterprise and financial literacy skills. Another reason is that the programme requires a sustained effort over the school year. Those schools that do not participate in YES usually participate in other financial literacy programmes that require short bursts of energy like the old Lion Foundation "Discovery Journey" a three day business planning workshop and the derivative of that, Kaipākihi Ranga Wairua funded through the Māori Women's Development Inc. (MWDI).

The differences between Kaipākihi Ranga Wairua (KRW) and GYME wānanga are in the tikanga content. In general GYME places more emphasis on tikanga e.g. KRW does not require participants to live on the marae for the duration. Rather participants go back to their place of residence at the end of each day. Both programmes have mentors except the mentors of KRW are not necessarily Māori and although GYME had two non-Māori mentors they had arrived with their Māori partner who had agreed to be a mentor. The focus of the GYME wānanga was to provide the young participants with examples of successful Māori business people and professionals. KRW is for Māori and Pasifika youth whereas GYME was for Māori only.

In terms of the MĀUI Model, participation in and of itself is not an element. However, if one were to apply the elements of Mana and Mauri, then participation becomes more obvious. That is, for the element of Mana to be operational requires two things – engagement in relationships and the authority to make decisions and to direct action. At the same time for the element of Mauri to be operational participants are required to be present and able to assert their authority so that action can occur. The GYME wānanga participants chose to attend even when initially encouraged by a teacher. They asserted their authority right at the very beginning. They then engaged with other participants and the mentors who worked with them for the duration of the wānanga. That engagement ensured the Mauri of their business idea did not lose momentum even when they left the wānanga. It also ensured the Mauri of the

wānanga was not lost. Using tools like a programme, The Rules (Ū) and mentors (Iwi) were essential to maintaining Mauri and to reinforcing Mana. In addition, opportunities were created for individuals to exercise their leadership (Ārataki) skills as their participation resulted in them taking responsibility for taking their group through the planning (Āta) to the final presentation.

So although participation is not defined in the hierarchical manner of Hart's ladder it does exist in the MĀUI Model. In a tikanga context it is probably more like the diagram in Chapter Four that shows the elements of the model along a continuum. That does not mean that one is more important than the other but rather that they are all working towards a particular outcome. Was that Māui? Did he work toward a particular outcome? Was participation important to him?

The simple answer is participation was important to him. One could look at many of the stories about him and see the abandoned child striving to impress the parent, other siblings, whānau and community at large. Consider the spear-throwing story. He competed not necessarily because he thought he was better than other participants but so his whānau would notice him. Once they had noticed him he hid from them only to make his presence felt when they returned to their whare where he used subterfuge to get his mother's attention. His participation was a need to belong so participation was very important to him as it confirmed his identity. But he also made sure others participated in many of his (ad)ventures.

Take the trapping of the sun so there would be more hours in the day to complete tasks or the fishing up of Te-Ika-A-Māui. In both instances his brothers were involved albeit somewhat reluctantly. In almost every instance any participation by others was not always voluntary nor with good grace. In the case of the wānanga it can be said – apart from the incident previously recorded where two participants walked in the rain to get their prototype for their presentation – participation was wholeheartedly engaged in. But unlike his siblings and whānau in general, Māui usually saw the big picture and that was because unlike them he was raised in an environment where he was encouraged to explore and that is what participation is about in the MĀUI Model – the opportunity to explore possibilities.

Youth Development Strategy Aotearoa

The six principles of the YDSA are about the big picture, young people being connected and is supported by a strengths-based approach. It is focussed on moving toward understanding young people as partners in their development by building on quality relationships, participation and good information. The role of adults is to be encouraging and supportive mentors in young people's development who intentional plan setting high goals to strive to achieve. Last it is about achieving an inclusive economy and society where young people are innovative and energetic participants.

Big picture

Each of the wānanga was envisioned and played out in the context of the big picture. The participants were already involved in another national programme, YES in which they competed for regional and national awards which some went on to win. They were introduced to successful Māori entrepreneurs who shared their knowledge with them. They heard successful individual Māori speak about their experiences and their journeys to their current place of success. Each experience and opportunity reminded them they were part of a bigger picture. Those who came from small communities observed that most and their response is perhaps best expressed by the email quoted in the previous chapter. That young person certainly got a sense of herself beyond the small rural community she grew up in. Therefore when the elements of the MĀUI Model are engaged, participants in a programme to grow young Māori entrepreneurs can see the big picture and they do get a sense that they are able to make a difference at that bigger level.

Māui Tikitiki-a-Tāranga the character was larger than life and looked at the big picture. His action in taming the sun, fishing up Te-Ika-A-Māui, taking fire from Mahuika and inventing the barbed spear are but some examples of his ability to see the big picture. He did not allow himself to be restricted to the village nor to the usual activities of normal every day life. He dreamed, he planned and he made things happen. Certainly the wānanga were opportunities for the youth participants to dream and to plan so when they returned home they could realise those further. The application of the MĀUI Model through the tools used at the GYME wānanga enabled them to do that.

Being connected and strengths-based

The wānanga were organised using the MĀUI model to enable the youth participants and the mentors to play to their strengths. Those who were knowledgeable about the tikanga related to the marae environment had the opportunity to lead and build on that knowledge. Youth participants brought with them their YES company business idea and built upon that therefore in both those two contexts they played to their strengths. The mentors were where possible paired with groups of youth participants who were working on a business idea similar to or in their area of expertise. If not, at least they had the knowledge of business planning to be able to provide the right level of support and guidance when required. They were therefore using their strengths when in the mentoring role. In addition, by providing that relationship at the wānanga the youth participants were being connected to adults who could provide them with the right kinds of support when it was required.

In the section on 'participation' there is reference to Māui's want to be connected to his whānau and certainly the notion of 'connectedness' is a focus of the YDSA. What it references is being connected to family, friends and community as those connections are important in the resiliency of the young person – that is the ability of the young person to survive and thrive. In the MĀUI Model, being connected is central to all four of the tikanga related elements.

Mana in the model is primarily about relationships and authority. Having relationships is about being connected whether those relationships are good or bad. The plan was that through the wānanga the youth participants would be connected to positive relationships with other participants, the mentors and other supportive adults. Likewise, having authority is about being connected because to have authority means some sort of relationship with others who will acknowledge or at least recognise the authority. In some instances, the participants were in contact with members who had remained behind using their mobiles or by email. In that way they were able to facilitate the maintenance of the Mana of the missing members' contributions to the ongoing development of their business planning.

Mauri was demonstrated by the use of a programme as a tool to work at achieving wānanga outcomes. Likewise, the business plan the youth participants had to work on was important in the Mauri of their business development. The planning

(Āta) gave form to their activities for the rest of the year as all wānanga took place in the first half of the year. Initial evidence of the success of that planning was in the companies that had members attend wānanga going on to win regional and national awards. Finally not only did leaders emerge but opportunities were given for the youth participants to lead (Ārataki) e.g. in thanking speakers or offering karakia. The mentors also demonstrated Ārataki as they guided the groups they were working with to the point of making presentations on the final morning.

Quality relationships
The only truly quality relationships Māui Tikitiki A Tāranga had were with the gods that had contributed to his growing up and education and his grandparents. All his other relationships including with his parents and siblings did not necessarily result in anything positive for him or the other parties despite what can be seen as positive outcomes e.g. the fishing up of Te-Ika-A-Māui. Māui's expectation of those relationships were high and required unconditional love. Unfortunately for him most people with whom he interacted were afraid of him or resented his presence or wondered whether yet again whatever he did would end with them looking or feeling ridiculed. That often resulted in their reluctance to participate in his ventures. It also added to their existing levels of resentment and dislike.

Often Māui's only companions were birds, insects, animals and sea creatures. Even those relationships were not the best perhaps ultimately demonstrated by the result of his companions laughing when he entered the vagina of Hinenuitepo whilst trying to achieve immortality. However, what we can learn from Māui's relationships is what not to do to have others participate in activities. That is exactly what happened when testing the MĀUI Model through the wānanga – it was about doing things differently to Māui so quality relationships could be built on and/or established.

All of the elements of the MĀUI Model demonstrate the value of quality relationships. Mana requires the existence of relationships, as one cannot have Mana unless one has relationships. The better the quality of relationships the higher the level of Mana one acquires. During wānanga, those quality relationships were established through the various whakawhānaungatanga opportunities that arose throughout. Once established, they flourished as in the first instance the youth participants and the mentors worked towards the presentations that were the

culmination of the competition. In the second instance they continued to flourish as the youth participants kept in contact with each other, with their mentors and with the organisers long after wānanga.

In relation to Mauri, quality relationships were important in the development of the business plans the youth participants were working on during the wānanga. Without those relationships, the youth participants may not have been able to maintain the Mauri of those business plans. The presentations at the end of the wānanga and the fact they in the main continued with them on leaving was evidence of how well Mauri was given effect to. As mentioned earlier not every group returned and continued with the plans they had worked on at the wānanga. That happened for different reasons.

Not continuing with enterprise plans developed at wānanga occurred after every wānanga. Where that happened, the Mauri generated at the wānanga was not continued. Thankfully that was the exception rather than the rule. Where it did happen the reasons were simple. In two schools it was because they were unable to find a teacher or community volunteer to coordinate YES. In another the teacher coordinator did not want to continue with the enterprise idea the students developed for whatever reasons – I suspect he did not know how to cope with what I thought was probably the single most creative idea from all the GYME wānanga. Instead he directed them back to a project YES participants in that school undertook every year.

The Managers of the YES programme at ENZT regularly review the types of enterprises companies develop and sometimes they ban some types e.g. one year a directive went out that t-shirts were banned product. However, it may also mean the need to monitor whether or not types of enterprises, if not the exact same, keep on being undertaken at the same schools. Where there is a case of that happening, to investigate the reasons and to find some way to assist a school's YES coordinator to adopt best practice for the programme in the school if there is a need.

YES does provide a teachers' manual and training where ideas on best practice are exchanged but that may not be enough. It might also mean that where a YES coordinator continues to insist YES student participants undertake the same enterprise year after year that ENZT requires the appointment of a new YES coordinator. There would no doubt be some reluctance to do this as some schools

may just elect not to participate in the programme. The reason they may do that is because where a school delivers YES as an extra-curricular activity it relies on the enthusiasm of a teacher for enterprise. Where a school delivers YES as part of the curriculum, it is likely to be coordinated by a teacher or Head of Department in the business related subjects. Changing the coordinator therefore could create internal problems and would require careful handling.

However the continuation of Mauri is not just related to the enterprise ideas the youth participants had worked on. It also related to what could be called 'the awakening' that occurred for some of the participants. For one participant, the wānanga was the place where the reason for learning and behaviour difficulties were identified and action put into place to ameliorate them. For another it was the place where possibilities were experienced and made a difference in what happened on leaving school.

Likewise the Āta element was reliant upon the quality relationships the youth participants had with each other, with group members who for different reasons were unable to attend wānanga, with their mentors and with other adults who were present to provide information the mentors were not able to. The Ārataki/leadership element was dependent upon the quality relationships that the youth leaders had with others in their group, with the group's mentor and with others present who could assist in achieving the goal for the groups – winning the competition with the combination of the best presentation and the most consistent in demonstrating tikanga and cultural practices. Where those relationships were of the best, groups were able to maximise their performance even beyond the wānanga.

Full participation
All aspects of the programme were included to ensure full participation from the moment of arrival at the venue. But the participation was not just in GYME, the programme that included the wānanga, but also in YES. On entering into a partnership with YES, GYME became complementary with the idea that it would increase Māori participation in YES. That increase was evident the very next year with a 70% increase in Māori either enrolling or expressing an interest in YES. Also evident was that Māori were contributing to winning YES companies. Early evidence was showing that companies that had members attend wānanga were beginning to win

157

regional and national YES awards. But what did that mean in relation to the MĀUI Model?

As has been mentioned, the element of Mana required that the participants interact with others, in other words be participatory. Likewise, the Mauri element required participation especially in the completion of the planning so that the presentations could take place. The contribution of the mentors in this instance was in keeping the momentum; to motivate and to give guidance when things stalled.

Full participation giving expression to Mauri also required the participants to take responsibility for the behaviours of each other rather than to leave that solely to the adults. Monitoring each other's behaviour was an opportunity for the youth participants to exercise control and responsibility. Giving over part of that responsibility to the young people was one of the many ways by which full participation was demonstrated and required belief in their willingness to take charge.

In addition the planning element of Āta engaged the youth participants in such a way they were able to demonstrate they had the ability to complete and present the plan as evidence of their participation. Finally those who took leadership roles to engage other participants in the planning activities culminating in the presentation best demonstrated the leadership element. At one wānanga the participants of one group/company, fired their leader because they believed he was not fulfilling the role. They then appointed another who worked hard so they would be real contenders for the winning presentation and they were. She went on to win the Leadership Award at that wānanga much to the surprise of everyone except those who watched her grow as she took on the challenge of leading a boisterous team.

Good information

The YDSA says that good youth development programmes require good information for both young people and those who work with them. Māui was not known for being informative. In fact many of the stories with him as the central character give examples of how he kept others uninformed. A good example is how he introduced himself to his family. He did not openly introduce himself as the long-lost son and brother but initially used subterfuge to observe his mother and brothers before making himself known. However, he was raised by gods and his grandparents who made sure he was fully informed. What they did not teach him well was how to

share that knowledge and information with others. His depth and breadth of knowledge was what set him apart from the rest of his whānau and what they most feared about him. The YDSA does not advocate the provision of good information to young people so they will be arrogant with it but rather so they and those who work with them will make well-informed decisions.

The elements of the MĀUI Model require that good information is provided. The Mana element allows the young people to obtain good information through the relationships they have with each other and those external to their group like mentors. In that way they are able to maintain the Mana of their enterprise giving form to that element of the model. The Āta element works best when good information is obtained although it can work just as well with even the basic of information. At the wānanga the mentors and the organisers provided information or enabled youth participants to access it online. The Ārataki element is again best demonstrated when good information is available and accessed. At the wānanga Ārataki was demonstrated by either the mentors working with the groups to find where information could be obtained then supporting them to obtain it, or by groups being prepared to share their knowledge with others in the spirit of collegiality and community. The latter often demonstrated the ability of groups to negotiate e.g. one group's business idea was to develop a CD demonstrating the correct pronunciation of common Māori terms for sale in their local community. They did not have good, let alone fluent Māori speakers, but they had resources they then used to negotiate with another group who had what they wanted for the demonstration of their prototype. The group then went back to school and developed the CD with their te reo Māori teacher and it became a good seller with their school still selling the product the year after they developed it. They won a leadership award for their work.

Underpinning the implementation of each of the six principles using the MĀUI Model were the two hoa-haere of Ū and Iwi. Each MĀUI element needs the hoa-haere. Relationships in the application of the Mana element requires the interaction of people (Iwi) and in some cases resources to extend those relationships for meaningful outcomes. Likewise as Hohepa Kereopa said (Moon, 2003), the Mauri element requires the interaction of people with a thing to give it a life force therefore any planning or implementation needs people to make things happen. It was the actions of all those at the wānanga who gave and maintained the Mauri of all that

happened. When the Āta element was applied both people and resources were required and used e.g. when the groups undertook small market research activities to find out whether there was a market for their products. Finally the Ārataki element could not have been applied without people and could not have been enhanced without resources, e.g. mentors from whom advice could be sought. Neither can a leader lead without people (Iwi).

Theories of Youth Development
The two theories of youth development referred to earlier in the thesis are resiliency and its companion, strengths-based. In a Mātauranga Māori context, Māui was both resilient and played to his strengths. They were important in what he did and how he went about the tasks he took upon himself.

Māui displayed resiliency despite adversity wherein which lies the origin of resiliency theory. That is, it was observed that some young people remained resilient despite the adverse conditions in which they existed. Māui survived despite being abandoned because his mother Tāranga thought he was dead having been born prematurely. His resilience despite the circumstances of his birth was as a result of the nurturing of his grandparents and the gods who took delight in his education. Connections and being mentored in some way is a significant factor in resiliency. Māui's resilience despite the negative response of his family when he returned to their midst was because he had complete faith in his education and the knowledge he carried. Therefore in relation to the MĀUI Model being well informed or having access to good information helps one to be resilient.

Māui played to his strengths especially his knowledge of karakia. Thus the model emphasises playing to the strengths of those involved. Leaders will take responsibility in those areas where their strengths lie e.g. when the groups worked during wānanga different ones took responsibility for those areas of the planning in which they were the most skilled. Some for the searching of information online, others for making relevant telephone calls, others for putting together the power point presentations and in one case, sewing the prototype for the presentation. The participants had identified what needed to be done and then allocated tasks depending upon the strengths of each person in the group.

The elements of the MĀUI Model build on the strengths and the resiliency of participants. The Mana element emphasises the need for connections, as these are the relationships upon which the notion of Mana relies. It also allows for the strengths of the individuals within those relationships to be given their space when appropriate e.g. to take leadership in a particular area or to follow up on something of special interest. The Mauri element is a demonstration of resiliency as it relies upon resiliency of the individuals and the group to input their time, skills (strengths) and energy. The Āta element particularly plays on the strengths of individuals and groups in planning. It lends to building on the strengths of individuals to benefit the group. The Ārataki element allows individuals to take leadership and of groups to pursue something never tried before much in the same way Māui would. It is the opportunity to be the leader either in a personal way or in the context of the product or service being offered. All of these were demonstrated time and again at each of the wānanga.

Conclusion

Part of the challenge of this chapter was to address what makes the MĀUI Model unique and whether or not it adds value in the contexts of Mātauranga Māori and youth development. The uniqueness of the model is that it adds value to the Māui stories and claims them for the world of entrepreneurship and the community at large. It gives notice that the stories are as valid in the world of youth and adults as they are in the world of children. In the context of Mātauranga Māori it gives notice that models from a Māori world-view exist and can be applied in a field that is global. In the youth development context, it provides some guidelines on engagement that reinforces the cultural environment of young Māori.

CHAPTER 7

Māori Entrepreneurship and Entrepreneurs

When I started out with the research, I was wondering if by identifying a model to grow young Māori entrepreneurs, a difference could be made to the Māori economy by the entrepreneurial activities of young Māori aged 12 to 24 years. The reality is that it is too early to measure that. In fact what may happen may not occur until later in the lives of those young people who were engaged in the wānanga during which the MĀUI Model was tested. However the discussion around Māori entrepreneurship and entrepreneurs was more related to the development of this sector from early years of Māori-Pākeha interaction through the years of serious colonisation to the present. Through it all what is obvious is that Māori youth are invisible however that is not peculiar to either Māori or Aotearoa New Zealand. Rather that is the norm in the area of entrepreneurship and entrepreneurial endeavour particularly in developed countries (Hedrick and Johnson, 2002). There is however a growing body of knowledge related to youth entrepreneurship and this work contributes to that knowledge (Bondonio and Martini, 2001; Kourlisky and Esfandiari, 1997; Kapitsa, 2002; Hafdendorn and Salzano, 2004; Bronte-Tinkew and Redd, 2001; Chigunta, 2002; Logue, 2004).

At one point it would have been true to say that Māori entrepreneurship was invisible in Aotearoa New Zealand. However that is no longer the case as some of the companies that are Māori owned or have some form of Māori ownership receive good media coverage e.g. Whale Watch and Taylor Made. In addition, I have observed that negative media reporting of Māori-owned enterprises in either the private or public sector is almost non-existent nowadays. Anecdotal evidence suggests it is because Māori owned enterprises have improved governance however there is no research that informs that statement. What evidence is available is about the governance issues

facing Māori (Penehira, Cram and Pipi, 2003, Te Puni Kōkiri, 2003; Meade, 2004) and recommendations on how those can be dealt with. In the main those recommendations have generally focussed on training in governance and in the processes necessary for the ongoing maintenance of an enterprise once start-up has been accomplished. The MĀUI Model has its place in that training.

Currently the model is being taught at the University of Auckland in papers that have entrepreneurship content where I have given guest lectures. Most specifically it has been taught on the Huanga Graduate Māori Programmes at that university where the student body is primarily Māori business people and professionals from the public sector. The responses to it have been in the main positive. Primarily because of the familiarity of the stories but also because it comes from a world-view that group of students know and understand. They feel it validates them and their practice as entrepreneurs, business people and managers.

Criticisms have centred on the negative aspects of the Māui persona – his propensity for using others, the feminist perspective of him being a misogynist, my interpretations of his actions, the fact that he does not feature so prominently in some iwi unlike my own. The critiques add to the discussion about the model because they all add value to it and have contributed to my own thinking on it.

Enquiries about the model have also come from Victoria University and Te Wānanga o Raukawa. I have given lectures on the model at Raukawa and at my own university (Auckland University of Technology) as a way by which to demonstrate how traditional stories can live in a contemporary environment.

There is no data specific to the age of Māori entrepreneurs. Nobody collects it nor is that information deemed important. However, it is obvious that government considers youth and enterprise as important as the Ministry of Education has an Education for Enterprise (E4E) policy and related curriculum and programmes. Note however the target groups of the curriculum are those in school – yet more evidence that our current definition of youth although covering the 12 – 24 year olds is in fact specific to those at school. The Ministry says

> E4E is about promoting an approach to learning – one that is real, relevant, and gives students responsibility for their learning.

They go on to say that

Education for Enterprise enhances what, and how, young people learn, to enable them to participate and contribute locally and globally and meet the demands of a rapidly changing world environment.

Education for Enterprise is an approach as well as a context for teaching and learning. It involves acquiring knowledge across the eight curriculum learning areas and key competencies of the New Zealand Curriculum, and promotes effective teaching practice.

Education for Enterprise can play a central role in achieving the direction set out in the New Zealand Curriculum and prepare our students to meet future challenges by utilising 21st century-focused learning approaches.

The emphasis is on 'authentic learning' (my interpretation of which is that it is about hands-on application) across all years of learning. E4E therefore is not confined to secondary schools but implemented in primary and intermediate schools as well. E4E is not about entrepreneurship or business as such. Instead it is a policy aimed at developing enterprising thinking and action. Schools can action the related curriculum in a variety of ways and the online 'snapshots' show how enterprising participating schools have been. Here is another starting point for the development of the entrepreneur.

It is hard to determine exactly the number of schools that have high Māori student numbers participating in E4E programmes. From a glance at the 'snapshots' online, of the eighteen schools profiled, using the latest Education Review Office reports available online, the percentage of Māori on the school roles are as follows - 1 has 91 % Māori; 1 has 45% Māori; 4 have between 32 - 38% Māori; 2 with 22 – 28% Māori; 5 with 10 – 17% Māori; 5 with under 10% Māori.

Generally in both E4E and YES, the Taitokerau, north of Auckland in the North Island of Aotearoa New Zealand, stands out for the high levels of Māori participation. The factors contributing to that are simple. First is the commitment of a number of people in the region to the development of enterprising young people. All of them have worked together in different ways to engage those schools with high

Māori student numbers. Second is the fact the region has a high Māori population. It is therefore highly likely that the outstanding levels of Māori participation will reflect that fact. However what the wānanga and GYME research did show is that there are some areas of concern that will impact on Māori development in the long term generally.

One issue is that of progression from Year 9 to Year 13. As I have previously stated the rate at which Māori leave school is such that by Year 13, less than half of those who enrolled in Year 11 two years previously remain. So where do they go? According to Te Puni Kōkiri fact sheets, in 2004 Māori youth aged 12 – 24 years made up 35% of all Māori enrolled in tertiary studies whether that was at university, polytechnic, college of education, private training establishment or a wānanga. The same fact sheet also informs that 50% of all Māori youth in the working age group of 15 years and older were in the work force. That leaves another 15% who are unaccounted for. Is it important however for us to know where everyone is and what they are doing? What value does it add to whānau, hapū, iwi, Māori and therefore national development? Certainly the testing of the MĀUI Model did not raise this as a new issue. But it did raise that of progression and that certainly does have an impact on long-term Māori Development.

The fact Māori youth choose options other than remaining in some form of education when they are aged between 12 and 24 is widely known.   A very large research programme known as 'Kotahitanga' aimed at reversing that trend operates at a number of secondary schools throughout the country and is having a significant impact in many instances of improving achievement rates by focusing on teacher delivery (Bishop, R., Berryman, M., Tiakiwai, S. and Richardson, C., 2003; Bishop, R., Berryman, M., Powell, A. and Teddy, L., 2007; Bishop, R., Berryman, M., Cavanaugh, T. and Teddy, L., 2007). However the 2005 GEM report tells us that in the long-term, school achievement has no impact on Māori entrepreneurship because Māori are highly entrepreneurial and more Māori than non-Māori see being self-employed as a desirable goal. In addition, in the long term Māori have high rates of mature entrepreneurship (Frederick and Chittock, 2005) so obviously for Māori other factors exist that keep the entrepreneurial spirit alive.

Delivering an entrepreneurial programme that uses the MĀUI Model can only add to the entrepreneurial spirit at an earlier age and the content of a programme that uses the MĀUI Model can introduce some of the fundamental steps that are essential at both the start-up and maintenance phases of the development of an enterprise. In addition, delivering a programme like GYME that actively uses tikanga in order to teach enterprise may mean that some students may begin to view their lives quite differently and there is some evidence from the wānanga to support this. It could mean that instead of whānau, hapū, iwi and communities missing out on a higher level of economic productivity until later life for many Māori entrepreneurs, this kicks in at a much earlier stage of personal development for the people involved.

There is the argument that it is far more important for young Māori to remain in the education system for as long as possible and to gain the best possible qualifications in the process. The assumption being the knowledge they would acquire along the way would enhance their skill level and that should be beneficial if they follow an entrepreneurial pathway or any other for that matter. In fact the return on investment for Māori development would be far greater because it would happen at an earlier age rather than waiting for later life. In addition its cumulative effect as that young person grew older would be far greater than waiting for them to become entrepreneurial later in life at which point they then get the skills and knowledge necessary to support them in whatever new enterprise they develop.

Another issue is that of the subjects Māori students take at secondary school because those can have an impact on their orientation toward being entrepreneurial or indeed enterprising. As has been previously noted in this chapter, there is no evidence of the subjects that Māori take at school because that information was said to be unavailable when requested from the Ministry of Education. The only evidence is either anecdotal or by comparing Māori populations in schools and the subjects taken at those schools. It is not reliable. There is also information on subjects taken for NCEA. Te Puni Kōkiri as the lead government agency responsible for Māori Development could consider the value of such information in Māori and iwi development planning.

It would provide Māori development planners with information on where the likely shortages of skills in any field were going to be in the medium to long term.

That is of course a presumption that school subjects taken are an indication of potential skill sets. The reality is that research shows that Family probably has the greatest impact on educational success (Frykberg, 2005; Durie, 2006 [2]) and therefore future need whether that is economic, social or political.

However lack of information on the subjects Māori students take can be offset by programmes like E4E and YES. That is especially so in schools with high Māori numbers or Māori numbers at least equivalent to the percentage of Māori in the total population of the country. Going by the schools profiled on the E4E website, at least half the schools currently involved fit that criteria. E4E however is no guarantee that the young people involved will become entrepreneurs. Likewise, the MĀUI Model in and of itself is no guarantee that participants will be entrepreneurial. What both can do though is plant a seed that may come to fruition years later and given the rate of 'mature' entrepreneurship amongst Māori that is a highly likely scenario (Frederick and Chittock, 2005).

Another area of concern is curriculum especially the lack of Māori content in programmes like E4E and YES. Admittedly the ENZT who deliver YES are aware the Māori content in the programme is thin and they are willing to make the changes. In addition, the curriculum had not been translated into te reo Māori so that restricted Kura Kaupapa from participating unless they were prepared to translate materials themselves. Other programmes administered by ENZT aimed at earlier years like Primary Enterprise Programme (PrEP) had been translated so the Trust was and is making an effort to make its programmes accessible. There is also Kaipākihi Ranga Wairua (KPW) which is aimed at Māori and Pacific students.

KPW is based on the old Discovery Journey and is a three-day workshop very similar to GYME but it does not have the tikanga content nor does it use the wānanga style of delivery. Nevertheless it has an enterprise focus and as previously mentioned many schools like it because it requires a short burst of energy and no follow-up on their part. In youth development terms that is not good practice. However I do know KPW were looking at building relationships with other programmes and had thought that GYME was a possibility. I had recommended YES to them but the organisers like me prior to getting to know more about the programme, thought it was only for high decile schools. Hopefully I was able to dissuade them of that idea.

There are opportunities for Māori students to engage in enterprise studies whilst at school. More so now that E4E is in place. What those opportunities rely on more than anything else is the enterprising teacher, school administration and governance and the enterprising community. The MĀUI Model is but a tool they can all use as one way to enhance the enterprising spirit of the school in a way that is easily identifiable because it builds on their collective knowledge.

Māori Development

A focus raised in chapter one was outcomes from the Hui Taumata to date, the interface between Māori culture and enterprise and the various perspectives of development and Māori. How does the MĀUI Model add value in these areas if it does at all and why would that be important?

Hui Taumata

At the 1984 Hui Taumata, the focus was on identifying problems that would impede the economic development of Māori, examining the strengths and weaknesses of Māori and getting a commitment from both Māori and non-Māori to advance Māori development. As indicated in Chapter One Māori youth presence was minimal although Hekia Parata presented her perspective of the place of Māori youth in the then present and future of Māori. At the close of the Hui Taumata, there began a decade of Māori development with the themes of the Treaty of Waitangi, tino rangatiratanga, Iwi development, economic self –reliance, social equity and cultural advancement.

The 2005 Hui Taumata was focussed on economic expansion. It was accepted that Māori were indeed making significant contributions to their own economic development and that of the country. Some of the presenters at that Hui were there to demonstrate exactly that. Others were there to be inspired, to learn and to leave with ideas on how they could contribute to the continued advancement of Māori development.

Māori youth presence at the 2005 Hui Taumata was far more obvious with at least a third of those attending being between the ages of 20 – 35 years. They made their presence felt during the Hui more so after repeated media statements saying that Māori youth were not represented. What they finally did was make a statement about

their support of the Hui and those things they saw as important for long term Māori development. Both Hui Taumata affirmed the need for the Māori models by which to do that to complement non-Māori ones. It is in this space that the MĀUI Model fits.

In and of itself, the MĀUI Model like other models is not significant unless others who see its value take it up. However, it has the potential to add value to the possible outcomes of events like Hui Taumata precisely because it affirms Māori cultural dynamics in the world of enterprise and entrepreneurship. It gives notice that the cultural values of Māori stand alongside those of other cultures in that world.

The interface of Culture and Enterprise

As referenced in Chapter One, the 2002 NZIER report on Māori economic development pointed out that the Māori economy could not be separated from Māori culture. Likewise, the Japanese economy is built on Japanese culture, the Indian culture does the same and every other economy that engages with its own cultural frameworks to inform its practices. So the same goes for Māori. It goes without saying therefore that models, frameworks and theories that arise out of Māori culture are as valid in the world of Māori development, Māori enterprise and Māori entrepreneurship. In the process, those models, frameworks and theories can become recognised as valuable in those fields generally. That is the case with the MĀUI Model. It is there for people to use as a tool for progressing Māori economic development through enterprise and entrepreneurship or youth development. In fact there may be people who apply it in other fields. My argument is that if the teachings of the military strategist Sun Tzu can be used for teaching strategic management, or Charles Handy's donut concept when referring to the core tasks of a job or the core jobs of an organisation (1990), or Rosabeth Moss Kanter using the metaphor of the dancing giant in reference to 'mastering the challenges of strategic management' (1992) then we can use the (ad)ventures of Māui-Tikitiki-a-Tāranga.

Although in this instance I have developed a model from the range of Māui stories, there are other ways to use them in teaching enterprise, business practice or a wide range of subject matter generally. I know for example that others have used the story of Māui slowing the path of the sun as it crossed the sky to teach time management. The same story could be used to teach the fundamentals of management processes - plan, organise, lead and control. The story about fishing up

Te-Ika-A-Māui could be used to discuss issues associated with delegation. All of them could be used to discuss leadership. The point is that the model builds on the NZIER statement mentioned above. Earlier in this chapter I made reference to responses to the model when I have given guest lectures to Māori undertaking postgraduate study in Māori business development. Specifically, that it has been met with relief that here in their studies is something they understand because it comes from their world view and it is directly related to their current undertaking as business and professional people.

Perspectives of Development and Māori

In Chapter One two perspectives of development were referenced – modernisation and dependency. In development terms, modernisation is the process of modernising by developing states and groups within states so they can play on the same level playing field as those who have modernised. The problem with the theory is that the modernised states and groups continue to modernise and those who are trying to match them, never quite do catch up. Every now and again at the state level one or two countries will be singled out as examples of how this can be done e.g. India and China are the current examples. However if one were to examine the economies of all of the countries that have been used as examples of the success of the process of modernisation one would find some serious anomalies. In China some issues include the impact of urbanisation on farmland, the demand for natural resources, migration from rural areas to urban areas and the provision or lack therefore of essential services (Devan, Negris and Woetzel, 2008). In India four structural bottlenecks have been identified – energy, employment, education and environment. In addition other issues include what is seen as the pampering of corporates, marginalisation of agriculturalists, an unorganised sector and the deepening disparities because of the uneven impact of growth (Kumar, 2008). What happens in the process of modernisation is that groups get marginalised and the argument is that Māori have been marginalised and education and economic development are the ways by which this can be turned around. The cautionary note is always that the group Māori are trying to equal continue to develop economically therefore the effort to equal becomes one of putting in twice or three times the investment. Is that sustainable?

In such a context the MĀUI Model offers a perspective of development grounded in tikanga and cultural practices. It takes the cultural practice of looking back to the past in order to progress into the future. It reminds us of some of those things that are valuable in Māori culture when considering the direction to be pursued in development such as Mana, Mauri, Ārataki, Āta, Ū and Iwi. It can sit alongside other models (Māori and non-Māori) that can be used to establish development plans in different fields. It is a tool for development and like any other tool is only noticeable when it is picked up and used by others. Already, early indicators are that others are using it. Certainly it is being taught in the country's universities.

Conclusion

The MĀUI Model was never meant to have young people reciting Māui stories when they left GYME wānanga (or any other future learning opportunity where the model is used). Rather the wānanga were a way by which a model to grow young Māori entrepreneurs developed from an analysis of the Māui stories could be tested. The primary context in which the model was tested was Mātauranga Māori. The sub-texts of the testing in relation to Mātauranga Māori were those of youth development, the Youth Development Strategy Aotearoa, the youth development theory of resiliency with its companion practice of strengths-based, Māori entrepreneurship and enterprise and Māori development. In each context arguments have been presented as to how the model enhances and supports. Criticisms have also been presented and these have been viewed as adding to the model rather than taking away from it. Fundamental to all of these contexts is the question that Royal raises – does the model advance or promote distinctive Māori contributions to a range of activities and enterprises?

The model in and of itself does not necessarily do that on its own. Rather in this case it was the application of the model through the wānanga where the value lay. I had thought that perhaps by the end of this work the model would become a theory. That is not the case – it is a model. However, a theory does exist and it is in the very name of Māui. In Chapter Four an analysis of the first part of Māui's name was presented – the 'Mā' and 'ui'. As a reminder 'MĀ' is to free from tapu thereby creating opportunity and 'UI' is the art of asking, questioning and enquiry. Therefore

in the name Māui is a theoretical application of entrepreneurship in a Mātauranga
Māori context. That is, when something moves from a state of tapu to one of noa, an
opportunity is created that is open to investigation which could lead to (an) enterprise.
The MĀUI Model is a way by which the theory can then be actioned. It is this
combination that is an outcome of the thesis and a contribution to the knowledge base
of Mātauranga Māori.

In addition, the thesis has been as much about wānanga as a process of
learning as it has been about the MĀUI Model. A discussion about wānanga and the
usual understandings of it can be found in Chapter Five. Also in that chapter is a
table comparing wānanga and conferences as a way by which to support the decision
to have wānanga instead of conferences. Table 7.3 presents a list of competences and
tikanga that were seen to be operating at the GYME wānanga. There is no
relationship between the competencies on one side and the tikanga on the other as it
was not the intention to translate one from the other. To strengthen that position they
are written up differently. What the two lists indicate are competencies from a
western world-view and tikanga from a Mātauranga Māori world-view. They are
written thus so the competencies can remain the same but the tikanga can be different
depending upon the cultural world-view of anyone who would seek to use the notion
of wānanga in whatever capacity hence the provision of translations. No doubt other
competencies and tikanga could be apparent in other circumstances where there is an
intersection between Māori and non-Māori world-views.

Table 7.3: List of competencies and tikanga operating a GYME wānanga.

Competencies	Tikanga
Planning • Understanding the processes involved in planning and following them to achieve outcome.	Pōhiri – the process by which visitors are embraced by the hosts that includes the karanga, whaikōrero and waiata.
Problem Solving • Identifying a problem. • Identifying the means by which to solve the problem.	Tuakana/Teina – the interaction between the older and younger individuals or groups.
Research	Kaupapa – having a purpose or reason.

• Identifying information required. • Finding the information. • Incorporating information into activity.	
Use of Technology to complete a task: • Searching the internet. • Writing a business plan. • Completing a power point presentation.	Manāki – Show respect or kindness to, entertain.
Negotiation • Recognizing need and where and how it can be satisfied. • Setting limits of acceptability • Successfully satisfying need and benefitting both parties.	Tahi – Collectivity. • Mahi tahi - working collectively • Moe tahi – sleeping collectively • Noho tahi – meditating collectively (thinking process)
Teamwork • Working together • Assigning tasks • Undertaking assigned tasks • Accepting responsibility for outcomes.	Āta – Planning • Haere – caution when proceeding • Noho – deliberation • Whakāro – deliberate thought
Communication • Satisfactorily completing the first draft of a business plan. • Making an oral presentation of that plan to an audience. • Complementing the oral presentation with visuals.	Noho – The state of being • I runga te marae – on the marae. • I roto i te reo – when using language (Māori). • I roto i ngā whakāro o te Māori – when thinking as a Māori.
Leadership • Leading a group to completion of an assignment. • Recognising skills in the group and using those to achieve outcomes. • Accepting and taking responsibility both individually and collectively.	Whakawhitiwhiti Kōrero – Communicating Mahi – Practice or the doing of e.g. mahi tahi or working together to achieve a goal. Tapu – Recognising boundaries

	Noa – Recognising limitless opportunities
	Mā – To free from tapu thereby creating opportunity
	Ui – Question

In the end has the work added value in a Mātauranga Māori context? Certainly it adds value to our collective knowledge of Māui in that the stories have been used to identify a model that is now being used to teach enterpreneurship at the tertiary level although that is not the group for which it was originally designed. That had not been done previously. It also adds value to our knowledge of wānanga as a process of learning in a contemporary Māori context of the early 2000s. During the actual wānanga, the young people attending went away with knowledge about business planning they then incorporated into their ongoing YES activities when returning to their schools. Many left with business plans they owned and used successfully. So in Royal's definition of Mātauranga Māori, the work undertaken to get to this point has advanced and promoted distinctive Māori contributions to a range of activities and enterprises at all levels and for all ages. You could therefore say the trickster Māui fulfilled his purpose yet again because the intention was that the outcome should be for young people with added benefits for their whānau, hapū, iwi and community. In the end, the benefits are for the community at large and not just Māori youth, their whānau, hapū and Iwi.

Māui Matau.

(Left Right)

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Glossary

The main source of the definitions for this Glossary is Māori Dictionary Online at http://www.Māoridictionary.co.nz/. Visiting those words online will in some instances provide fuller explanations and examples of the meaning to that provided here.

Other sources will appear as normal citations within the body of the Glossary.

Also note that some spelling is iwi specific e.g. I have spelt pōhiri without a 'w', which is Ngāti Porou spelling.

A

Aka: (noun) vine of any climbing plant, long and thin roots.

Āroha: 1. (verb) (-ina,-tia) to love, pity, feel concern for, empathise. 2. (noun) affection, sympathy, charity, compassion, love, empathy.

E

E tipu e rea: Grow oh tender youth (Brougham, Reed and Karetu, 1963).

H

Haka: 1. (verb) (-tia,-ina,-hia,-a) to dance, perform. 2. (noun) haka - vigorous dances with actions and rhythmically shouted words. A general term for several types of such dances.

Hapū: (noun) clan, tribe, subtribe - section of a large tribe.

Hariru: (loan) (verb) to shake hands.

Hongi: (verb) (-a,-hia,-tia) to press noses in greeting, smell, sniff.

Hui: (verb) (-a) to gather, congregate, assemble, meet. 2. (noun) gathering, meeting, assembly, seminar, conference.

Hui Taumata: (noun) Summit.

I

Iwi: (noun) tribe, nation, people, race.

K

Karanga: (noun) formal call, ceremonial call - a ceremonial call of welcome.

Karakia: 1. (verb) (-tia) to recite ritual chants, say grace, pray, recite a prayer, chant. 2. (noun) incantation, prayer, grace, blessing, service, church service, ritual chant, chant, intoned incantation - chants recited rapidly using traditional language, symbols and structures.

Kaupapa: (noun) level surface, floor, stage, platform, layer, topic, policy, matter for discussion, plan, scheme, proposal, agenda, subject, programme, theme.

Kete: (noun) basket, kit.

Koha: (noun) gift, present, offering, donation, contribution.

Kōhine: (noun) girl, maiden, female adolescent.

Kōhungahunga: (noun) infant, young, fledgling.

Kōpuku: (noun) a closely woven cloak.

Kōrohe: (noun) a kind of net, bag net.

Kura Kaupapa: (noun) school operating under Māori custom and using Māori as the medium of instruction.

M

Mana: 1. (noun) prestige, authority, control, power, influence, status, spiritual power, charisma - mana is a supernatural force in a person, place or object. 2. (stative) be legal, effectual, binding, authoritative, valid. 3. (verb) to be effectual, take effect. 4. (noun) jurisdiction, mandate, freedom.

Mana whenua: (noun) territorial rights, power from the land - power associated with possession and occupation of tribal land.

Manaaki: 1. (verb) (-tia) to support, take care of, give hospitality to, protect, look out for. 2. (noun) support, hospitality.

Manuhiri: (noun) visitor, guest.

Māori: (noun) 1. Māori, indigenous New Zealander, indigenous person of Aotearoa/New Zealand. 2. (stative) be native, indigenous, normal, usual, natural, common, fresh (of water), belonging to Aotearoa/New Zealand, freely, without restraint, without ceremony, clear, intelligible. 3. (noun) aboriginal inhabitant.

Marae: 1. (stative) be generous, hospitable. 2. (noun) courtyard - the open area in front of the wharenui, where formal greetings and discussions take place. Often also used to include the complex of buildings around the marae.

Marae ātea: (noun) courtyard, public forum - open area in front of the wharenui where formal welcomes to visitors takes place and issues are debated. The marae ātea is the domain of Tūmatauenga, the atua of war and people, and is thus the appropriate place to raise contentious issue.

Mātauranga Māori: (noun) Māori education, knowledge, wisdom, understanding, skill of.

Māui Matau: Left Right.

Mihi whakatau: (noun) speech of greeting, official welcome speech - speech acknowledging those present at a gathering. For some tribes a pōhiri, or pōwhiri, is used for the ritual of encounter on a marae only. In other situations where formal speeches in Māori are made that are not on a marae or in the wharenui (meeting house) the term mihi whakatau is used for a speech, or speeches, of welcome in Māori.

Mita: (noun) rhythm, intonation, pronunciation and sound of a language, accent.

N

Ngāti Porou: (personal name) tribal group of East Coast area north of Gisborne to Tihirau.

Ngā rēanga: (noun) generation.

Ngā whakatipuanga: (noun) generation.

Ngira tuitui: Entrepreneur.

Noa: (stative) be free from the extensions of tapu, ordinary, unrestricted.

P

Pākehā: (noun) New Zealander of European descent.

Paraha: (stative) be flat, broad.

Pēpe: (loan) (noun) baby.

Pēpi: 1. (loan) (noun) baby, infant. 2. (loan) (stative) be a baby.

Pīwakawaka: Fantail.

Pōhiri: Welcome ceremony.

Poi: (noun) poi - a light ball on a string of varying length which is swung or twirled rhythmically to sung accompaniment.

Pūrākau: (noun) myth, ancient legend, story.

Pure: 1. (verb) (-tia,-a) to ritually remove tapu. 2. (noun) rites to lift the tapu at the Ringatū harvest, religious purification rites - designed to neutralise tapu, using water and karakia, or to propitiate the atua, using cooked food.

R

Rangatahi: 1. (noun) fishing net about 20 m long, smaller than a kaharoa. 2. (noun) younger generation, youth.

Rangatiratanga: (noun) sovereignty, chieftainship, right to exercise authority, chiefly autonomy, self-determination, self-management, ownership, leadership of a social group, domain of the rangatira, noble birth.

Rāranga: Weaving

Rēanga, ngā (noun) generation, the.

Rohe: 1. (verb) (-a) to set boundaries. 2. (noun) boundary, district, region, territory, area, border (of land).

T

Taiohi: (stative) be young, youthful.

Taitama: (noun) young man, youth.

Taitamāhine: (noun) young woman.

Takawiri: (adjective) twisted, cross-grained.

Tama: (noun) son, boy, nephew - also used as a term of address for a boy or a man younger than the speaker.

Tamāhine: (noun) daughter, girl.

Tamaiti: (noun) child, boy - used only in the singular.

Tamaiti nohinohi: (stative) be small, little. Little child.

Tamaiti tikotiko: Tikotiko means (noun) diarrhoea. A child unable to control bowel motions (My translation).

Tāmaka: (noun) a round cord plaited with four or more strands.

Tamariki: 1. (verb) (-ngia,-tia) to be young. 2. (noun) children - normally used only in the plural.

Tapa Whā: Four elements.

Tapu: 1. (stative) be sacred, prohibited, restricted, set apart, forbidden, under atua protection. 2. (noun) restriction - a supernatural condition.

Tara: Point of a spear.

Tauparapara: (noun) incantation to begin a speech - the actual tauparapara used are a way that tangata whenua are able to identify a visiting group, as each tribe has tauparapara peculiar to them. Tauparapara are a type of karakia.

Tautoko: Support.

Te Ao Mārama: (noun) world of life and light, Earth, physical world.

Te Ika a Māui: (location) North Island of New Zealand.

Te Kōhanga Reo: (noun) Māori language preschool.

Te mahi kai: Food production.

Te Mōananui A Kiwa: Pacific Ocean.

Tiaki: (verb) (-na) to guard, keep, look after, nurse, care, protect, conserve, save (computer).

Tikanga: (noun) correct procedure, custom, habit, lore, method, manner, rule, way, code, meaning, reason, plan, practice, convention.

Tikitiki: (noun) topknot.

Tīpuna: (noun) ancestors, grandparents - eastern dialect variation of 'tūpuna'.

Toetoe mata: Immature Cortaderia spp. - native plants with long, grassy leaves with a fine edge and saw-like teeth. Flowers are white, feathery, arching plumes. Grow on sand dunes, on rocks and cliff faces, along streams and swamp edges. The stems were used for tukutuku panels.

Tohe: (noun) retracted mouth.

Tohi: (noun) dedication rite, baptism rite, child dedication ritual - a ritual ceremony over a child in flowing water while petitioning the atua to endow the child with the desired mental and physical qualities. The child was dedicated to the particular atua by immersion in the water or by sprinkling it with water from a branch dipped in the stream.

Tūā: 1. (verb) (-tia) to name a child using special ritual karakia called tūā. 2. (noun) ritual chants for protection including to facilitate childbirth, in the naming of infants, to ward off illness, catch birds and bring about fine weather.

Tuku: (verb) (-a,-na) to release, let go, give up, leave, resign, put off, descend, get off, relinquish, let down, download (computer), set free, allow, send, present, offer, cede, grant, pass, serve, bowl.

Tukutuku: (noun) ornamental lattice-work, used particularly between carvings around the walls of meeting houses.

U

Urupa: (noun) burial ground, cemetery, graveyard.

W

Waiata: 1. (verb) (-hia,-tia) to sing. 2. (noun) song, chant, psalm.

Waka: (noun) canoe, vehicle, conveyance, spirit medium, medium (of an 'atua'), long narrow receptacle, box (for feathers), water trough.

Waka ama: (noun) outrigger canoe.

Wānanga: 1. (verb) (-tia) to meet and discuss. 2. (noun) seminar, conference, learning, a tertiary institution that caters for Māori learning needs - established under the Education Act 1990.

Whakairo: (noun) carving.

Whakapapa: 1. (verb) (-tia) to lie flat, lay flat, recite in proper order (e.g. genealogies, legends, months), recite genealogies. 2. (noun) genealogy, genealogical table, lineage, descent.

Whakataukī: proverbs where the author is unknown.

Whakatauākī: proverbs where the author is known.

Whakatipuranga, ngā: (noun) generation, the.

Whakawhānaungatanga: the act or process of establishing (noun) relationship, kinship, sense of family connection - a relationship through shared experiences and working together which provides people with a sense of belonging. It develops as a result of kinship rights and obligations, which also serve to strengthen each member of the kin group. It also extends to others to whom one develops a close familial, friendship or reciprocal relationship.

Whaikōrero: 1. (verb) (-tia) to make a formal speech. 2. (noun) oratory, oration.

Whānau: (noun) extended family, family group, a familiar term of address to a number of people.

Wharekura: (noun) school - traditionally the place where esoteric lore was taught.

Wharewānanga (noun) university, place of higher learning - traditionally, places where tohunga taught the sons of rangatira their people's knowledge of history, genealogy and religious practices.

Wheke (noun) octopus, squid - a general term, particularly for octopuses.