

Stream 4. Gender, Diversity and Indigeneity

**Wāhine Māori entrepreneurs and business growth: The power of  
social and cultural capital**

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## Stream 4 – Gender, Diversity and Indigeneity

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**ABSTRACT:** *This paper examines how social and cultural capital support wāhine Māori entrepreneurs as founders to grow their businesses. The findings are based on the first of three rounds of interviews with 10 wāhine Māori entrepreneurs in Aotearoa New Zealand who have or are undergoing business growth. The results extend on previous Indigenous entrepreneurship research showing the benefits of social and cultural capital. This research highlights how wāhine Māori entrepreneurs can pursue business growth while maintaining their community and cultural identity. This topic has been selected as part of a broader doctoral study examining wāhine Māori entrepreneurs and business growth, which focuses on the cultural, social, and economic enablers and challenges.*

**Keywords:** Māori enterprise, wāhine Māori entrepreneurship, entrepreneurial growth, Indigenous entrepreneurship.

This paper contributes to the Indigenous entrepreneurship literature by exploring whether and how social and cultural capital support or hinder the business growth aspirations of wāhine Māori entrepreneurs in Aotearoa New Zealand. Wāhine means woman or women; Māori is their self-ascribed ethnic and descent group; entrepreneur is used as a proxy for business owner and founder. When combined, these characteristics constitute the distinctive group with which this paper is primarily interested—Indigenous women who self-identify as Māori, are business owners and founders, and want to or have grown their businesses. Success in business is associated with growth, which in management theory corresponds with favourable financial metrics over time, including increasing employee numbers, sales, profitability, and market share (Carter & Shaw, 2006; Welter et al., 2016). Hechavarria et al. (2019) believe there is no ideal benchmark for business success. Instead, a variety of measures is proposed, including intrinsic motivations of the entrepreneur (satisfaction as an owner-operator) and extrinsic motivations arising from outside factors (profit and accolades) (Mika, Dell, et al., 2022).

We argue that social and cultural capital represent vital sources of entrepreneurial capability for wāhine Māori entrepreneurs to achieve business growth and success, but their conceptualisation, operationalisation, and expression of these capabilities differs in some important ways, which we suspect is related to their entrepreneurial characteristics of identity, culture, gender, and enterprise. The entrepreneurs recounted family members' willingness to support their aspirations, friends and

#### Stream 4 – Gender, Diversity and Indigeneity

colleagues provision of expertise at no cost, and enterprise assistance providers' willingness to help. Entrepreneurs utilised varying degrees of social and cultural capital, accepted support only when required, and acknowledged the support of particular providers. The paper proceeds by reviewing the concepts of wāhine Māori entrepreneurship, business growth, and social and cultural capital as a theoretical framework, following by an outline of the methods used. Early findings are discussed using the concepts of social and cultural capital. The paper concludes with comment about future analysis.

#### LITERATURE REVIEW

This literature review discusses social capital through the forms of bonding and bridging, and cultural capital and its three modes of embodied state, objectified state and matters of policy. Henry's (2017) framework representing social and cultural capital and their effects along with Mika's (2018) framework for Māori entrepreneurial capability development are discussed. These concepts are analysed within the context of wāhine Māori entrepreneurship and business growth.

#### **Wāhine Māori entrepreneurship**

We define wāhine Māori entrepreneurs as women who self-identify as Māori and are business owners and founders of their own enterprises. We qualify this definition by the condition that they want to or have grown their businesses to be able to understand this growth aspect of the entrepreneurial process. Indigenous people are the original inhabitants of a place, who wish to remain culturally and linguistically distinct, despite the effects of colonial or other forms of domination (World Bank, 2023). Who falls into this category, however, becomes murky in places with multiple ethnic groups who may all claim to have legitimacy as an Indigenous people. The United Nations avoids this conundrum by not defining Indigenous people, instead relying on self-identification and in-group recognition of the same (United Nations, 2009). When Indigenous people start, run, and grow enterprises, they are said to be engaging in Indigenous entrepreneurship because their enterprise ownership and ambitions are intended to be beneficial for Indigenous peoples (Mika, 2024) in which cultural context and world view are distinguishing factors (E. Henry et al., 2017; Klyver & Foley, 2012; Mika, Felzensztein, et al., 2022;

#### Stream 4 – Gender, Diversity and Indigeneity

Peredo et al., 2004). Few studies, however, examine the role of women in Indigenous entrepreneurship and Indigenous economies, despite increasing sophistication in such research. For instance, while estimates of the Māori economy have shown remarkable progression (Mika et al., 2019), only recently has serious attention been given to the role of wāhine Māori entrepreneurs in business statistics (Schulze et al., 2024). Within the Māori economy, almost 40% of 23,000 Māori-owned businesses had wāhine Māori as owners (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2022). Thus, wāhine Māori entrepreneurs are Indigenous owners of enterprises within a growing Indigenous economy, but understanding of their approaches to growth at the firm-level continues to be lacking.

We are focussed on wāhine Māori entrepreneurship within the context of Māori enterprise, but what is a Māori business has been a vexing question for some time (Young, 1992). A simple definition of “a Māori business is one that is owned and run by and for Māori” (Jurado & Mika, 2022, p. 8). A more complex one adds to ownership and intentions the conditions of self-identification and operating according to Māori values (Mika et al., 2019). Stats NZ (2022) has since revised its definition of Māori business as “a business that is owned by a person or people who have Māori whakapapa (genealogy), and a representative of that business self-identifies that business as Māori” (p. 29). Ministry for Women (2019) takes a similarly inclusive approach, regarding Māori women wanting to start a business. Thus, Māori women in business are considered entrepreneurs, but wāhine Māori entrepreneurship is not defined (Ministry for Women, 2019). Zapalska and Brozik (2017) report findings from a study of Māori female entrepreneurship in the tourism industry without defining wāhine Māori entrepreneurship. While Māori, policy makers, and providers have been concerned about wāhine Māori entrepreneurship for some time (Hill, 2009), limited research is available on their approaches to business growth despite the continuity of the Māori Women’s Development Incorporated (MWDI) since its inception in 1987 (C. Henry et al., 2017) alongside many other forms of enterprise assistance for Māori, including Māori business networks (Dell et al., 2017).

## Stream 4 – Gender, Diversity and Indigeneity

**Entrepreneurial capabilities**

Entrepreneurship, that is, the process of creatively generating value through combinations of material, product, process, organisation, and market (Schumpeter, 2000) is known to contribute to the growth of enterprises (the micro-level) (Ayinla Alarape, 2007) and economies (the macro-level) (Audretsch, 2007; Wennekers & Thurik, 1999). The economic advantages of small firms becoming big firms are extremely attractive to governments because of the jobs, incomes, tax, innovation, and foreign exchange this business growth generates (Acs & Szerb, 2006; Storey & Greene, 2010). Entrepreneurship is linked to competitive advantage and innovation (De Carolis & Saporito, 2006). For entrepreneurs who aspire to growing their businesses, it is important to capture a market and look to new opportunities for growth. According to Barney (1991), competitive advantage is when the resources and capabilities of enterprises are costly to replicate by rivals and are rare, valuable, hard to imitate and non-substitutable. Innovation uses existing resources with new wealth-generating capacity to generate new ideas, technologies and business models that unmet needs in the market (Drucker, 1985). Networks are also seen as critical, facilitating relations between entrepreneurs, resources, and opportunities (Aldrich, 1989; Aldrich & Zimmer, 1986). Bull and Willard (1993) argue that a supportive environment is critical to enterprise growth. Business networks and incubators can supplement the expertise of the entrepreneur (Wren & Storey, 2002) and add credibility to their enterprise (Aldrich & Zimmer, 1986). Informally, Birley (1985) finds that family and friends also aid entrepreneurs. Such a varied suite of enablers are all seemingly adding to the capabilities entrepreneurs need for enterprise growth. These capabilities can be psychological (McClelland, 1961), physical (Becker, 1964), cognitive (De Carolis & Saporito, 2006), and cultural (Xu & Song, 2011). Thus, capital is a resource, usually understood as a financial one (Hicks, 1939), but its enabling effects can see it recast in multiple forms, including social capital (relationships between people) (Bourdieu, 1977), human capital (people and what they know and can do) (Becker, 1964), and physical capital (plant, equipment, infrastructure and what can be done with them) (Janssen, 2018).

#### Stream 4 – Gender, Diversity and Indigeneity

The contention that entrepreneurial capabilities make enterprise growth possible has been made before in the resource-based view of the firm (Firkin, 2001). In this view, resources are like assets but only become a capability once the asset is utilised for a productive purpose (Light & Gold, 2000). Only recently, has the idea of entrepreneurial capabilities been used to explain Indigenous enterprise development (Foley, 2004; Henry, 2012; Mika, 2015). Furneaux and Brown (2008) for instance, argue that Australia's Indigenous entrepreneurs inadequate access to multiple forms of capital (financial, human, social, physical) explains their lower participation in entrepreneurial activity, justifying policy to improve access to all the capitals. Māori entrepreneurs benefitted from business networking as an extension of their life skills formed through their interactions with whānau (family) and hapū (subtribe) (Foley & O'Connor, 2013). In a study of the New Zealand screen industry, Henry (2017) uncovered the importance of both social and cultural capital to Māori entrepreneurs' careers, particularly the importance of mentors and personal contacts. From this, she proposed a framework to represent social and cultural capital and their effects (see Table 1). The alignment of high cultural capital and high social capital resulted in better mainstream performance by the Māori screen industry entrepreneurs who participated in the study. Similarly, Mika (2018) considers entrepreneurial capabilities a “determinant of entrepreneurship” that exist as “aggregations of financial and non-financial assets” (p. 162). When integrated with indigeneity, that is, the quality of being Indigenous, entrepreneurial capabilities can be interpreted and applied through the cultural lens of Māori entrepreneurship, constituting Māori entrepreneurial capabilities, inclusive of five forms—social capital, human capital, cultural capital, financial capital, and spiritual capital (Mika, 2018). These capabilities, according to (Mika, 2018), can be acted upon by the entrepreneur or providers to support the growth of Māori enterprises (see Table 2). Importantly, however, the assistance should align with the identity of Māori entrepreneurs, the nature of their enterprise, and the state of the Māori economy to be effective (Warren et al., 2017).

#### **Social capital**

Social capital is a critical entrepreneurial capability for Māori entrepreneurs and their growth ambitions (Henry, 2012; Mika, 2015). According to Nahapiet and Ghoshal (1998), social capital is an

#### Stream 4 – Gender, Diversity and Indigeneity

individual or social unit's resources obtained from its network of relationships. These resources can arise from business relationships, acquaintances, and group membership (Bourdieu, 1986; Yen et al., 2020). From an economic standpoint, social capital can be observed in information asymmetries among a network of people which can give rise to entrepreneurial opportunities (Foley & O'Connor, 2013), and seen as essential to business success (Bhagavatula et al., 2010), a business' reputation (Elfring & Hulsink, 2003), and the organising of resources (Batjargal, 2003). Adler and Kwon (2002) describe social capital as the "goodwill available to individuals or groups" (p. 23), which resides within individuals' relationships and relies on the selflessness of friends, colleagues and contacts (Burt, 1992). It is these relationships that provide resources for personal gain (Adler & Kwon, 2002; Leanna & Van Buren, 1999).

Two forms of social capital are relevant to wāhine Māori entrepreneurs and growth: bonding and bridging. Bonding social capital relates to the strength of internal ties and the depth of relationships within a collective (Adler & Kwon, 2002; Leanna & Van Buaren, 1999). An example is a group of entrepreneurs who are friends and share experiences. Bridging social capital relates to an entrepreneurs use of external social ties (Adler & Kwon, 2002; Burt, 1992, 1997). This includes when entrepreneurs interact with strangers at events to advance their business interests. According to Burt (1992), social capital does not uniformly advantage all entrepreneurs. It does, however, provide opportunities for enterprise formation and innovation, particularly in terms of information and influence (Adler & Kwon, 2002; Burt, 1992; Nahapiet & Ghoshal, 1998; Shane & Venkataraman, 2000; Tsai & Ghoshal, 1998).

Social capital enables Indigenous entrepreneurs to engage in economic activity through relationships within and outside of their communities (Frederking & Henry, 2006; Light & Dana, 2013). While drawing resources (social support) from their communities on the one hand, Indigenous entrepreneurs reciprocate by making themselves available as a resource on the other (Cahn, 2008; Mair & Marti, 2005). Naphapiet and Ghoshal (1998) regard social capital sociocultural network resources of Indigenous entrepreneurs. These resources include strategic relationships and that community resources that stem from them (Light & Dana, 2013).

#### Stream 4 – Gender, Diversity and Indigeneity

According to Mika (2018), social capital for Māori entrepreneurs comes from both kin (tribal) and non-kin (non-tribal) relationships with. Beyond traditional social groups, Barcham (1998) argues that Māori entrepreneurs will create new networks, particularly in urban settings, to obtain social capital. Henry et al. (2020) similarly finds Indigenous networks offer entrepreneurs multiple forms of capital, including social, cultural, and spiritual capital, garnering cooperation and the distribution of benefits.

Research has found that small and dense networks of relationships are important in providing support and solidarity when establishing an enterprise (Batjargal et al., 2019; Minniti, 2010; Robinson & Stubberud, 2011). As female-owned ventures grow, their number of weak ties grows (Smith et al., 2018). This is important as female entrepreneurs leverage the thoughts, market intelligence and resources beyond their internal social networks (Kim, 2014). This broader social scope enhances growth through sustainable competitive advantage (Dai et al., 2015; Jones & Taylor, 2012). There is a relationship between external social capital and enhanced female-owned business performance (Kim, 2014; Mozumdar et al., 2017; Sallah & Ceasar, 2020).

#### **Cultural capital**

Cultural capital is another crucial entrepreneurial capability for Māori entrepreneurs (Best & Love, 2011; Henry et al., 2020; Mika & Palmer, 2017). Cultural capital refers to the non-financial social assets which Bourdieu (1986) describes as competency and knowledge of high-status culture which includes art, fashion, music, etiquette, architecture and literature. According to Bourdieu (1986), cultural capital exists in three forms: (1) the embodied state, which is the propensity of one's mind and body; (2) the objectified state, which are tangible products such as cultural artefacts, societal products and a culture's native languages; and (3) the institutionalised state which recognises the cultural capital possessed by an organisation through validated in writings, artworks, and monuments. This can be produced materially which requires economic capital, and symbolically, requiring existing cultural capital (Mika, 2015).

#### Stream 4 – Gender, Diversity and Indigeneity

To the holder, cultural capital is personal and attained at home or school. Bourdieu (1986) attributes the accumulation of cultural capital to the time a family provides their children. Gold & Light (2000) argue the cultural capital view of Bourdieu neglects the occupational culture of enterprise owners as entrepreneurs. Receiving informal knowledge of business from relatives who own enterprises is an example (Kiyosaki & Lechter, 1998). This omission, according to Mika (2015), disadvantages ethnic groups due to “the absence of exposure to the occupational culture of business owners” (p. 86).

Indigenous entrepreneurs utilise their cultural capital for legitimacy (Burt, 2005; Furneaux & Brown, 2008). This is possible through the lens of context, personal identity and self-efficacy which is a person’s belief in their ability to achieve a goal or complete a task (Boyd & Vozikis, 1994). A result of these cultural capital components, results in enhanced entrepreneurial intent of Indigenous entrepreneurs (E. Henry et al., 2017). The melding of social and cultural capital, therefore, helps Indigenous entrepreneurial performance and its impact (Kayseas et al., 2014). Positive interactions are expected by their communities due to cultural values which including (1) whanaungatanga which acknowledges the importance of relationships (Bishop, 1996); (2) wairuatanga, the connection of spirituality among Māori (Hēnare, 2001); (3) manaakitanga in the form of generosity and reciprocity (Dell et al., 2022); (4) kaitiakitanga which is stewardship and guardianship of land and people (Kawharu, 2000); and (5) kotahitanga referring to unity among people and their environments, including with Māori ancestors (Durie, 2003; Henare, 2001; Marsden, 2003; Walker, 2003).

Indigenous entrepreneurship research shows the importance of social and cultural capital to entrepreneurship and Indigenous communities (Anderson et al., 2007; Cahn, 2008; McKeever et al., 2014) which occurs in collective cultural and social settings such family events, friend and colleague socialising, industry conferences, business networking and professional associations (Foley, 2012). These interactions can be examined by understanding the distinctions between bridging and bonding forms of networking (Adler & Kwon, 2002). Bonding networks can include a network grounded in traditional cultural heritage and social capital, while bridging networks can enable the Indigenous entrepreneur to move between the Indigenous and dominant culture (Foley & O’Connor, 2013).

#### Stream 4 – Gender, Diversity and Indigeneity

Cultural capital resides as cultural knowledge in Māori entrepreneurs, but is also apparent in “artefacts and institutions” (Mika, 2018, p. 163). For Māori entrepreneurs, cultural capital is the unique identities of whānau (family), hapū (sub-tribe), and iwi (tribe) which is expressed through mātauranga (wisdom), tikanga (customs), dialects, whakapapa (genealogy) and kawa (ceremony) (Dell et al., 2022). While difficult to measure using Western frameworks (Nana et al., 2021), attempts have, nonetheless, been made to assess cultural capital and its wellbeing effects for Māori (Kukutai et al., 2017; Stats NZ, 2020). E. Henry et al. (2017) argues that an entrepreneur’s use of cultural values in business can be beneficial for their communities, with social capital having a more mainstream advantage.

Māori have an ability to deal with all layers of society (Foley & O’Connor (2013), which is consistent with Waldinger (1985) who suggests ethnic minorities can effectively navigate minority and dominant cultural relations. Māori must, however, prove themselves in competitive markets (Foley & O’Conner, 2013). Relationships can help Māori entrepreneurs build credibility and access suppliers and customers (Paige & Littrell, 2002). As a result, Māori have strong bridging networks based on cultural attributes and a comparably lower colonial impact (Foley & O’Conner, 2013). Within a Māori context, self-efficacy increases capital gain and in turn, generates social capital (E. Henry et al., 2017). Another study by Haar et al. (2021) also found Māori businesses that have higher cultural capital had stronger a stronger financial performance.

#### METHOD

This paper aims to understand the relationship between the constructs of social and cultural capital and their impact on wāhine Māori entrepreneurs and their business growth intentions and outcomes. This study uses a kaupapa Māori theory, methods and research philosophy (Pihama, 2001; Smith et al., 2012; Smith, 1999) and is part of a broader doctoral study that investigates the cultural, social, and economic enablers and challenges of wāhine Māori entrepreneurs and business growth. This, by answering the following questions: (1) what does being a wāhine Māori entrepreneur in New Zealand, mean? (2) how do wāhine Māori entrepreneurs define growth? And (3) what are the challenges and enablers to business growth as a wāhine Māori entrepreneur?

#### Stream 4 – Gender, Diversity and Indigeneity

The research incorporates initial findings from the first round of three interviews with 10 wāhine Māori entrepreneurs, who have experienced or are currently undergoing business growth. Interviews were held between April and May 2024, with two more interviews to be conducted with each participant by the end of 2024. All participants reside in New Zealand, living in places from Northland to Christchurch and have registered businesses which trade nationally, and in some cases, internationally to countries such as Australia, Samoa, China, Canada and the United States. Engaging entrepreneurs from a range of industries adds richness to the research and findings.

The interviews set out to answer the following question: whether and how social and cultural capital support or hinder the business growth aspirations of wāhine Māori entrepreneurs? The interviews were held via Zoom and at locations and times that suited all parties. After whakawhanaungatanga (establishing relationships) and an overview of the research was shared, the researcher asked the entrepreneurs open-ended questions in one-to-one sessions on the following topics: personal and business journey; goals in business and business growth; being a wāhine Māori entrepreneur; and the challenges and benefits of using formal and informal networks and support agencies.

#### **Model development**

Due to the limited literature in this area, we use Henry's (2017) and Mika's (2018) frameworks for Māori entrepreneurial capabilities to analyse data on wāhine Māori entrepreneurs and their business growth. The relevant principles that can be discerned from their frameworks are: (1) integration of Māori indigeneity with Western entrepreneurial identity; (2) balancing of cultural and commercial imperatives between manaakitanga, kaitiakitanga, and other values; (3) social, cultural, human, financial, and spiritual capital are interrelated, but we focus on social and cultural capital based on the interview data. The intended outcome is an understanding of how social and cultural capital function in relation to wāhine Māori entrepreneurs.

## Stream 4 – Gender, Diversity and Indigeneity

**FINDINGS**

We present findings and themes from analysis of the first round of interviews, which show that social and cultural capital are important for personal and business growth among wāhine Māori entrepreneurs. We use acronyms to refer to participants, for instance, WME1 means the first wāhine Māori entrepreneur interviewed. Table 3 provides a summary of all participants by industry code, tribal affiliation and the indicates the types of social and cultural capital with which they engaged.

Social capital through bridging proved to be beneficial to the business growth of WME5.

*“Some of the best support we’ve got is from New Zealand Trade and Enterprise. We obviously export to Australia. And they have helped us not only with our growth ambitions there, but also with our capital raised journey.”*

Theory suggests as female-owned ventures grow, their number of weak ties grows. This social capital bridging was evident in the interviews. All wāhine Māori entrepreneurs spoke about how they broadened their network, actively seeking experts to provide guidance and knowledge on growth. WME1 shared how she reached out to an industry leader to be a sounding board on her moving into a new international market.

*“It was having individuals that would give me a new perspective or challenge some of my thinking. So it wasn’t just my own thought process by if I needed other opinions in there to try and balance things out or to get a better overview of what was happening in the situation. Whatever situation I was in.”*

Social capital bridging was also evident through relationships formed because of common technical issues specific to an industry and also through the collegiality of being wāhine Māori entrepreneurs. Industry-specific networks were supportive, sometimes transactional; however, it was understood that their industry was small so keeping positive relationships was important for potential business opportunities. The second example also crosses to cultural capital. The ‘sisterhood’ of wāhine Māori entrepreneurship seemed to form through business opportunities or introductions from enterprise

## Stream 4 – Gender, Diversity and Indigeneity

support agencies. Participants talked about the importance of having ‘like-minded’ entrepreneurs who understood the grind of business, being Māori in business, and allowed them to be themselves. As a result, friendships formed, as well as business collaborations and growth opportunities. WME5 also discusses the power of social and cultural capital to build business and personal relationships overtime.

*“And I’ve got a wāhine group. We catch up with this five of us. Four of us are Māori. We catch up regularly just, just to be like, there’s no agenda. And it’s just really uplifting. I don’t know, it’s so valuable. I wish everyone could have that more. But maybe it’s a journey, you have to get to that point where you need it. And you’ve got to find the right people.”*

All participants whakapapa (genealogy) Māori which is our unique form of cultural capital. The knowledge and values are weaved into our businesses and the way we conduct business. All think about their communities and who they can support others, particularly Māori, to achieve their business aspirations. WME2 is passionate about uplifting other wāhine Māori entrepreneurs:

*“Being a Māori woman, supporting other Māori women in business, it’s just natural for me... I’m like, man, I really want to help them.”*

All participants were proud to be Māori and everyday navigate across Māori and dominant cultures, while operating within a competitive market. A combination of social and cultural capital was demonstrated by WME7 who was against the term mentoring as she believed it placed a formal expectation on both parties to continue to engage. This entrepreneur used the word ‘champion’ to describe her way of networking with others:

*“I’ve had in my life champions... I’ve had one in particular, a woman, who championed me into various places in my life, which have been super formative. And when I say champion, it’s that idea of putting you in a situation that they know you’ve got the goods for.”*

#### Stream 4 – Gender, Diversity and Indigeneity

WME7 continues by describing champions as bringing you into a new professional space where you and your business can thrive. This way of thinking demonstrates the longevity of relationships through not just social capital, but also as Māori and our cultural capital to connect as relational people.

#### **DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION**

This paper highlights the importance of social and cultural capital to support the personal and business growth of wāhine Māori entrepreneurs as a contribution to Māori and Indigenous entrepreneurship research. Wāhine Māori entrepreneurs utilise all parts of their networks from business relationships, family and acquaintances, through to industry and enterprise. These networks generate growth and development. When analysing social capital and cultural capital against the Māori entrepreneurial capability development framework (Mika, 2018), evidence suggests all entrepreneurs benefitted by the relationships, facilitation and networking that occurred, noting how advantageous it was for business growth with instances of both bonding and bridging social capital used.

In addition, some participants paid for business advisory and mentoring services, while others gave and received business advice at no charge. Finally, all saw the value of enterprise support at start-up phase, with most accessing these services early in their business journey. Utilising structural systems was also discussed by other wāhine Māori entrepreneurs who utilised other organisations such as Poutama Trust, Māori Women's Development Inc, Te Puni Kōkiri and Māori business networks. However, only one enterprise, New Zealand Trade and Enterprise, was seen as providing value to participants during their business growth phase. Over the next six months, two more interviews with each of the 10 participants will be conducted which will add findings and support theoretical development.

## Stream 4 – Gender, Diversity and Indigeneity

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Stream 4 – Gender, Diversity and Indigeneity

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Stream 4 – Gender, Diversity and Indigeneity

**Table 1 Mika’s framework for Māori entrepreneurial capability development**

<b>Māori entrepreneurial capabilities</b>				
<b>Social capital</b>	<b>Human capital</b>	<b>Cultural capital</b>	<b>Financial capital</b>	<b>Spiritual capital</b>
Relationships	Knowledge and skills	Cultural identity	Income and wealth	Inner abilities
Facilitation and networking	Education and training	Cultural association	Self and others	Valued and active spirituality

*Note.* Reprinted from “Indigenous enterprises and economies” (1<sup>st</sup> ed., p. 163) by Mika, 2018, Massey University Press.

**Table 2 Henry’s framework for Māori entrepreneurial capability development**

	<b>Cultural capital</b>	
<b>Social capital</b>	Negative	Positive
<b>Strong</b>	None	High
<b>Weak</b>	None	Low

*Note.* Reprinted from “Telling their own stories: Māori entrepreneurship in the mainstream screen industry,” by E. Henry et al., 2017, *Entrepreneurship & Regional Development*, 24(1), 118-145. Copyright 2017 by the Entrepreneurship & Regional Development.

Stream 4 – Gender, Diversity and Indigeneity

**Table 3 Descriptive data from the participants**

#	Australian and New Zealand Standard Industrial Classification (ANZSIC) (Stats NZ, 2024)	Iwi*	Undergoing / experienced business growth**	Accessed Social and Cultural Capital
WME1	Information, media and telecommunication	Ngāti Mutunga, Te Ātiawa, Ngāti Whātua, Ngāpuhi, Te Rarawa	Undergoing business growth	Family, Māori business networks, business partner, industry network events, industry experts, paid personal development advisors, informal business mentors
WME2	Information, media and telecommunication	Rātana, Ngāti Tūwharetoa	Undergoing business growth	Family, business partner, New Zealand Trade & Enterprise (NZTE), Māori Women’s Development Inc (WMDI), other wāhine Māori entrepreneurs, Māori business networks, industry network events, informal business mentors
WME3	Professional, scientific and technical services	Ngāti Whakaue, Ngāti Pikiao	Undergoing business growth	Poutama Trust, business partner, family, personal networks, local Māori business network, industry network events, industry experts, informal business mentors
WME4	Construction	Ngāti Porou, Rongowhakaata, Te Aitanga a Mahaki	Undergoing business growth	Poutama Trust, Te Puni Kōkiri (TPK), business partner, industry experts
WME5	Education and training	Ngāi Tahu, Ngāti Kahungunu	Undergoing business growth	Family, Board, NZTE, business partner, business investors, industry experts, other wāhine Māori entrepreneurs, informal business mentors
WME6	Retail trade	Ngāti Rangiwewehi, Taranaki	Undergoing business growth	Family, personal networks, New Zealand Trade & Enterprise (NZTE), Poutama Trust, TPK, other wāhine Māori entrepreneurs, Māori business networks, paid business advisors, informal business mentors
WME7	Professional, scientific and technical services	Ngāti Raukawa ki te Tonga, Ngāti Rārua	Experienced business growth	Family, personal networks, governance networks, New Zealand Trade & Enterprise (NZTE), industry networks, other wāhine Māori entrepreneurs, Māori business networks, informal business mentors

Stream 4 – Gender, Diversity and Indigeneity

#	Australian and New Zealand Standard Industrial Classification (ANZSIC) (Stats NZ, 2024)	Iwi*	Undergoing / experienced business growth**	Accessed Social and Cultural Capital
WME8	Professional, scientific and technical services	Ngāpuhi	Undergoing business growth	Business partner, personal networks, an investment group, industry networks
WME9	Administrative and support services	Ngā Rauru, Ngāti Ruanui, Ngāti Hineuru	Experienced business growth	Family, personal networks, governance networks, Poutama Trust, Māori business networks, Pacific Island networks
WME10	Professional, scientific and technical services	Ati-Hau-Nui-A-Pāpārangi	Undergoing business growth	Family, personal networks, New Zealand Trade & Enterprise (NZTE), industry networks, Māori business networks, Pacific Island networks, informal business mentors, paid business advisors

Notes: Data collected by lead author between April and May 2024. \*Tribal affiliations; \*\*Undergoing / experienced business growth = an indication after first interview with participants.