Pacific Entrepreneurship Literature Review

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1.0 Introduction

This literature review on Pacific entrepreneurship provides the context for the development of research questions and methods for the RIMU research project on ‘Pacific Entrepreneurship in Auckland’. New Zealand has high levels of entrepreneurship and the government (local and central) strongly advocates entrepreneurship as a key area of economic growth. However, the literature indicates that improvements are needed to encourage Pacific engagement in entrepreneurship and innovation. Entrepreneurship literature looks at barriers and drivers for entrepreneurship success and, in the case of Pacific entrepreneurship, argues that these need to be viewed with a culturally responsive lens. Methods to encourage entrepreneurship within Pacific communities include mentorship, improving financial access, culturally targeted education and training for Pacific youth, and recognising and supporting diverse Pacific economies.

Literature on Pacific entrepreneurship is a small but growing area of research: much of the work is found in theses and conference papers. This literature review has drawn on these unpublished sources, as well as on central and local government and NGO reports on Pacific entrepreneurship, and on newspaper and website-based reports on Pacific businesses. The review has also consulted literature on small and medium enterprises (SMEs) in New Zealand, as well as on immigrant, Māori, and social entrepreneurship.

Pacific people play an important part in Auckland’s current and future economic landscape. However, an analysis of 2013 Census data suggests that the ‘current young age structure, relatively low labour participation rate, lower educational levels and over-representation in employment in the secondary sector bring challenges and implications for the economic and social prospects of present and future Pacific generations’. This picture of economic disadvantage highlights the potential gains, such as employment creation and income generation, that promoting Pacific businesses might achieve. Pacific businesses can also have positive social and cultural benefits such as reinforcing knowledge and pride in Pacific cultures and presenting a positive

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2 Non-governmental organisation.

image to a wider community.\textsuperscript{4}

The terms ‘Pacific entrepreneur’ and ‘Pacific business’ are used throughout this literature review to describe the focus of this research. However, this is not to discount the immense individual, ethnic and cultural diversity within Pacific communities in Auckland. These terms rely on the use and recognition of concepts such as race and ethnicity, migration and culture, which can in themselves be seen as problematic ways of classifying people.\textsuperscript{5} Care must be taken to ensure such classification does not obfuscate the differences in the nature of individual entrepreneurs’ drivers and barriers.


2.0 Auckland Council Context – Auckland Plan, Thriving Communities and ATEED’s Statement of Intent

The project this literature review supports will help deliver on Auckland Council’s plan to make Auckland the ‘world’s most liveable city’. The three council documents with the most relevance to Pacific entrepreneurship, and all targeted toward the goal of ‘the world’s most liveable city’, are the Auckland Plan, the Thriving Communities Action Plan, and ATEED’s Statement of Intent for Auckland’s Tourism and Events and Economic Development.

The Plan’s goal is an economy that is equitable, inclusive and built on innovation: ‘A prosperous, culturally diverse city, that is innovative and capitalises on its knowledge, skills and creativity is attractive to entrepreneurial workers and enhances liveability’. But the economic benefits need to be enjoyed by all because the Plan recognizes that currently, ‘prosperity and opportunity are unevenly distributed’. Transformations in policy and actions are required to actualize these goals. This literature review aims to bring together literature on Pacific peoples in Auckland – Pacific economies and research – and entrepreneurship literature to provide direction for developing strategies that align Pacific economic outcomes and realities with the goals of the Auckland Plan. Research on Pacific peoples should have ‘clearly articulated outcomes that are socially and/or economically beneficial to the Pacific community’.

The Thriving Communities plan states that to make Auckland the world’s most liveable city, Auckland’s communities need to be connected, resilient, and inclusive. Thriving Communities describes ways that council can help ‘citizens and communities to flourish and fulfil their potential through community-led development, deepening democracy and supporting social change’. With input from advisory panels, including a Pasefika panel, the council learned that for Pasefika and Māori communities ‘social enterprise and social innovation are important tools for their social and economic development’. In terms of entrepreneurship, the Thriving Communities Action Plan focuses on social entrepreneurs, and ways of supporting them to use their innovative projects to deliver better outcomes. The council endeavours to ‘improve our support for professional

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development opportunities for social entrepreneurs, including young, Māori and Pasifika social entrepreneurs’.  

ATEED’s role is to deliver on Auckland Council’s plan to make Auckland the most liveable city and to support the growth of a ‘vibrant and competitive economy’. This includes building a culture of innovation and entrepreneurship — as key drivers to growing the economy. The priorities in ATEED’s Statement of Intent all have the potential to relate to Pacific entrepreneurship, but the most directly relevant priority is for Auckland to be seen as ‘an Innovation Hub of the Asia-Pacific rim offering a world leading eco-system for the establishment of innovation based entrepreneurs, attracting talent from across the region, including the creation of new opportunities for Māori and Pacific Island business start-ups’.

The Auckland Plan sees Auckland’s Pacific communities, with their dynamic languages, cultural practices and customs, as part of what makes the city distinctive. ATEED’s goal is to make Auckland ‘number one’ in numerous areas, including ‘number one Pacific Island city’. Melani Anae warns that ‘celebrating Pacific culture in Auckland’ sounds like a positive achievement but without addressing disparities in health, education and employment of Pacific peoples such celebrations become appropriation by the majority culture while people from the minority culture remain in a subordinate position. Anae uses the symbol of an ie toga (a culturally valuable finely woven Samoan mat) to describe a vision for Auckland: ‘because like a fine mat being woven, the strands of Māori, New Zealand and Pacific cultures and histories, the world views and indigenous knowledges they represent, and their interaction with each other and others interconnect to form the unique Auckland identity.’ This is something to be mindful of when public policy is the celebration and promotion of diversity: of New Zealand as a Pacific country; of Auckland as a Pacific city.

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9 Auckland Council, Thriving Communities, p.22.
14 Auckland Council, Auckland Plan, p.3.
3.0 Pacific People in Auckland

3.1 Definitions

‘Pacific’ is defined broadly to mean anyone who self-identifies with a Pacific ethnicity. Within the New Zealand context it is a term that excludes Māori.\(^{15}\) A ‘Pacific business’ for the purpose of this literature review is defined as any business owned by a person who identifies as Pacific.\(^{16}\) Businesses that service the Pacific community but are owned by a non-Pacific person are not included in this definition. Pacific peoples in Aotearoa/New Zealand come mostly from Samoa, the Cook Islands, Tonga, Fiji, Tokelau, Niue, and Tuvalu. Pacific communities in New Zealand represent relatively recent migration. In the 1945 New Zealand Census of Population and Dwellings only 2,000 people (one tenth of 1% of the total population) were recorded as of Pacific origin.\(^{17}\)

In 2013, Pacific peoples living in Auckland represented 14.6 per cent of the total population.\(^{18}\) Those who identify as Samoan (49.2%) and Tongan (24.1%) make up the biggest proportion of the Pacific population in Auckland, with Cook Island Māori (18.7%) and Niuean (9.5%) as third and fourth largest.\(^{19}\) Auckland leads New Zealand in its ethnic diversity and Auckland Council has an opportunity to develop and implement policy that will help shape New Zealand’s future as a nation.


\(^{16}\) Note that this is a purposefully broad definition so this literature review can capture a comprehensive selection of literature. Through the process of research into Pacific Entrepreneurship in Auckland this definition might change under the guidance of Pacific entrepreneurs. Research on Māori businesses, for example, often sets quite specific parameters for what constitutes ‘Māori business’. See M. Durie, E. Fitzgerald, Te K. Kingi, S. McKinley, B. Stevenson, \textit{Māori Specific Outcomes And Indicators, A Report Prepared For Te Puni Kōkiri The Ministry Of Māori Development}, School of Māori Studies, Massey University, 2002; G. Harmsworth, ‘Report on the incorporation of traditional values/tikanga into contemporary Māori business organisation and process (No. LC/0405/058): Landcare Research New Zealand Ltd, 2005; L. Williams and F. Cram, ‘What Works for Māori: Synthesis of Selected Literature’, prepared for the Department of Corrections, Auckland, 2012, p.9.


\(^{19}\) Note that these groups are not necessarily exclusive: some people may have identified with more than one ethnicity in the Census.
Almost 50 per cent of Auckland’s current population is Māori, Asian and Pacific. By 2038 it is predicted that over 50 per cent of New Zealand’s population will be Māori, Asian and Pacific.\footnote{Mai Chen, \textit{Superdiversity Stocktake: Implications for Business, Government and New Zealand}, Wellington, 2015, p.33.}

Based on data from the 2013 Census, the largest group of Pacific peoples in Auckland live in the Māngere-Ōtāhuhu Local Board area (39,045 persons, or 20.0\% of Auckland’s Pacific peoples) followed by the Ōtara- Papatoetoe (31,671 or 16.2\%) and Manurewa local board areas (25,020 or 12.8\%).\footnote{Auckland Council, ‘Pacific Peoples in Auckland: Results from the 2013 Census’.
} Along with Papakura, these three boards make up the Southern Initiative. While Pacific peoples live across Auckland they are concentrated in the Southern Initiative: in total 52 per cent of Pacific peoples in Auckland live in the Southern Initiative.\footnote{Auckland Council, Exploring Pacific economies: wealth practices and debt management, p.6.} The \textit{Auckland Plan} recognises that ‘there are significant pockets of disadvantage in some parts of Auckland, with the majority of deprivation concentrated in southern Auckland. These communities have higher concentrations of Māori and Pacific peoples.’ While such communities often have ‘a strong sense of family and cultural identity’ they also are more likely to experience low educational achievement, high levels of unemployment, poorer quality housing and overcrowding, as well as poverty-related health issues.\footnote{Auckland Council, \textit{The Auckland Plan}, p.70.}

Factors such as age-structure and migration status can provide explanations for differences in skill and education levels as well as income and health discrepancies between Pacific and non-Pacific people in New Zealand. When the Pacific population in Auckland are compared to the Auckland population as a whole, differences are shown in a number of areas. The age structure of the Pacific population in Auckland is very young – with 34.8 per cent of Pacific people 15 years or under. In terms of educational achievement, employment, and income, Pacific peoples in Auckland are under-performing compared to Auckland overall. In the 2013 Census, 30 per cent of Pacific peoples aged over 15 years in Auckland had no formal educational qualification, which is relatively high when compared with 16.8 per cent for Auckland overall. Lower levels of educational qualifications can affect job opportunities, and Pacific workers are ‘generally over-represented in the lower-skilled and often lower-paid occupations, particularly labourers (17.8\%) and machinery operators and drivers (14.2\%).’ This has the flow-on effect of lower reported personal income levels. The median personal income for Pacific peoples in 2013 was $18,900 per annum, compared with $29,600 for the total Auckland population.\footnote{Auckland Council ‘Pacific Peoples in Auckland: Results from the 2013 Census’.
} A low net worth for Pacific people affects their ability to engage in entrepreneurial activities or investment opportunities that wealth
accumulation allows. The lack of net worth among Pacific people is in part due to the age structure and lower incomes, but also due to remitting and gifting. Whether this is an issue or not is for Pacific communities to discuss. However, a lack of net worth is one barrier to entrepreneurship and self-employment and thus business and investment income.

These demographics build up a picture of disparity across Auckland, in some part based on ethnicity. These numbers indicate a need, acknowledged in the Auckland Plan, to focus on building Auckland’s economy but ensuring equality of benefit and access to all Aucklanders. Currently not all Aucklanders experience equal success in positive social and economic indicators. These numbers represent a snapshot of Pacific peoples as a whole. Pacific peoples in Auckland are diverse, with at least 13 distinct languages and cultural groups.

3.2 Diversity

A pan-Pacific culture is perpetuated by reports and statistics that talk about ‘Pacific peoples’ (as this literature review is guilty of), and mainstream media that likewise reports on Pacific culture as if it were homogenous. Such an identity is maintained by policy makers as a useful way of clustering a group with some similar needs and cultural values and has now also been adopted by some Pacific peoples as a way of defining ‘Pacific’ identity in relation to palagi culture. Non-Pacific New Zealand perceptions of Pacific culture are dominated by Samoan culture – as the biggest Pacific cultural group in New Zealand, and almost half the Pacific population in Auckland. This is exemplified in the use of the umbrella term ‘Pasifika’ – a Samoan word, often used to describe all Pacific peoples. But the social organisation that governs Pacific cultures differs between countries of origin. While there may be some commonalities that can be termed the ‘Pacific Way’, the diversity within Pacific cultures needs to be recognised.

An Auckland Council report on Pacific economies in Auckland states that ‘Failing to differentiate between Pacific population groups could marginalise some Pacific groups by failing to account for their specific circumstances and making their experiences and practices less visible. In turn, this could inadvertently be detrimental to the financial and socio-cultural outcomes of some Pacific

families in Auckland. This indicates that ethnic-specific research not pan-Pacific research should be the goal.

### 3.3 Migrants, 1.5, 2nd generation

Pacific peoples in New Zealand include those who identify as both New Zealanders and Pacific peoples and those who identify with more than one Pacific ethnic group. They may be migrants, but equally they may be second or third generation New Zealand-born Pacific peoples. The proportion of New Zealand-born Pacific peoples in New Zealand is steadily increasing. In 2013, 59.6 per cent of Auckland’s Pacific population was born in New Zealand. The proportion of the New Zealand-born Pacific population is expected to continue to grow, aided by a youthful population.

All New Zealand migrants can be categorised into first, 1.5, second or third generation. ‘First generation’ is defined as migrants born overseas and arriving in New Zealand after the age of 12. The ‘1.5’ generation are those born overseas but arriving in New Zealand in their teenage years. ‘Second generation’ refers to those born in New Zealand but whose parent/s were born overseas. There is some discussion about including a ‘2.5 generation’ to cover those who have one migrant and one non-migrant parent. ‘Third generation’ are those born in New Zealand, whose grandparent/s were born overseas. Such a range of classifications reminds the researcher to be mindful of the nuances and diversity within migrant experiences.

The literature indicates that generational differences are important for understanding the effects and experiences of cultural influences, including on entrepreneurial capabilities. Differences might arise when comparing first generation migrants’ experiences in business with those from the second generation and longer. In one Netherlands-based study the authors found that first generation migrant business owners relied more on family and friends, while second generation migrant entrepreneurs were more concerned with distancing themselves in order to exert

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31 Auckland Council, ‘Pacific Peoples in Auckland: Results from the 2013 Census’, p.14
independence.\textsuperscript{34} It has been noted that as migrant communities age and have members who are second generation (and onward), questions such as the following arise: how do communities maintain a cultural identity over generations and how can culture be used by migrant groups as a way of reinforcing self-worth, community assertiveness and financial gain.\textsuperscript{35} In research on Tongan entrepreneurs in New Zealand, Cocker found that culture was an inextricable part of how Tongan-born and raised entrepreneurs understood themselves, but that New Zealand-born or raised Tongan entrepreneurs saw their identity, while influenced by being Tongan, as more malleable.\textsuperscript{36}

The literature also indicates that migrant populations can be fluid; even when settled in another country, strong connections can be retained with the migrant’s home country. Historian Melissa Matutina Williams has reminded us, through her work on Māori urban migration, that the story of migration is often told as a linear narrative, but in reality migration is about creating ‘coexistent home-places’.\textsuperscript{37} This is consistent with work on Pacific communities in New Zealand.\textsuperscript{38} Auckland Council’s \textit{Thriving Communities} notes that ‘communities’ can be place-, population- or interest-based, and that they ‘frequently cut across geographical boundaries as well, for example Pasifika and ethnic minority communities who often have international links’.\textsuperscript{39} The process of remittances within Pacific communities is illustrative of these ongoing ties.\textsuperscript{40} One study found that almost two thirds (64\%) of New Zealand Pacific entrepreneurs had plans for a future business in their Pacific home country, or to invest in business there.\textsuperscript{41} These international links are important for a sense of belonging and wellbeing, but also can play an important role in understanding and developing economic strategies for Pacific businesses in New Zealand.

\textsuperscript{36} Cocker, ‘Opportunity Recognition, Evaluation and Exploitation in Cultural Entrepreneurship’, p.108.
\textsuperscript{37} Melissa Matutina Williams, \textit{Panguru and the City - Kāinga Tahi, Kāinga Rua: An Urban Migration History}, Wellington, 2015.
\textsuperscript{39} Auckland Council, \textit{Thriving Communities}, p.36.
\textsuperscript{40} Kerry James, ‘Reading the Leaves: The Role of Tongan Women’s Traditional Wealth and Other “Contraflows” in the Processes of Modern Migration and Remittance’, \textit{Pacific Studies}, 20, 1, 1997, pp.1–27.
\textsuperscript{41} De Vries, ‘The Influence of Migrations’, (Appendices) p.121
In New Zealand, Small and Medium Enterprises (SMEs) are those with fewer than 50 employees. SMEs make up 96 per cent of all enterprises in Auckland. The majority of these businesses (63%) are sole-traders, i.e. they do not employ anyone. A ‘small business’ is any type of enterprise or firm with fewer than 20 employees. This includes: ‘zero’ (no employees); ‘micro’ (businesses with one to five employees); ‘small’ (businesses with six to 19 employees). ‘Small to medium’ businesses have 20 to 49 employees, ‘medium’ businesses have 50 to 99 employees, and ‘large’ businesses are those with 100 or more employees. The Auckland Plan states that it is cheap and easy to establish a firm in Auckland but the failure rate of start-ups is high. For SMEs as well as large Auckland firms, extra costs incurred through inefficiency and uncertainty hinder success. The Auckland Council will ensure that its processes are streamlined, consistent, and facilitate the productivity of firms.

There is a general perception in New Zealand, reinforced through media profiles of entrepreneurs and government reports promoting entrepreneurialism, that entrepreneurial activity is positive for growth, innovation and the economy, creating new jobs and generating social benefits. However, as de Vries outlines, there is a lack of clarity about how to foster and encourage New Zealand entrepreneurial activity. The socio-cultural diversity amongst New Zealand entrepreneurs means a range of entrepreneurial profiles, with different motivations and contexts. De Vries posits that the answer to understanding the New Zealand entrepreneur and developing effective means to support and encourage entrepreneurial behaviour may lie in New Zealand’s diversity.

Mai Chen highlights four key benefits to New Zealand’s economy of encouraging business diversity: access

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42 Ministry of Business, Innovation and Employment (MBIE). *The Small Business Sector Report 2014*, Wellington, 2014, p.10. It is important to note that employee-number definitions of SMEs are not internationally consistent. In the EU, for example, a ‘medium business’ is defined as having fewer than 250 employees, ‘small business’ fewer than 50 employees and ‘micro business’ fewer than 10 employees. This means making international comparisons between SME strategies or policies may be misleading.

43 This is similar to percentage of SMEs in all of New Zealand (97%) see Ministry of Economic Development, ‘SMEs in New Zealand: Structure and Dynamics 2011’, Wellington, 2011.


to a wider, diverse customer base; innovation; greater export potential; and more people willing to work in ‘less desirable’ areas such as the health care and rural sectors. 48

48 Chen, Superdiversity Stocktake, p.34.
5.0 Entrepreneurship Literature

Entrepreneurship theory developed when the ‘entrepreneur’ was constructed as a category within economic theory. Economist Cantillon first introduced the ‘entrepreneur’ as a risk taker into economic literature in 1734, and then in the twentieth century two economists, von Thunen and Schumpeter, focused on distinguishing the ‘entrepreneur’ from businesses. Von Thunen highlighted risk and uncertainty as fundamental characteristics of an entrepreneur, while Schumpeter introduced the notion of innovation as key. These theories have been expanded and contested since this time, resulting in diversity rather than consensus about what constitutes an entrepreneur.

The literature on entrepreneurship gives us the terms ‘opportunity entrepreneur’ – someone who sees a gap in the market/a perceived business opportunity – and ‘necessity entrepreneur’ – someone who starts a business because other work options are absent or unsatisfactory. While opportunity entrepreneurs are seen to be innovative and their businesses generate wealth, necessity entrepreneurs may contribute little to a country’s economic growth or innovation. This becomes an important factor if the motivation behind promoting entrepreneurship is to help drive innovation and the economy. As necessity entrepreneurs lack other work options, policy targeted at addressing structural inequalities such as education, income, or health disparities, could help reduce the rate of necessity entrepreneurs in favour of opportunity entrepreneurs. Local and central governments can help opportunity entrepreneurs through more specific business-related policies such as taxation or tariffs.

The categories of ‘necessity’ and ‘opportunity’ entrepreneurs are related to the ‘pull’ and ‘push’ factors of entrepreneurship. The ‘pull’ factors include a desire to be financially or managerially independent and autonomous. The ‘push’ factors include high unemployment rates; low pay and employment discrimination; lack of educational qualifications or lack of recognition of qualifications; and job dissatisfaction or inferior job conditions. There are disadvantage-based theories for why migrants might choose self-employment (push); and theories that privilege individual agency and resilience as explanations (pull). These push and pull factors are not exclusive – they may both

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49 For an overview of entrepreneur theory see de Vries, ‘The Influence of Migrations, pp.23–4.
51 Frederick and Chittock, GEM Report, p.24.
be factors in an entrepreneur’s decision to go into business. The literature does indicate that understanding the motivations for going into business is important for understanding entrepreneurial activity.

Attempts to understand entrepreneurial activity are driven by the recognition that innovation and entrepreneurship help drive viable and thriving economies. It is recognised, however, that ‘entrepreneurship is an extraordinarily complex and multifaceted phenomenon’ with no universally agreed-upon definition.\textsuperscript{53} While defining an ‘entrepreneurial personality’ may be an elusive task, the literature does identify entrepreneurial character traits, sometimes unquestioningly imbedded in the research methodology and data. When common traits are identified they include: predominately male, strong and distinct personalities, opportunistic, risk tolerant, and confident, sometimes to excess. They are also perceived as selfish actors in the economy and are said to require strong social networks.\textsuperscript{54} These traits are culturally informed – indicative of Western values of individualism and acquisition – and are reliant on certain ideas about ‘success’ and what constitutes a ‘business’. Being a successful entrepreneur depends on the historical, cultural and social context. Dawson’s work on Māori entrepreneurship shows how the character traits of ‘entrepreneurship’ have changed over time and within different cultural contexts.\textsuperscript{55} The ways in which success is measured are also influenced by a variety of factors, including the goal of the business. Much of the literature focuses more on entrepreneurship as a process, rather than trying to determine set traits.

The literature recognises that entrepreneurs’ experiences differ depending on ethnicity, age, gender, and education levels as well as business stage. Understanding these factors can help us understand the entrepreneurial process. Literature on entrepreneurial activity divides the process into different steps or stages. There is variation as to whether this is a three stage (Greven, 1995), four stage (Deakins and Freel, 1998) or five stage (Churchill and Lewis, 1983) process.\textsuperscript{56} Identifying these stages helps to determine where support or intervention can best help business to succeed. Factors that can influence entrepreneurial activity (positively or negatively) include the age and size of businesses, their location, the planning practices of firms, political and economic


conditions, leadership styles, types of assistance and the personality traits of the entrepreneurs. Solomona and Davis’s data set on Tongan entrepreneurship divided the respondents into categories based on where in the business stage/cycle they were – start-up or established – and what kind of business model – business or social enterprise. Similarly, Dawson’s Māori entrepreneurs understood the entrepreneurial process to contain four stages: pre-start-up; start-up; maintenance; and growth. In Dawson’s study, all the participants felt that the maintenance stage was the hardest. Newby, Watson and Woodliff suggest that the goals and objectives of SME owner-operators are temporal – so those in a new venture have different goals than those 20 years in the business. They argue for researcher awareness of these shifting perspectives when considering research design, methodology and analysis.

The literature shows that age and gender can influence the entrepreneurial process. The Global Entrepreneurship Monitor (GEM Report) Aotearoa New Zealand is part of an international study gathering data to determine entrepreneurial activity and the connections between it and national economic growth. The GEM Report illustrated differences in age and gender on entrepreneurial activity for Māori. Understanding such patterns can highlight areas to target with additional education or funding. For example, the GEM Report data show that for Māori, the most entrepreneurial years are between 35-44 years old. This information is part of a complex web of understanding entrepreneurship motivation and success. These ‘entrepreneurial years’ might be influenced by other factors such as income generation, risk-taking, or family stage. All eleven Pacific entrepreneurs in de Vries’ study started as employees first, and then developed into entrepreneurs. This recognition of a change in situation, viewing a working life as one of change and different opportunities is important and signals that support might need to recognise entrepreneurial activity at different stages in a working life. The GEM data indicate that gender plays a role in entrepreneurship rates and that these rates are complicated by ethnicity or cultural factors. The GEM data show that Māori women have 74.6 per cent of the Māori male entrepreneurship rate. This is lower than that for the general population, where (in 2005) female entrepreneurs accounted for 63.5 per cent of all entrepreneurs.

Support for entrepreneurial activity can be formal (public and private sector initiatives) and informal (family, friends and associates of the entrepreneur). Support systems are seen as advantageous for entrepreneurial success in new businesses because they create social networks and communicate information. However, support must be correctly accessed and targeted in order to create business success. Business failure is a possibility for all new ventures, so identifying key areas or stages of pressure or increased failure is seen as a useful preventative measure. Gaskill, van Auken and Manning identified the following as factors that can lead to business failure: lack of business knowledge; lack of demand; lack of start-up capital; political and legal barriers; and lack of planning.  

The literature indicates that there are cultural elements – based on values and worldviews – that may influence what motivates an entrepreneur, and how they define success or failure. Recognising this can affect how governments strategize to support and encourage entrepreneurial activity. Māori have more ‘opportunity entrepreneurs’ than ‘necessity’ ones. Research on Tongan entrepreneurs in Tonga has found that necessity and opportunity equally drive the population to start up new businesses. Determining what an entrepreneur’s goals are for their business is important for assessing whether that business is ‘successful’ or not. Western business models are not necessarily applicable in part or in whole. Data from a 2005 study showed that independence is more of a driving force for Māori in motivating entrepreneurial activity than wealth. Research on Pacific entrepreneurs found that independence was a ‘low desire’ for Pacific peoples in general, and that this possibly influenced lower levels of Pacific entrepreneurial activity. Pacific entrepreneurs believed that the success behind Pacific business was the ‘Pacific way with people’ – including being welcoming, going the extra mile, humour and patience – which leads to a focus on people rather than money.

The extent or even existence of a cultural element in entrepreneurship or entrepreneurial experience is contested. Half the Pacific entrepreneur interviewees in a 2004 study contested the notion of a cultural element in entrepreneurship, arguing that entrepreneurship qualities are universal, not culturally specific. There may have been a gendered element to these claims: all of the participants who felt that culture did not play a part in entrepreneurial qualities were male. The

65 Frederick and Chittock, GEM Report, p.6
67 Frederick and Chittock, GEM Report, p.6.
68 De Vries, ‘The Influence of Migrations’, Appendices, p.111
70 MIT, ‘What Can Tertiary Institutions do to Encourage Pacific Entrepreneurship?’, p.43.
literature on Pacific entrepreneurship and the statistics on Pacific social and economic indicators suggest that culture does play a role in entrepreneurship – in ways that create enhancements as well as limitations. How these are experienced will differ depending on many factors such as age, individual personality, ethnicity, migrant generation or gender.

5.1 Immigrant entrepreneurship

Although Pacific peoples are considered ‘immigrants’ in definitional comparison to Māori, they are not often covered in literature on immigrant entrepreneurship in New Zealand, which tends to focus on immigrants from India or the Asian region.\(^1\) This focus is probably a result of current immigration categories. Of the three streams (skilled/business; family; international/humanitarian) or paths to permanent residence in New Zealand, ‘Samoan and Tongan immigrants are more likely to gain access through Pacific quotas in the international/humanitarian stream or through the family stream. Immigrants from the UK, South Africa, South Korea, the Philippines and the USA are more likely to gain access through the skilled business stream.’\(^2\) Alongside these streams there is the Samoan Quota Scheme that allows Samoan citizens to apply for New Zealand residence, and the ballot-run Pacific Access Category for citizens of Fiji, Kiribati, Tuvalu, and Tonga. This means that Pacific peoples occupy a liminal space in the entrepreneurship literature. This literature review does not cover ethnic and migrant entrepreneurship, as this has been comprehensively covered elsewhere.\(^3\)

5.2 Māori entrepreneurship

Literature on Māori entrepreneurship is included in this literature review as it can provide insights for Pacific entrepreneurs. Although Māori are not usually considered ‘Pacific’ within New Zealand

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\(^3\) Meares et al., ‘Ethnic precincts in Auckland’. 

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there are historical and ongoing connections between Māori and Pacific peoples. Some academics have proposed that the connections between Māori and Pasifika in New Zealand are greater than the differences and that rediscovering ‘Pacific connections’ and building alliances could strengthen the position of Māori and Pacific within New Zealand. As Cave suggested in relation to tourist businesses, issues considered barriers for Māori entrepreneurs ‘find their echoes among Pacific Island groups living in New Zealand’. These include: limited access to financial support; lack of understanding of Māori culture by non-Māori; inability to meet formal requirements (such as educational attainment); racism and discrimination. So while Māori entrepreneurship literature has been included here to provide insights and comparisons, it is nonetheless recognised that there are myriad differences within and across Māori and Pacific communities in New Zealand. The status of indigeneity for Māori, however, will always be a major difference between Māori and Pacific experiences in New Zealand.

Māori entrepreneurship literature is a subset of the scholarship on indigenous entrepreneurship. This literature highlights issues considered specific to indigenous entrepreneurs such as self-determination and addressing social disadvantage. Māori entrepreneurship has been encouraged through increasingly visibly successful Māori businesses, the increase in the number of Māori in local and central government, and changes in historic legislation. The process of Treaty settlements between Māori and the Crown has launched some iwi and hapū into business ventures. In their assessment of considerations for Māori economic development, Williams and Cram identified key themes of: management and leadership capacity; collective approach; transformative approach; centrality of whānau; and kaupapa Māori values.

Defining a ‘Māori entrepreneur’ or a ‘Māori business’ is central to some of this literature, although there remains no clear consensus on this issue. In his doctoral thesis, Peter Mataira divides Māori entrepreneurs into two categories: entrepreneurs who happened to be Māori; and ‘tribal entrepreneurs’ whose business involvement is bicultural – negotiating within both Western and Māori worlds to satisfy economic and cultural needs. Mataira’s findings show that family and community are fundamental for Māori entrepreneurs: ‘being whānau-centred is important to their personal sense of accountability and to wider tribal/hapu constituency interests’ and that ‘Māori

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75 Mafie’o and Walsh-Tapiata, ‘Māori and Pasifika Indigenous Connections’.
76 Cave, et al., ‘Residents’ Perceptions, Migrant Groups and Culture as an Attraction’, p.374.
economic development takes into account wider issues beyond profitability’. Harmsworth’s study reinforces this point; he found that the main tension for Māori businesses was the pressure to perform in both Māori and non-Māori worlds, but with a different set of objectives for each. Balancing these dual pressures is complex, with some businesses unable to fulfill the cultural, social, environmental and financial expectations placed on their businesses. Mataira argues that because Māori businesses are often answering social and cultural needs, then they start to challenge the boundaries of Western business paradigms or models. Keelan and Woods developed the term ‘Mauipreneur’ to capture the relationship between entrepreneurship and Māori culture. By using Maui as a framework, Keelan and Woods situate Māori entrepreneurship within a Māori worldview. This removes them from a Western framework of business and reinforces the notion that Mauipreneurs represent self-determination rather than assimilation.

Garth Harmsworth has written on how Māori businesses integrate their cultural values into business models of governance and performance. He outlines what a difficult challenge it is for Māori businesses to balance cultural and social aspirations with the commercial and economic needs of business growth and advancement. Māori business models involve addressing cultural as well as economic values. Māori tikanga, such as whakapapa and whanaungatanga, are models from a Māori worldview and are incorporated into Māori business models. Māori cultural principles within business, such as kaitiakitanga and manaakitanga can be seen as attractive to a general public, wary of unethical business practices. Harmsworth notes that many Māori cultural concepts and values, such as tikanga, rangatiratanga, kotahitangi, manaakitanga and kaitiakitanga are reflected in good Western governance models already with values such as honesty, fairness, diligence, guardianship and quality.

Māori cultural values can be seen as both a strength and a weakness within business. Mika asks whether manaakitanga (generosity) is ‘killing Māori enterprises’, after finding in his doctoral research that the Māori entrepreneurs he interviewed raised manaakitanga as a possible reason

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81 Hipango and Dana, ‘Culture and Entrepreneurial Efficacy’, p.205.
for the early demise of some Māori businesses. He concluded that enterprise assistance may help Māori entrepreneurs 'better manage the plurality implicit in running a Māori enterprise' when values like manaakitanga need to operate together with commerciality.

Some of the literature is concerned with understanding barriers and enablers of the success of Māori businesses, although this is a complex task. Zapalska, Perry and Dabb analyse Māori entrepreneurial businesses’ development and growth ability against Gnyawali and Fogel's 1994 conceptual framework of five external environmental factors: government policies and procedures; socioeconomic conditions; entrepreneurial and business skills; financial support to businesses; and non-financial assistance. Because Māori businesses are often operating with a broad range of cultural, social, environmental and financial objectives, this can mean that multiple indicators of success are needed to measure performance under these diverse goals. Measuring the social, cultural, environmental and economic performance in a business is called 'quadruple bottom line reporting'. This idea has been gaining momentum in the business world.

Williams and Cram’s work on identifying ways to increase Māori success across the areas of economic development, education and health reinforced the importance of unpacking how ‘success’ was measured. They worked with three-stages: defining success, facilitating success, and achieving success. ‘Defining success’ raises questions such as what defines an organisation and its initiatives as successful. ‘Facilitating success’ includes considerations such as what was the original goal of the business, and what attributes facilitated its success. ‘Achieving success’ covers issues such as the criteria used to assess success, and are these consistently applied. This conscious interrogation of measures of success is one way of allowing respondents to create their own rather than imposing on them measures that are potentially culturally inappropriate.

Māori entrepreneurship research looks at entrepreneur motivations as a factor in understanding entrepreneur successes, enablers and barriers. The literature indicates that motivations may be culturally specific, or align with cultural values. For example, whānau and iwi support are commonly highlighted as essential for Māori entrepreneurs. Whānau play an important role in

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85 Mika, ‘Manaakitanga’.
providing labour, advice, investment and finance.\textsuperscript{91} One study of 100 Māori entrepreneurial firms found that 30 per cent cited ‘providing employment for whānau’ as their main reason for going into business.\textsuperscript{92} For Māori, entrepreneurship offers greater Māori employment opportunities, independence, flexibility and cultural integrity.\textsuperscript{93} Maritz labels these people ‘lifestyle entrepreneurs’ – where the motivation for going into business is creating a work/life balance, rather than wealth creation.\textsuperscript{94} Harmsworth reiterates that the contextual information as to why a business has started is fundamental to understanding Māori governance models. History, land ownership, resources, ancestral connections, cultural values, and providing for future generations can be important cultural drivers in Māori businesses and can affect the goals and timeframes in place for how that business will operate.\textsuperscript{95}

Entrepreneurial activity involves measuring not just the beginning or start up rate, but also an examination of longevity. While Māori are rated amongst the most entrepreneurial in the world, the failure rate of Māori businesses is double that for non-Māori.\textsuperscript{96} GEM data from 2005 revealed that Māori had higher rates of early-stage entrepreneurial activity than Pākehā, but have lower success rates (only 32% of Māori entrepreneurial businesses survive 42 months compared to 62% in the general population).\textsuperscript{97} Hipango and Dana advise researchers not to discount the role of the informal economy in Māori entrepreneurship. They posit that entrepreneurs who are shown in formal economy data (such as the GEM Report) to have ‘failed’ may in fact be operating within the informal economy, having found that the formal economy imposed too many barriers for their ongoing participation.\textsuperscript{98}

A facet of the literature is concerned with how best to support and encourage Māori entrepreneurship as well as to encourage longevity of businesses. While support is seen in the literature as a factor in early entrepreneurial success, Anderson’s work on support systems for Māori entrepreneurs has shown that despite a high level of government support for Māori business ventures, Māori businesses have a high failure rate compared to non-Māori. A range of public and private support (formal support) options are available for Māori, as well access to whānau, hapū and iwi support (informal support). However, as Anderson’s research showed, perceived and actual barriers exist that prevent Māori entrepreneurs from accessing such support – including lack

\textsuperscript{91} Zapalska et al., ‘Maori Entrepreneurship in the Contemporary Business Environment’, p.233.
\textsuperscript{92} Zapalska et al., ‘Maori Entrepreneurship in the Contemporary Business Environment’, p.229.
\textsuperscript{93} Zapalska et al., ‘Maori Entrepreneurship in the Contemporary Business Environment’, pp.227–9.
\textsuperscript{95} Harmsworth, ‘Governance systems’, p.9.
\textsuperscript{96} Frederick and Chittock, \textit{GEM Report}.
\textsuperscript{97} Frederick and Chittock, \textit{GEM Report}, p.9.
\textsuperscript{98} Hipango and Dana, ‘Culture and Entrepreneurial Efficacy’, p.206.
of time and lack of information about what was available. There was also a perception that Māori business support services were only for social enterprises, not all Māori business owners. Anderson concluded that Māori support services needed to promote their availability to all Māori entrepreneurs. Access to support services requires awareness of what is available, and such support systems can help address factors in business failure, such as lack of knowledge and business skills, or lack of finance.  

Access to financial assistance is identified in the literature as an important factor in whether a business can be established, and also whether it can grow or expand. For Māori entrepreneurs the most common sources of finance come from personal savings (42.5%), family and friends (35%) and bank loans (20%). A lesser but still important source is from organisations designed to help Māori, such as Māori Women’s Development Inc.

Making support services available when they are needed could also be an issue in business success or failure. Anderson’s study showed that the majority of respondents (62.5%) identified that stage three (early growth) was the hardest time for them in business, but that support networks were most commonly accessed during stage one (idea development) and stage two (founding the firm). Strengthening and targeting support during the stage of running a new firm, and early growth, could help reduce business failure at this stage.

Another area of support identified in the literature is the encouragement of educational attainment. The literature notes that higher levels of education seem to correlate to an expansion of entrepreneurship. One study found that as Māori achieve higher levels of law and commerce graduates, this has had a flow-on effect on the number of Māori entrepreneurs offering professional services. Other studies back up this desire for capacity building to ensure those who work at high levels in Māori businesses are high calibre business professionals with skills in areas such as accountancy, marketing, business, science and technology. Research indicates that qualification levels amongst Māori entrepreneurs are increasing. A lack of confidence in business knowledge is cited as a key problem for potential Māori entrepreneurs, and one option the research recommends is training in business skills, either within school systems, or through

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100 Zapalska et al., ‘Maori Entrepreneurship in the Contemporary Business Environment’, p.229.
private courses, to target Māori. These training courses should be practical, participative, and action-oriented, in order to be culturally responsive to Māori learning needs.

Dawson’s research on Māori perspectives of Māori entrepreneurship makes a contribution to the literature through the creation of a ‘Māori Entrepreneurship Framework’. Presenting her work in this way was a deliberate attempt to ground her findings in a practical approach that could enhance Māori entrepreneurial activity. The Framework identifies four dimensions of Māori entrepreneurship: Internal Impediments (II), Internal Enhancements (IE), External Impediments (EI) and External Enhancements (EE) and identifies these across the four stages of entrepreneurial activity.

Stage 1: Pre-start-up
- II- Lack of time and knowledge to start the venture
- EI- Lack of institutional support and funding
- EI- Colonial mindset.

Stage 2: Start-up
- II- Not willing to exchange ownership for finance
- IE- Personal capital
- EI- Lack of funding
- EE- Use of a tikanga business model.

Stage 3 Maintenance:
- II- Compliance issues
- IE- Delegating tasks to stay competitive
- EE- Business Mentors New Zealand (BMNZ), Poutama Trust funding.

Stage 4: Growth:
- II- Lack of time, knowledge, and skills to grow the venture
- EE- BMNZ, Poutama Trust, New Zealand Trade & Enterprise funding.

As part of the Framework, Dawson identifies factors across the four stages:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INTERNAL IMPEDIMENTS</th>
<th>INTERNAL ENHANCERS</th>
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<tr>
<td>- Personal characteristics e.g. a lack of confidence and commitment.</td>
<td>- Entrepreneurial traits e.g. risk-taking, change agent, creative, and visionary.</td>
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<tr>
<td>- Conflicts between Māori and non-Māori values and customs.</td>
<td>- Personal characteristics e.g. self-sacrifice, resilience, intelligently intuitive.</td>
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<tr>
<td>- Lack of education, in particular business acumen and financial literacy.</td>
<td>- Leveraging off the Māori culture as a unique selling proposition/advantage.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Undercapitalisation, especially to cover expenses and shortfalls.</td>
<td>- Relational approach to business e.g.</td>
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Social entrepreneurship is a subset of the entrepreneurship literature that has potential links with aspects of Pacific entrepreneurship. Social enterprises are ‘hybrid organisations that trade goods and services in order to achieve their social, environmental, economic or cultural goals’.\footnote{Auckland Council, \textit{Thriving Communities}, p.22. For more on social enterprises in Auckland see \url{http://www.socialenterpriseauckland.org.nz}.} Social entrepreneurs are those who work in this sector and develop new and innovative ways to use business to address social, environmental, cultural or economic goals. Social entrepreneurs apply ‘business thinking’ to community needs – often providing solutions to problems where traditional or
public-driven approaches have failed.\textsuperscript{108} \textit{Thriving Communities} states Auckland Council’s commitment to supporting social innovation and social enterprise to help address some of Auckland’s key challenges. Cultural and social goals, as well as economic ones, often drive Māori and Pacific entrepreneurs. Māori and Pacific communities have advised council that ‘social enterprise and social innovation are important tools for their social and economic development’.\textsuperscript{109}

Evidence has shown that policies directed to supporting existent and developing new entrepreneurial activity amongst those who are socially and/or economically marginalised has the potential to improve the economic and social positioning of those involved.\textsuperscript{110} Frederick and Foley use the term ‘disadvantaged entrepreneurs’ to cover those who have come from marginalized or minority groups who are engaging in business enterprise. The kinds of disadvantages they consider that might impact on some Pacific entrepreneurs are:

- social and individual – poverty, family situations, low levels of formal education and therefore fewer skills or qualifications needed for self-employment
- Cultural disadvantages – language problems or experiencing racism based on race or ethnicity
- Economic disadvantages – higher levels of unemployment, lack of access to financial assistance
- Political and structural disadvantages – health, housing, income, education, and social services.\textsuperscript{111}

The social enterprise model can be seen as culturally responsive – putting community and family needs ahead of economic needs – and thus reflects Māori and Pacific cultural values. Jeffs sees that the conceptual framework of social entrepreneurship is echoed in whakapapa-based (iwi, hapū, whānau communities) Māori business practices – both in the past and more recently.\textsuperscript{112} Dawson likewise sees Māori entrepreneurship as having a long history of addressing social needs. Jeffs concludes that social entrepreneurship and social enterprise is a ‘tried and proven approach to development that encourages citizens to engage in entrepreneurial activities and help to build an inclusive civil society’.\textsuperscript{113}

\textsuperscript{108} Lindsay Jeffs, ‘Social Entrepreneurs and Social Enterprise – Do They Have a Future in New Zealand?’, Refereed paper presented at the 51\textsuperscript{st} International Council for Small Business (ICSB) World Conference, Melbourne, June 2006.
\textsuperscript{109} Auckland Council, \textit{Thriving Communities}, p.22.
\textsuperscript{110} Frederick and Foley, ‘Indigenous Populations as Disadvantaged Entrepreneurs’, p.2.
\textsuperscript{111} Frederick and Foley, ‘Indigenous Populations as Disadvantaged Entrepreneurs’, p.3.
\textsuperscript{112} Jeffs, ‘Social Entrepreneurs and Social Enterprise’.
\textsuperscript{113} Jeffs, ‘Social Entrepreneurs and Social Enterprise’.
One key area where businesses can contribute to social needs is through links between schools and businesses. One study undertaken by Auckland University of Technology (AUT) and Manukau businesses recommended that a facilitation mechanism be put in place so that businesses can effectively contribute to their community’s wellbeing. Some examples of those identified in the study were the Pathways to Employment project, the Gateway Programme, the Young Enterprise Scheme (YES), the Student Enterprise Learning Link (SELL), and the Manukau Educating for Enterprise project. A key to the success of these programmes is developing and maintaining good relationships within communities based on understanding and mutual respect.

Recognizing and encouraging social entrepreneurship might involve asking a different set of questions, or employing different measures of ‘success’. Jeffs claims that ‘The business entrepreneur thrives on innovation, competition and profit, whereas the social entrepreneur thrives on innovation and inclusiveness to change the systems and patterns of societies.’ Such different goals means a different set of support systems, skill sets and endorsements.

Under Auckland Council’s Thriving Communities Action Plan is a commitment to support Auckland’s social entrepreneurs. The Thriving Communities document notes that one way that council can be supportive and contribute to continued growth in the social entrepreneur sector is ‘both to support the people who catalyse innovative new projects and to bring diverse groups of people together to create better outcomes. Developing and enabling the “talent” in Auckland’s social entrepreneurs is critical.’ This will be achieved through: connecting social entrepreneurs across Auckland, nationally and internationally; showcasing and promoting social entrepreneurs; and improving ‘support for professional development opportunities for social entrepreneurs, including young, Māori and Pasifika social entrepreneurs’.

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115 Jeffs, ‘Social Entrepreneurs and Social Enterprise’.
116 Auckland Council, Thriving Communities, p.23.
117 Auckland Council, Thriving Communities, p.23.
6.0 Pacific Business and Entrepreneurship

As noted earlier, this review defines ‘Pacific business’ as any business owned by a person who identifies as Pacific, and does not include businesses servicing the Pacific community but owned by a non-Pacific person. This definition is purposefully broad for the literature review but may be redefined under the guidance of Pacific entrepreneurs in the course of the research. The literature on Pacific-based businesses is not covered here, as it tends to focus on economies in developing countries and structures that do not reflect the New Zealand situation.

The literature on Pacific businesses and Pacific entrepreneurs in New Zealand tends to focus on those from the South Pacific – Tonga in particular. This may reflect the dominance of immigration to New Zealand from these islands. The literature recognises that the ‘Pacific economy’ in New Zealand operates in broader terms than those possibly considered within a traditional Western or mainstream model of ‘economy’.

Pacific businesses in this research can include work in the formal and informal sector, home-based, public or private Small and Medium Enterprises (SMEs). However, the literature mostly deals with SMEs in the formal sector. In general, research on Pacific businesses and entrepreneurship in New Zealand comes from a desire to provide insights into the issues, practices and outcomes for Pacific businesses in order to enhance the efficacy of initiatives aimed at promoting Pacific businesses in New Zealand.

Pacific businesses cover a range of different areas, sizes, and customers. One study on Pacific immigrant businesses in New Zealand built up this profile of common elements within Pacific businesses: predominately service-oriented, with a strong ethnic community focus, and little to no international activity. Many start small (sometimes affected by difficulty in gaining financial support) and focus on growth through strong relationships and customer orientation. It is thought that Pacific business development is slower than that of the general population, and that Pacific SMEs have a high failure rate. In research on immigrant entrepreneurship in New Zealand, Pacific peoples rated the lowest of the four groups studied (Pacific, Indian, Dutch and Chinese). This was seen as ‘a reflection of Pacific People’s predisposition to employment, the need to build stronger foundations of business activity within the broader Pacific community, and a general lack...

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118 Auckland Council, Exploring Pacific Economies’.
120 De Vries, ‘The Influence of Migrations’.
of business knowledge and confidence’.\(^{122}\)

Results from the 2013 Census indicate that the numbers of Pacific entrepreneurs in New Zealand are increasing. In 2013 there were 5,400 Pacific entrepreneurs – an increase of 1000 people from 2001. The concentration of this growth was in Auckland.\(^{123}\) The numbers of those in business can be broken down into two categories: ‘self-employed with no employees’ and ‘employers’. In New Zealand, 76 per cent of Pacific entrepreneurs are ‘self-employed with no employees’ (compared to 64% for the total population) and 24 per cent are employers (compared to 36% for the total population).\(^{124}\) These statistics suggest that the profile of Pacific businesses may be slightly different than non-Pacific businesses, such as a higher proportion in the ‘zero’ (i.e. no employees) category. This may impact on the policies required to support these businesses.

Pacific entrepreneurs are a diverse group of people who do not necessarily fit the profile of Pacific peoples in Auckland. They may live in areas that are not predominantly Pacific,\(^{125}\) they tend to have qualifications that are significantly higher than the general Pacific population, and those without tertiary education show engagement with continued education and are involved in post-business formal education. Tongans are the most entrepreneurial proportionately in the ‘Pacific entrepreneur’ category and have the highest levels of education across the Pacific entrepreneurs.\(^{126}\)

According to the literature, the entrepreneurial process is embedded within the entrepreneur’s cultural and social context.\(^{127}\) For some Pacific entrepreneurs their status as an immigrant brings a particular set of considerations. A profile of Pacific ‘immigrant entrepreneurs’ in New Zealand from a 2007 study found that the entrepreneurs generally came from large families, were deeply religious, were well-travelled and had strong sports interests.\(^{128}\) As Pacific migrants, or those with Pacific migrant parents, they commonly sought improved education and employment opportunities. Other shared attributes included migration history, strong family and community networks in New Zealand and a strong work ethic. Placing Pacific businesses in New Zealand within the context of Pacific values, experiences, networks and culture is essential to gain deeper understanding of


\(^{124}\) MBIE, Pacific Business Stocktake Survey.


\(^{126}\) De Vries, ‘The Influence of Migrations’ (Appendices) p.124.


\(^{128}\) De Vries, ‘The Influence of Migrations’.

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business processes, drivers and motivations, as well as challenges and barriers. A central and consistent value is that of family, social relationships and community.

6.1 The ‘Pacific Way’

The literature on Pacific entrepreneurship emphasises the importance of Pacific values and how they ‘play a significant role in defining Pacific people’s sense of place, identity, and being in contemporary New Zealand society.’ These values differ slightly in how they are articulated but generally focus on the valuing of the communal over the individual (the importance of family and community, social unity and strength), reciprocity, relationships, and religious faith. Elise Huffer has written on the ‘Pacific Way’ to refer to commonly held Pacific values, including collaborative dialogue, respect, inclusiveness, flexibility, adaptation, and balance. Other Pacific values have been categorised as ‘responsibility/loyalty, maintaining reciprocal relationships, and compassion/humility/willingness’. Like work on Māori entrepreneurs, literature on Pacific entrepreneurs is concerned with providing a cultural context for entrepreneurial activity and understanding Pacific entrepreneurship within a Pacific epistemology.

Pacific worldviews are based on relationships and interconnectedness. Although Pacific Island values vary between cultures, Huffer and Qalo identify what they believe are four commonalities: genuine concern for one another; caring and expressing concern for the well-being of others; placing others ahead of oneself, supporting or looking up to them; and honouring, respecting or upholding someone. Huffer and Qalo recognize that it would take a massive shift in approach, but they urge the replacement of ‘the economics of fear based on supply, demand, and scarcity in our present mind-set, and allow greater space for vakaviti [Fijian concept of valuing relationships] and similar Pacific concepts, which are based on trust and respect’.

Incorporating Pacific values into business structures is evident in research on Pacific providers of health care. Research on Pacific health providers underlines the importance of a Pacific model of care in the success of these providers. Success was seen in terms of overcoming client barriers to access and improving health outcomes. Pacific models of care are defined as ‘for Pacific by

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133 Huffer and Qalo, ‘Have We Been Thinking Upside Down?’, p.108.
Pacific’. Along with recognising the importance of Pacific language, setting and culture, the Pacific approach does not follow the traditional medical model of one-on-one care, but instead ‘tries to meet the multiple and layered needs of Pacific individuals, families and communities’. The Pacific health providers employed a Pacific workforce, mainly from local communities, which aids the high level of linguistic and cultural competence.

Many Pacific cultures are communally, rather than individually based. This can involve a sense of loyalty to a wide network of family and church, with the workplace becoming an extension of the family. Pacific entrepreneur, Ernesto Siroli, argues that for Pacific people, this collectivism leads to a link between entrepreneurship and civic culture. The family is often articulated as the most important thing – and this notion of ‘family’ is usually a broad one including blood, marriage, adopted and community connections. Faith-based community is also fundamental to many Pacific peoples’ understanding of family and community.

Pacific cultural practices such as remittances, gift-giving and church contributions are of economic, but also cultural and social importance. Remittances illustrate the social and cultural values inherent in Pacific cultures of family, generosity, and social obligation. The amount given in remittances varies due to a number of factors. For example, research has shown that first generation Tongan migrants tend to give more in remittances than second or third generation. A report by the New Zealand Institute of Economic Research into Pacific people in the New Zealand economy found that low income and net worth (in part due to the age structure and lower incomes, but also due to remitting and gifting) affects Pacific peoples’ ability to engage in entrepreneurial activities or investment opportunities that wealth accumulation allows. It is also of note that the concept of wealth accumulation is new to Pacific cultures, in part because of the value placed on sharing and gifting.

Some of the literature frames Pacific peoples in business through a deficit lens. This means the focus is on the barriers and the ways in which Pacific businesses might operate differently to mainstream businesses. For example, some elements of Pacific values can seem at odds with entrepreneurship such as being humble, being deferential, continuing traditions, listening to

138 James, ‘Reading the Leaves’, p.2.
140 Prescott, ‘Pacific Business Sustainability in New Zealand’, p.27.
elders.\textsuperscript{141} This framework, while providing clues about potential barriers and offering solutions, means Pacific businesses are being assessed against a set of criteria that may not be the ones those business people set out to achieve. The criteria in the deficit model tend to be based on Western models of business. When a model of diverse Pacific economies is used this shows a broad range of potential enterprises – with the inclusion of ‘alternative capitalist’ and ‘non-capitalist’.\textsuperscript{142}

Rather than viewing Tongan businesses through a Western market framework, Prescott uses the theoretical construct of social embeddedness to understand the way these businesses operate within at times competing paradigms. For Prescott the three key characteristics of Tongan culture that are inherent within Tongan business practices are relationship building, social identity, and focus on the present.\textsuperscript{143} These cultural values impact on business models. For example, the trait of focusing on the present can mean a lack of future sustainability planning, while a focus on relationship building drives and motivates Tongan entrepreneurs to give generously to their community, which also builds a sense of social identity and cultural pride.\textsuperscript{144}

While all businesses might want to be ‘successful’, the measure of that success can be influenced by various factors, including cultural factors. One person’s goal may be financial while another person’s may be social – such as employing people from their community. Rather than a deficit approach, a positive framework of mutual learning and adjustment might yield better results.\textsuperscript{145} In their work on Tongan-based entrepreneurs, Solomona and Davis found that although the rate of business discontinuity (after 12 months in business) was high, respondents felt that lack of continuity was not a sign of failure.\textsuperscript{146} Solomona and Davis were sensitive to the respondents’ own interpretations of success and failure, thus avoiding imposing set ideas about entrepreneurship and business, informed by Western models, onto Pacific entrepreneurs. Prescott, however, argues that while keeping in mind the variety of ways (including non-monetary) an entrepreneur may measure the success of their venture, he chose to focus on business sustainability as a measure of success. The reason for this was that whatever the motivations or measures of success, without

\textsuperscript{141} MIT, ‘What Can Tertiary Institutions do to Encourage Pacific Entrepreneurship?’, p.27.

\textsuperscript{142} Auckland Council, Exploring Pacific Economies’, p.23.

\textsuperscript{143} Prescott, ‘Pacific Business Sustainability in New Zealand’, p.212.

\textsuperscript{144} Prescott, ‘Pacific Business Sustainability in New Zealand’, p.216.


those being reached, then the business would be unlikely to retain the entrepreneur's ongoing commitment.\textsuperscript{147}

Pacific epistemologies – ways of doing and being – inform the way Pacific people conduct their lives, including approaches to business, and can provide 'alternative ways of approaching economic and social development'.\textsuperscript{148} Recognizing these systems includes valuing them as different but not lesser paradigms to mainstream or Western models, and incorporating them into policy making. Huffer and Qalo wryly observe that economists looking at the Pacific have tended to 'see Pacific attitudes as a constraint or barrier'.\textsuperscript{149} This is not to say there is a singular Pacific way of doing things, but rather it is important to recognize plurality in all things, and the advantages that can be gained by viewing things from different perspectives.

6.2 Two Worlds

Despite acknowledgement that Pacific value-systems and worldviews inform Pacific businesses, the literature still articulates 'cultural values' and 'business values' as two worlds. The literature raises the issue of trying to balance social and Pacific commitments to community and family, with business commitments in order to stay viable. These two worlds or two pressures can come into conflict, as they sometimes require opposite approaches – one individualistic, one communal.\textsuperscript{150} Even for third generation Pacific peoples there is an expectation that a Pacific identity will be maintained as distinctive within New Zealand society.\textsuperscript{151} Cave, Ryan and Panakera argue that Pacific Island entrepreneurs in New Zealand may want to operate within Pacific cultural values, but they also live with the influence of Western values of individualism and consumerism.\textsuperscript{152} As business concerns can represent a departure from traditional cultural values, navigating this discrepancy can cause tension for Pacific entrepreneurs. However, ways can be found to honour both these worlds, as opposed to an expectation of forgoing cultural values for business imperatives.\textsuperscript{153} Cocker argues that this area of compromise between cultural and business mindsets warrants further research.\textsuperscript{154}

\begin{footnotesize}
\textsuperscript{147} Prescott, 'Pacific Business Sustainability in New Zealand', p.5.
\textsuperscript{148} Huffer and Qalo, 'Have we Been Thinking Upside Down?', p.88.
\textsuperscript{149} Huffer and Qalo, 'Have we Been Thinking Upside Down?', p.89.
\textsuperscript{150} Gough, 2006, pp.37–8.
\textsuperscript{151} De Vries, 'The Influence of Migrations', (Appendices) p.119.
\textsuperscript{153} Cocker, 'Opportunity Recognition, Evaluation and Exploitation in Cultural Entrepreneurship', p.41.
\end{footnotesize}
Some Pacific businesses incorporate a mix of Western and Pacific business practices, showing that ‘business’ and ‘Pacific’ models can converge. Semisi Prescott has looked into how both the Tongan traditional concept of *koloa* and the Western concept of assets can be traced back to the underlying values inherent in these societies and how Tongan entrepreneurs incorporate both into their business systems.\(^\text{155}\) Prescott argues that using the entrepreneur’s own cultural framework can help broaden understanding of the behaviour and attitudes of ethnic minorities conducting business in a society that is not their own.

### 6.3 Pacific Businesses – Drivers and Motivations

Entrepreneurship literature is concerned with identifying motivations and drivers for entrepreneurs as a way of understanding the entrepreneurial process. It is acknowledged that drivers will vary depending on individual circumstances, but some attempt is made in the literature to find patterns. Pacific entrepreneurs in New Zealand appear to be opportunity rather than necessity entrepreneurs, though issues such as language barriers, employment discrimination, and job dissatisfaction have been cited in research on this topic.\(^\text{156}\) Traits such as a desire for autonomy, and personal responsibility, identified as essential by Pacific entrepreneurs, did not fit with Pacific values. But other drivers, such as contributing to family and community fit in with the collectivist mentality associated with Pacific cultures.\(^\text{157}\)

Family and social networks provide a strong driver for Pacific entrepreneurs – the need to fulfil culturally expected service to the family and the community, but also through the support and networks that culture provides. In keeping with the highly valued relationship to community and family, studies on Pacific entrepreneurs have found that providing for family, and also fulfilling social obligations are motivators.\(^\text{158}\) Prescott found that Tongan business entrepreneurs were motivated to provide enough income for themselves and their wider community needs.\(^\text{159}\)

One study found that alongside a wish to generate income and employment for a group that is often in lower paid jobs, Pacific entrepreneurs involved in cultural tourism in New Zealand were motivated by a desire for the following: to control and state their identity as migrants within the host community; to keep economic benefits within the local community; to encourage vibrancy within their local community; and to retain their traditional cultural practices.\(^\text{160}\)

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\(^{155}\) Semisi Prescott, ‘*Koloa – A Traditional Concept of Value*’, Unitec Research Symposium, 2015.


\(^{159}\) Prescott, ‘Pacific Business Sustainability in New Zealand’, p.214.

entrepreneurs in New Zealand may be not only for financial gain, but also for social legitimization through commercial success.

6.4 Pacific Entrepreneurship – Benefits, Challenges, Supports

Much of the literature on entrepreneurship compares the challenges, barriers or impediments to the enhancements, benefits or advantages of a business style. This provides an action focus to the research – identifying impediments that limit the success of an entrepreneur (such as finance), and enhancers that facilitate success (such as education or mentorship). As Dawson points out, ‘Impediments and enhancers can be internal and individual to the entrepreneur, such as personality traits; or external and outside the entrepreneur’s control, such as environmental factors.’\(^{161}\) The data from MBIE’s 2014 Pacific Entrepreneurship Stocktake showed the most common challenges for Pacific businesses were funding, growth and management and that the most commonly identified business supports needed are funding, business mentoring and training, and marketing.\(^ {162}\) Prescott has labelled government assistance within New Zealand for Pacific businesses as ‘a stab in the dark’. He says that New Zealand assistance programmes have largely followed those of overseas models: providing loans, business advice, and education. Prescott argues that such programmes do not always understand the needs of Pacific Island businesses, including their ethnic diversity.

The literature divides the benefits, challenges, or attributes differently. De Vries divides Pacific entrepreneurs’ experiences and influences into ‘culture’ (personal, family, ethnic community, and homeland) and ‘business’ (drivers, learning, finance, and characteristics and philosophies). Cave, Ryan and Panakera identify three ‘dilemmas and tensions’ involved in Pacific migrants engaging as entrepreneurs in cultural tourism in New Zealand: cultural dynamics, social dynamics and economic dynamics. While the social and cultural dynamics may have some relevance to Pacific entrepreneurs in general, the economic dynamics are clearly applicable beyond cultural tourism. The economic dynamics, they claim, involve issues such as sustainability; degree of reliance on governmental agencies and/or investors; degree of integration into cultural and/or community economics; congruence between values of individual enterprise and community cooperatives; access to resources by non-indigenous minority ethnicities; and balance for the twin goals of business success and community good.\(^ {163}\)

The Manukau Institute of Technology (MIT) and the Pacific Business Trust undertook research to ascertain how tertiary institutions can encourage Pacific entrepreneurship. The rich qualitative


\(^{162}\) MBIE, Pacific Business Stocktake Survey.

\(^{163}\) Cave, et al., ‘Residents’ Perceptions, Migrant Groups and Culture as an Attraction’, p.374.
results give insights valuable for understanding Pacific entrepreneurship beyond just the intended education focus. In the study, Pacific entrepreneurs identified barriers including: lack of experience, lack of understanding of systems, negative responses from Pacific community. Other research noted that language is also a barrier for some Pacific immigrant entrepreneurs. The MIT study suggested that the attributes needed for success included: experience (life, not just education); mentors and/or role models within the Pacific community; entrepreneurially focused education; positive outcomes (to provide further motivations); commitment and sacrifice; and adapting Western management systems in a Pacific way.

Within the MIT study, however, certain Pacific values were perceived as both strengths and weaknesses. Pacific participants in a study on Pacific entrepreneurship were asked to identify the weaknesses and strengths Pacific people bring into their businesses. Two of the main characteristics identified were communal values (as opposed to perceived Palagi individualism), and being caring and empathetic. One claimed that the communal element of Pacific values means that hiring other Pacific workers results in a good team and supportive work atmosphere. The Pacific way of being caring can be a strength in developing loyal clients who feel valued, but it can be a weakness if clients take advantage of that caring and do not pay bills. Barriers identified included: a lack of business knowledge and confidence, language and skills; lack of financial support; and the need for mentorship and guidance.

The literature on perceived enablers and barriers to Pacific entrepreneurship in New Zealand shows that for the most part they do not fit into neat categories of ‘good’ and ‘bad’ or ‘strengths’ and ‘weaknesses’. Perception, on the part of the entrepreneurs as well as the researchers, plays a part in how these attributes are interpreted. For this reason, the below areas are not divided into positive or negative categories for Pacific entrepreneurship, but rather listed as issues that were raised in the literature as requiring consideration.

### 6.4.1 Employing Pacific peoples

Creating job opportunities for family and community is a common consideration raised by Pacific entrepreneurs in the literature. De Vries’ study found that Pacific entrepreneurs cited creating job opportunities for family members as an important driving factor in their entrepreneurship, with one respondent stating ‘probably the main reason really is just to help family out, some of our

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166 MIT, ‘What Can Tertiary Institutions do to Encourage Pacific Entrepreneurship?’.
[extended] family didn’t have jobs'.\textsuperscript{168} This is part of the family obligations and communal focus of Pacific peoples and represents a strong link with the Pacific way of life. The desire to help provide Pacific employment seems to be effective: MBIE’s 2014 Pacific Business Stocktake found that over half the Pacific businesses they survey had a significant (between 76% and 100%) proportion of Pacific employment.\textsuperscript{169}

The most common way of recruiting employees in Pacific businesses with significant Pacific employment was through community networks and relatives.\textsuperscript{170} Statistics New Zealand identified that social networks were particularly helpful for Pacific access category migrants (from Tonga, Tuvalu and Kiribati) in finding employment (49%).\textsuperscript{171} Gaining work experience in family or community businesses has the added bonus of building capacity and confidence within the community.

Employing family can have drawbacks as well as benefits. Employing Pacific people meant fulfilling social obligations and having people with similar cultural values, and sometimes language, in the workplace. On the downside, family employees could sometimes ‘take liberties’ in a way that outside employees may not. Prescott’s research found that co-ethnic employment was common for Tongan businesses, but that this led to mixed experiences. Employing family and other Tongans enhanced the entrepreneurs’ sense of societal identity, and matched the initial motivation for many in starting the business to support family and community. But when co-ethnic employment resulted in negative experiences the intertwined nature of business and social obligation amplified the impact for the entrepreneur.\textsuperscript{172} Pacific immigrant entrepreneurs in de Vries’ study often worked with their spouse, and valued this involvement. Children sometimes worked in family businesses, but this was only where it did not interfere with educational obligations – which were prioritised for children.\textsuperscript{173}

6.4.2 Pacific values

Pacific values are shown in the literature to impact on Pacific businesses – in terms of motivations, structures, and practices. Respondents in de Vries’ study articulated that as Pacific immigrant entrepreneurs they brought a ‘Pacific flavour’ to their business through their culture, humour,

\textsuperscript{168} de Vries, ‘The Influence of Migrations’, p.113.
\textsuperscript{169} MBIE, Pacific Business Stocktake Survey.
\textsuperscript{170} MBIE, Pacific Business Stocktake Survey.
\textsuperscript{171} Statistics New Zealand, Longitudinal Immigration Survey (LisNZ), Wave 1, 2008, cited in MSD, ‘Diverse Communities’, p.65.
\textsuperscript{172} Prescott, ‘Pacific Business Sustainability in New Zealand’, p.225. This was echoed in Cocker’s findings, Cocker, ‘Opportunity Recognition, Evaluation and Exploitation in Cultural Entrepreneurship’, p.111.
humility and spirituality.\(^{174}\) Faith and family were seen as support measures for those who found business ownership stressful. De Vries posited that the collective disposition of Pacific entrepreneurs led to a low desire to achieve at an individual level and that over time family and community obligations cause a loss of business focus.\(^{175}\) Prescott sees a focus on the present as a culturally embedded trait for Tongan people and this can affect business models, with a tendency to overlook future sustainability.\(^{176}\) Pacific entrepreneurs surveyed in 2004 cited God/faith, hard work, timing and support from others as the key things that helped make their business successful.\(^{177}\)

De Vries found that his Pacific entrepreneurs focused more on their weaknesses than strengths and surmised that this could be a cultural tendency – being humble. Eight of the 11 Pacific entrepreneurs in de Vries' study saw their Pacific culture as a weakness in business – leading to casualness, pride, and social obligations. Prescott and Hooper have argued that while Tongan business entrepreneurs see a new business as a way to elevate their social status, they may be reluctant to share their vulnerabilities by putting in place external advisors, lest they lose their reputation for being a capable business owner.\(^{178}\) Some thought that because business or entrepreneurship is considered a Western concept, this could be off-putting to some Pacific people.\(^{179}\) This could be the focus on the individualist, Western model of business, taking precedence over an understanding of other models of business.

While entrepreneurship can offer many opportunities, it can sometimes sit uncomfortably with some Pacific mindsets.\(^{180}\) Seniority, for example, is highly valued in Pacific culture. Questioning an elder, or going against hierarchical protocols (often based on gender and age) could be one way this could manifest in a business setting. Research on Pacific students in educational settings, gives the example of how questioning a teacher, or asking for clarification is considered disrespectful by some Pacific students.\(^{181}\)

Pacific entrepreneurs can be critical of their own cultural values or attributes. In de Vries’ study, entrepreneurs saw Pacific peoples' casual attitudes; lack of business knowledge; low confidence;

\(^{175}\) de Vries, 'The Influence of Migrations', p.173.
\(^{177}\) MIT, ‘What Can Tertiary Institutions do to Encourage Pacific Entrepreneurship?’, pp.43–46.
\(^{179}\) de Vries, 'The Influence of Migrations', (Appendices), p.119.
\(^{181}\) For a range of different examples see MIT, ‘What Can Tertiary Institutions do to Encourage Pacific Entrepreneurship?’, p.13.
and pride getting in the way of asking for help; as weaknesses when engaging in business.¹⁸² Connell mentions a Fijian entrepreneur who purposefully went against Fijian cultural practice in his business, applying a ‘no-credit’ rule to family and friends in an effort to make the business profitable. The article noted the sentiment that kerekere (Fijian reciprocal exchange) ‘has no role in modern business’.¹⁸³

6.4.3 Family and Community

There are differences in definitions and expectations of family throughout the Pacific, though some commonalities exist. Some of these commonalities involve duty and obligation to parents and family (with some variations based on gender and birth order), and extensive and flexible understanding of family – including blood, marriage, adopted and community connections.¹⁸⁴ For Pacific entrepreneurs, family and community provide financial, emotional and cultural support. Almost every respondent interviewed by MIT about being a Pacific entrepreneur said that family members were the major source of support for their business. This support ranged from helping out without pay; to providing an example of hard work, imparting business skills; to guidance and or the advice of elders.¹⁸⁵ In MBIE’s 2004 Pacific Business Stocktake, over 60 per cent of their 79 respondents cited ‘family and community’ as where they go for business support.¹⁸⁶ Research on Tongan-based entrepreneurs found that much capital for business came from family or the social collective. This meant that respondents did not think that focusing on national policy structures for support was significant.¹⁸⁷ That said, the findings from the same research supported developing national priorities around financial packages and realistic lending criteria, as well as good governance to build local capacity and encourage entrepreneurial activity.¹⁸⁸

Prescott’s research found that the centrality of family to Tongan businesses reflected the centrality of family in Tongan culture and society. Family was the motivator for going into business: family provided assistance, capital and sometimes labour, and family provided a shared drive for the business to succeed.¹⁸⁹ De Vries’ research found that family involvement was very high for Pacific immigrant entrepreneurs – with a need to balance the benefits (e.g. trust and loyalty) with the

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¹⁸⁶ This was followed by private consultancy (c. 48%) and the Pacific Business Trust (c.38%). MBIE, Pacific Business Stocktake Survey.
¹⁸⁹ Prescott, ‘Pacific Business Sustainability in New Zealand’.
drawbacks (e.g. drain on finances and resources) to fulfil family obligations but maintain business expediency.\(^{190}\)

MIT students claimed that Pacific people who owned a business needed to help family – such as by giving free or cheap service or goods – or run the risk of being seen as greedy or \textit{fia palagi} (wanting to be European). Owning a business could make someone seem rich within a Pacific community, and that would mean even more pressure to help others, through cheap or free services, and by supplying credit but not seeking repayment. Some students felt that the situation could be solved by a barter system where family skills (e.g. marketing) could be used in exchange for free or discounted services.\(^{191}\)

Social networks are shown to be essential for many small-scale migrant businesses. Economic interactions are also social interactions, with entrepreneurs known within their neighbourhoods, reliant on the local community as customers and sometimes employees. Pacific entrepreneurs recognise ‘the importance of social networks and family to their entrepreneurial activity, as a source of emotional, labour and financial support. Generally they looked to seize niche market opportunities in their community.’\(^{192}\) A strong and unified community is one of the social obligations for Pacific entrepreneurs, so businesses often have a social element – to help Pacific economic and social development.\(^{193}\)

### 6.4.4 Youth Education

Pacific entrepreneurs cite a lack of confidence in business skills and mindset as a potential barrier to entrepreneurship, and one that can be addressed through training and education. Promoting young Pacific people to stay in formal education for longer, endorsing ongoing learning and facilitating business training and mentoring are ways entrepreneurial activity could be enhanced within New Zealand’s Pacific populations. The \textit{Auckland Plan} states ‘Pasifika people contribute to Auckland’s economic success. By 2021, 17% of Auckland’s population will be Pasifika, many of them young people, who will be major contributors to Auckland’s economy in the future. This Plan’s emphasis on putting children and young people first will support the educational achievement and value of Pasifika youth.’\(^{194}\)

Employment and educational opportunities are drivers for Pacific migration to New Zealand and Pacific parents place a high value on education for their children. In the 2008 first wave Longitudinal Immigration Survey, Pacific peoples cited job opportunities (66%) and educational opportunities (66%) as reasons for migration. In his research on immigrant entrepreneurs, de Vries interviewed 11 Pacific entrepreneurs and found that they or their immigrant parents were motivated to migrate to New Zealand for better employment opportunities.

In 2004, MIT and the Pacific Business Trust undertook research with MIT students and Pacific entrepreneurs to gain insights into the ways tertiary institutions can prepare students of Pacific descent for business entrepreneurship. The key findings were that while entrepreneurship is an individual choice, institutions could impart entrepreneurial skills and an entrepreneurial mindset. Alongside this, tertiary institutions can 'play a vital role as cultural interpreters between Pacific students and the business world'. The Auckland Plan acknowledges that to encourage Auckland's innovation development: 'It will require funding and planning frameworks for tertiary organisations to incentivise the creation of the skills and talent required by a high-skill, high-productivity innovation city.'

MIT's research argued that education can help set a platform for entrepreneurial ability: people can be taught 'to be employers rather than employees' and students should be encouraged to identify and build on the entrepreneurial skills they already have. In the context of Pacific students, this might mean encouraging students to combine their entrepreneurial skills with their valuing of a communal approach to life: to work collaboratively to develop a business. Creating an educational 'environment conducive to the learning preferences of Pacific students of different styles of learning' was advocated. Pacific entrepreneurs favoured practical experience and learning on the job over academic or theoretical learning, but still recognised the importance of formal education. Experts from Solomona and Davis' research recommended that technical and vocational education develop business knowledge and skills at primary and secondary level.
One of ATEED’s strategies to deliver on the goal of encouraging innovation and entrepreneurship in Auckland is to encourage youth entrepreneurship. The Young Enterprise Scheme (YES) together with the Ministry for Pacific Island Affairs and the Pacific Business Trust have worked to encourage Pacific peoples to participate in the YES as a way of encouraging entrepreneurial skills: ‘We believe that young Pacific people who have been a part of YES are better equipped for tertiary education and higher skilled employment including self-employment.’ It is recognised that financial barriers may restrict Pacific involvement in YES, so ‘seed funding’ is available for those teams where at least 50 per cent of the members are of Pacific ethnicity.

6.4.5 Role Models and Mentoring

Role models are seen as an important factor in promoting entrepreneurship. Although not necessarily directly giving advice on career decisions, role models can play a part in vicarious learning and emulation. Alongside ‘learning by example’, role modelling provides ‘learning by support’. Mentoring is complementary to role modelling. Governments can support minority entrepreneurs by advocating policies that encourage and strengthen ethnic community organisations, as these often involve mentoring and networking opportunities.

For Pacific entrepreneurs, family or community-based role models are seen as important. Pacific entrepreneurs have cited their own parents as role models for business values – in terms of hard working, self-sacrificing, and being motivated. They also see themselves as good role models for the Pacific community. Prescott has argued that the centrality of family within Tongan culture extends to role-modelling entrepreneurship. A family with a business background becomes an ‘incubator for entrepreneurship’. It has been shown that entrepreneurs can be encouraged to start businesses by knowing others who have done it (role modelling), identifying an opportunity, and having business skills. A cultural context that supports entrepreneurial endeavours is important, though not as crucial as personal context. Hipango and Dana have warned that although research shows role modelling is positive for encouraging entrepreneurship, particularly

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205 ‘Seed Fund for Pacific YES Companies: Application Form 2016’
http://youngenterprise.org.nz/assets/Previews/preview-YES-MPIA-Seed-Fund-application-1.pdf

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through personal connection to an entrepreneur, it is hard to quantify as the nature of those relationships is complex.\textsuperscript{211} It is also possible that if the known entrepreneur is struggling, this could have a negative effect by discouraging others to become entrepreneurs.

Role modelling can be problematic when certain ideas about success and how to achieve it are covered in a formulaic way. John O’Connell looks at how the Fiji Times covered success stories of people who had ‘made it’ and in doing so, constructed and consolidated ideas about what made someone successful and worth emulating. He calls this ‘success as a moral fable’. Some common tropes were notions of economic success and participation in a modern economy, independent individuals overcoming obstacles, using initiative, and rejecting some traditional aspects of Fijian culture in favour of ‘modern’ methods.\textsuperscript{212} O’Connell concludes that such stories ‘become discourses for others to comprehend, validate, and even replicate in their own lives’ with readers encouraged ‘to regard and develop themselves as rationally, economically independent, and active subjects’.

\textsuperscript{213} ‘In this largely neoliberal discourse, there is almost a fetish for commerce and individualism; success is primarily achieved in the private sector, where initiative and hard work (“working smart”) may be more likely rewarded.’\textsuperscript{214} Such a model may be to the detriment of recognition of other forms of social and business success.

Mentoring allows new businesses to be guided through actual needs as they arise, rather than trying to base strategies on hypothetical requirements. Mentorship can increase an entrepreneur’s confidence from before business start-up right through to once it is already underway.\textsuperscript{215} Mentoring can be seen as a culturally responsive way of providing support. Within Pacific cultures, elders often take on a role of instructing the young, either directly, or through role modelling. Metaphors to describe the mentoring process can work well for Pacific mentorship, as Pacific languages are often rich in metaphor and symbolism. Johansson-Fua, Ruru, Sanga, Walker and Ralph have written on their experience of developing culturally specific metaphors, relevant for Pacific mentoring in the Tongan and Fijian contexts. Mentors from Tonga, Fiji, New Zealand and Canada created a range of ‘mentorship metaphors’ through workshops that draw relevance from Fijian and Tongan culture. Metaphor can provide a good way of engaging people in the mentoring process – as it can engage emotion, and stimulate imagination.\textsuperscript{216} The ranges of metaphors produced all had a sense of nurturing and growth, while also drawing on Pacific cultural connections to family and

\textsuperscript{211} Hipango and Dana, ‘Culture and Entrepreneurial Efficacy’, pp.209–10.
\textsuperscript{212} Connell, ‘The Fiji Times’, p.89.
\textsuperscript{215} MIT, ‘What Can Tertiary Institutions do to Encourage Pacific Entrepreneurship?’, p.17.
\textsuperscript{216} Johansson-Fua et al., ‘Creating Mentorship Metaphors’, p.245.
nature. But also, the metaphors from Fijian contexts and Tongan contexts were different – reflecting the historic, linguistic and cultural uniqueness of each country.\textsuperscript{217}

Within New Zealand there is Pacific-focused mentoring and business support for Pacific entrepreneurs, such as the Pacific Business Trust and the Pacific Cooperation Foundation.\textsuperscript{218} The Pacific Business Trust describes its role as offering ‘a central business resource, relevant training and proactive business assistance to businesses’. The Pacific Cooperation Foundation is there to ‘maintain close coordination, collaboration and connections with the range of agencies involved in Pacific issues in Auckland.’ The underlying principle of these organisations is to provide assistance within a culturally responsive, Pacific framework.

While mentoring needs to be culturally responsive, most importantly people need to be ‘got through the door’ in order to access those resources. MBIE’s \textit{Pacific Business Stocktake} found that of the 79 businesses they surveyed, mentoring was the most common support system used; yet 40 per cent did not make use of any business support services.\textsuperscript{219}

\textbf{6.4.6 Culturally Targeted Training}

Seminal in the area of ethnic entrepreneurship, Agrawal and Chavan’s research recommends tailoring training and business opportunities for the expected outcome, as well as by ethnicity – to establish and use community connections. This way, cultural differences are framed as advantages, rather than hurdles, in business.\textsuperscript{220} Training for Pacific entrepreneurs (or would-be entrepreneurs) needs to cover issues related to all SMEs – marketing, human resources, financial planning, as these are cited as issues or areas of unfamiliarity by Pacific entrepreneurs.\textsuperscript{221} In the \textit{Pacific Business Stocktake} survey ‘marketing' was one of the areas identified for further future support.\textsuperscript{222}

Research on Pacific entrepreneurship suggests that favouring action-based tasks is common to both an ‘entrepreneurial mindset’ and a ‘Pacific mindset’.\textsuperscript{223} Tauraki and Toelei’u recommend that programmes for Pacific entrepreneurs are characterised by ‘doing’, while also addressing issues

\begin{thebibliography}{223}
\bibitem{218} \url{http://pacificbusiness.co.nz}; \url{http://pcf.org.nz}
\bibitem{219} MBIE, \textit{Pacific Business Stocktake Survey}.
\bibitem{221} MIT, ‘What Can Tertiary Institutions do to Encourage Pacific Entrepreneurship?’, pp.37–8.
\bibitem{222} MBIE, \textit{Pacific Business Stocktake Survey}.
\end{thebibliography}
such as lack of confidence, fear of failure and inadequate business knowledge, in a supportive and culturally cognisant environment designed to build self-esteem.\textsuperscript{224}

6.4.7 Financial

The issue of access to financial support is one that faces all entrepreneurs. Accessing money from financial institutions has proven difficult for Pacific entrepreneurs.\textsuperscript{225} Pacific peoples in Auckland have less access to financial capital, with the 2013 median personal income for Pacific peoples $18,900 per annum compared with $29,600 for the total Auckland population.\textsuperscript{226} There are also economic practices within Pacific communities such as remittances, gift giving, and church contributions that affect wealth accumulation.\textsuperscript{227} But while the cultural practices of gift-giving, remittances and church contributions may reduce personal net worth, these are practices that maintain social cohesion and honour cultural values. Family and community in turn provide support: the literature shows that Pacific entrepreneurs often rely on family and community for financial support for businesses.\textsuperscript{228}

6.4.8 Gender

Gender plays a part in entrepreneurial activity, as does the combination of gender, ethnicity, and migrant status. Women immigrants are internationally one of the fastest growing groups of entrepreneurs but in New Zealand only 5 per cent of employed Pacific women are ‘self-employed’, compared to 18 per cent of employed Asian women, 19 per cent of employed ‘Other’ women, 17 per cent of employed European women and 9 per cent of employed Māori women.\textsuperscript{229} Pacific women do not lack the education to enter into entrepreneurial activity: the 2013 Census shows Pacific women have higher levels of qualification proportionately than Pacific men.\textsuperscript{230}

Some gendered cultural ideas about women and work include that women should not work once they have children and that women should work but not be ambitious.\textsuperscript{231} Karin Menon looked at

\textsuperscript{225} de Vries, ‘The Influence of Migrations’, p.176.
\textsuperscript{226} Auckland Council, ‘Pacific Peoples in Auckland: Results from the 2013 Census’.
Samoan women working and living in Auckland and found that many of the women in her study felt that their work was seen as less valuable than men’s work in formal employment.\textsuperscript{232} Some of Menon’s participants undertook work in the informal sector – activities that were crucial to family economics – without the same status or recognition as formal employment. One participant in Menon’s study worked informally in the family’s business: ‘it paid for my things. I didn’t get wages, though … I wasn’t formally employed. I worked in my husband’s family and then in the family shop. I didn’t work outside the family and I felt very much taken for granted’.\textsuperscript{233}

Just as there is a deficit lens used on Pacific people in business, there can also be a deficit lens used on women entrepreneurs. In a recent study, Verheijen, Nguyen and Chin adopted a positive lens when examining women migrant entrepreneurs in New Zealand as an intentionally different way to view gender within the entrepreneurship literature. They found their seven ethnic migrant women participants ‘viewed gendered markets, linked to social networks, and leveraged their cultural value and attitudes as significant opportunities’.\textsuperscript{234}

De Vries found that Pacific women and men were entrepreneurs and there appeared to be little in terms of gendered differences. However, he did note that there was a strong generational hierarchy, with deference shown to parents and elders in some cases, particularly to the male elders.\textsuperscript{235} He also noted that Pacific women and entrepreneurship was an area that required further research.

6.5 Perceptions of Pacific business by non-Pacific

There is very little overt discussion about non-Pacific perceptions of Pacific entrepreneurs or businesses in the literature. There is some mention of entrepreneurs going into business because of experiencing few work opportunities, but again, this is not explicitly ascribed to racism or discrimination, and the lack of job opportunities could be attributed to other factors such as lower levels of education and language barriers. However, research by Cave, Ryan and Panakera into Pacific cultural tourism in New Zealand has specifically looked at mainstream attitudes towards Pacific business – in this case, a Pacific cultural centre.\textsuperscript{236} Cave et al. note that misperceptions or stereotypes of Pacific cultures and communities can affect non-Pacific interaction with Pacific businesses, which can in turn lead to a reduced client base for those businesses.

\footnotesize{\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{232} Karin Menon, ‘Sense of Identity among Samoan Migrant Women at Work and Living in Auckland, Aotearoa/New Zealand’, PhD (Psychology), Massey University, 2009.
\item \textsuperscript{233} ‘T.’ quoted in Menon, ‘Sense of Identity among Samoan Migrant Women’, pp.154–5.
\item \textsuperscript{234} Verheijen, Nguyen, and Chin, ‘The making of ethnic migrant women entrepreneurs’, p.307.
\item \textsuperscript{235} de Vries, ‘The Influence of Migrations’, p.114.
\item \textsuperscript{236} Cave, Ryan and Panakera, ‘Cultural Tourism Product’, p.436 and Cave, et al., ‘Residents’ Perceptions, Migrant Groups and Culture as an Attraction’, p.380.
\end{itemize}}
Cave et al.'s research looked at community perceptions of a proposed Pacific Island cultural and tourism centre, including perceptions of Pacific culture in general, to get a sense of whether non-Pacific communities would interact with the Centre. Respondents were asked to provide both positive and negative thoughts on the statement that 'Auckland is the world's largest Polynesian city'. Eight key themes emerged under the 'positive' aspects: a hospitable community, an artistic community, one that seeks to create understanding, one that is distinctive, one that is an emerging community, that possesses colour and energy, is an urban Pacific community and finally is one that possesses close family ties. The negative associations included: poor health and violence; low living standards; racism and segregation; taxpayer burden; under-educated; 'Island style'; and crime and unemployment. As the authors noted, presenting these negative results to the Pacific Island Advisory Board, Waitakere Inc., was 'a sobering experience'.

These non-Pacific population perceptions of Pacific communities may have some importance in identifying potential barriers and leverages for Pacific businesses in Auckland. If one goal of a Pacific business (or of the policy of promoting Pacific businesses) is to reduce the disparity between Pacific income and education, to leverage Pacific communities to close the economic disparity gap, then potential markets and client-base, and the financial viability of that business must be a consideration. It also indicates that non-Pacific perceptions of Pacific peoples need to be addressed.

7.0 Culturally Responsive Research with Pacific Peoples

The scholarship on culturally responsive research methodologies is rich. Principles such as respect, honesty, empowerment, and recognition of different worldviews are applicable to research with any group, and research into any topic. There are guidelines for research with Pacific peoples, including specific guidelines for health and education.\(^{238}\) Guidelines for research with Pacific people outline that the research must involve meaningful and reciprocal engagement, cultural sensitivity and respect, recognition of Pacific knowledge and be non-maleficent.\(^{239}\) Research into Pacific peoples must acknowledge the cultural, geographic and linguistic diversity within this group. There are also connections – cultural, intermarriage, historical – that bring Pacific peoples together. Migrant generation, age, and gender will influence differences in social perceptions. As the Health Council Guidelines state ‘The specific cultural, ethnic, and social context of the research is an important factor’ for Pacific research.\(^{240}\)

The source material for Pacific research should be derived from Pacific peoples, their worldviews, social contexts, and real-life experiences. Pacific research design, methods, and approaches will be informed, first and foremost, from within the continuum of Pacific worldviews. ‘Pacific approaches to research should be responsive to changing Pacific contexts. Pacific research should be underpinned by Pacific cultural values and beliefs, and conducted in accordance with relevant ethical standards, values, and aspirations.’\(^{241}\)

In their Pacific research protocols, the University of Otago outlined a visual expression of ‘Indicators of Pacific Relevance, Pacific Partnership and Pacific Governance’.\(^{242}\) The three indicators are on a continuum with overlap between the indicators ‘relevance and partnership’ and ‘partnership and governance’, and move from what can be seen as the minimum level of consultation and involvement, through to empowering, consultative, Pacific-centred research.


\(^{239}\) New Zealand Health Research Council, *Pacific Health Research Guidelines*.

\(^{240}\) New Zealand Health Research Council, *Pacific Health Research Guidelines*, p.3.


7.1 Pacific Methodologies

Pacific protocols guide Pacific research methodology and must ‘emerge from Pacific world views in order to keep synergy with the methodology and to protect the integrity of participants as Pacific cultural beings’.  

The protocols include:

- Respectful, humble, considerate
- Tolerant, generous, kind, helpful, calm, dignified
- Well prepared, hardworking, culturally versed, professional, responsive
- Knowing what to do and doing it well, cultured
- Showing appropriate compassion, empathy, aroha, love for the context.

These protocols are seen as having relevance across the Pacific, though the terms used for each will be different depending on which Pacific group is involved.

As Vaioleti states, ‘Research methodologies that were designed to identify issues in a dominant culture and provide solutions are not necessarily suitable in searching for solutions for Pacific peoples, whose knowledge and ways of being have unique epistemologies, as well as lived...

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244 Vaioleti, ‘Talanoa Research Methodology’.
realities here in Aotearoa.' Even when research strives to be meaningful for its participants, if the agenda is already set by the researcher, or the analysis of the results involves some unrecognised cultural assumptions, value judgements or misinterpretations, then the relevance of that research diminishes for the participants. Consultation is also an important aspect in the guidelines – recognising that consultation should start at the beginning (with research design) right through until the research dissemination.

Methods used in data collection, analysis and reporting need to ‘accurately reflect the cultural values and meanings of the research participants and of the community being researched’. For Solomona and Davis this includes ‘collaboration, honesty and the empowerment of all stakeholders’ as a cornerstone of the research and, where appropriate, the use of Pacific methodologies to ‘reciprocate the findings of this project back to the researched community and its people’.

The literature on Pacific entrepreneurship in New Zealand relies on relatively small numbers of participants, and as such there are issues with a statistical approach. Prescott is critical of research into Pacific businesses as ‘superficial and scant’ – an issue he identifies right back to research design and method. Prescott advises the use of qualitative research methods, including talanoa, in order to gain meaningful data.

**Talanoa** is the most commonly cited Pacific methodological approach in the literature and is a preferred method of communication because it ‘captures the traditions and protocols of the Pacific Islands’. **Talanoa** means ‘conversation’ or sharing ideas, and is a term shared across the South Pacific – including by Tongans, Samoans and Fijians. It is a research tool, not a framework. It is not an interview but rather a process of equal exchange. **Talanoa** requires trust and

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245 Vaioleti, ‘Talanoa Research Methodology’.


250 Prescott, ‘Pacific Business Sustainability in New Zealand’, p.211. Cocker also notes this as a limitation of her own study, Cocker, ‘Opportunity Recognition, Evaluation and Exploitation in Cultural Entrepreneurship’, p.113.


connectedness, as the participant is expressing their knowledge and ideas with the researcher, not to them – *talanoa* is not a one-way conversation but a process of exchange where both parties are there to learn and contribute.\(^{254}\) *Talanoa* invites the participant to ‘express their conceptualisation in accordance with their beliefs and experiences’.\(^{255}\) *Talanoa* requires deep listening (*fanongo*) and is guided by the principles of *faka‘apa‘apa* (respect), *loto fakatokilalo* (humility), *fe‘ofa‘aki* (love and compassion), and *feveitokai* (caring, generosity).\(^{256}\) These are Pacific cultural values that guide the research. *Talanoa* needs to be voluntary, so those involved are open to building the relationship and are respectful of each other’s position.\(^{257}\) There is more chance that Pacific peoples will *talanoa* with a researcher that is known to them or someone they know, or who at least they feel will understand their culture, opinions, and differences.\(^{258}\)

Recognising the different ways of expression is an important consideration in research with Pacific communities. Metaphor, for example, is a common form of expression in Pacific languages, which are rich in imagery and symbolism. Prescott says this abstract language encourages people who may be uneasy about speaking directly about personal experiences, to speak to an issue through the distancing language of metaphor, symbolism or imagery.\(^{259}\) *Talanoa* sessions may also occur in two languages – the Pacific language and English, so the researchers’ knowledge of that culture should ideally extend to fluency in the language of the participants as well. As Prescott asserts, the *talanoa* in his research into Tongan entrepreneurs in New Zealand moved between Tongan and English that allowed for a richness of discussion.\(^{260}\)

Engaging Pacific peoples in research requires good ethical research practice including: respect for cultural differences; importance of ongoing and respectful relationships; openness and honesty about research processes, agendas, and outcomes; practical benefits directly or indirectly for those involved; and sharing of research findings with participants. When engaging a *talanoa* method, these aspects need to be considered. *Talanoa* operates without a set agenda or time frame. When used in research, some parameters must be provided for the *talanoa* sessions, and disclosure of the research agenda in this way is ethically important. Pacific peoples have been subjects of research in the past without full disclosure of the research, knowledge of the findings, or any

\(^{256}\) Johannson Fua, ‘Kakala Research Framework’.
\(^{258}\) Prescott, ‘Using Talanoa’, p.140.
practical benefits for their involvement.\textsuperscript{261} This sort of exploitative research must be avoided through respectful, open and honest research practices. By allowing the participants to jointly control what is raised and discussed in the \textit{talanoa}, there is less chance of participants feeling they will be judged by a set of criteria with which they do not identify.\textsuperscript{262}

Research on SMEs has relied heavily on surveys and face-to-face interviews as a way of data gathering. Although not a study of Pacific methodologies, Newby, Watson and Woodliff’s research on focus groups for entrepreneurial research aligns with the Pacific \textit{fono} as a way of interacting, engaging and information gathering. Newby et al. argue for the inclusion of focus groups as a way of gathering better qualitative material: surveys can make evidence on process hard to gather (because of the tendency towards closed questions) and face-to-face interviews can result in ‘expected’ answers.\textsuperscript{263} They also note that questions should be framed by the goals and objectives of the SME owners themselves – so that their success is measured by what they wanted to achieve. Otherwise external measures might be imposed.\textsuperscript{264} This matches with a culturally responsive approach to research.

Some Pacific researchers advocate for a combination of Western and Pacific methodologies. Pacific researchers Solomona and Vaioleti both think such a co-constructed, ‘layered’ approach to methodologies is the best for research with Pacific peoples.\textsuperscript{265} Whatever approach is used there needs to be flexibility to recognise the diversity of cultural expression, values, language and knowledge within the group termed ‘Pacific’. The experience of being Pacific depends on various factors including ethnicity, class, upbringing, migrant generation, age and gender.

Researchers should be sensitive to different levels of identification, knowledge and interaction with Pacific culture from different Pacific participants. Some Pacific peoples in New Zealand feel a dual identity of Pacific and New Zealander and inhabit their Pacific identity differently to Pacific-born migrants. For example, Cocker found that her second-generation Tongan respondents were more likely to use the term ‘Pacific’ to describe themselves, often interchangeably with the term ‘Tongan’, whereas the first generation migrants used the term ‘Tongan’.\textsuperscript{266} Some will not feel comfortable or have knowledge of Pacific language or protocols. Participants need to feel comfortable with the methodological approach taken.

No culture is static and cultural practices are adapted and take on different significance in different

\textsuperscript{261} Prescott, ‘Using Talanoa’, p.137.
\textsuperscript{262} Prescott, ‘Using Talanoa’, p.139.
\textsuperscript{264} Newby, Watson and Woodliff, ‘Using Focus Groups in SME Research’, p.238.
\textsuperscript{265} Solomona, ‘Samoan Entrepreneurship’; Vaioleti, ‘Talanoa Research Methodology’.
contexts. Some Pacific commentators have promoted the idea of a Pacific worldview as one that can take on new influences – for example incorporating the use of technology. One research project adapted the oral and visual strengths of Pacific culture to a modern methodology – participatory video. The researchers wanted to explore the notion of visual dialogue as an enabler of social and economic change within the context of a Pacific women’s entrepreneurial group: the Pacifica Mamas. The research had a gendered component – trying to understand whether participatory video could be used as a method to empower Pacific women entrepreneurs to enact social change. The research concluded that the video component allowed for meaningful discussion and removed some barriers associated with language, literacy, culture and status. By using this methodology the participants were empowered, they built skills, and there was the practical outcome of marketing to help the ‘mamapreneurs’.

The Kakala Research Framework (KRF) is a framework for the whole research process. It uses the metaphor of Tongan garland making to express the guiding principles, their cultural value, and their interconnectedness. It draws on Tongan valued contexts of thinking and forefronts Tongan methodologies including talanoa and nofo. The KRF involves six key components: teu, toli, tui, luva, malie and mafana. Teu means to prepare and involves questioning definition and conceptualisations. Toli means to pick a flower, and refers to the data collection stage. Tui refers to the analysis stage – looking for patterns in the data – and comes from the collaborative and negotiated process of creating patterns with flowers in the garland. Luva means from the heart and refers to the research stage of gifting the information back to the people, ensuring that the reporting and dissemination privileges a Pacific voice. Malie is an audience’s appreciation and indicates the shared understanding between audience and performer. In the research context this process is ongoing and means evaluating the research for its usefulness, asking if it is meaningful and has relevance for Pacific peoples. Finally, Mafana means heartfelt and refers to the drawing in of a person to the process. An example of mafana is when an audience member is moved to join in with a performance. In the research this is the stage of transformation – for the researcher and the participant – when new solutions or understandings are developed. One of the key principles in KRF is ensuring the research undertaken has positive application and makes a difference.

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267 Huffer and Qalo, ‘Have we Been Thinking Upside Down?’, pp.99–100.
269 For more on the KRF see Johannson Fua, ‘Kakala Research Framework’, pp.50–60.
7.1.1 Applied outcomes

As the *Pacific Health Research Guidelines* state, ‘The primary role of Pacific research is to generate knowledge and understanding both about, and for, Pacific peoples.’\(^{270}\) This means research on and with Pacific peoples should aim to gain and enhance knowledge and understanding that will improve outcomes for Pacific peoples. It also can work to build capacity within Pacific communities – through empowerment, involvement and dissemination of information.

Pacific peoples are concentrated in the Southern Initiative area of Auckland (52%), making that a valuable starting point for research on Pacific businesses.\(^{271}\) The purpose of the Southern Initiative, one of two Auckland Council place-based initiatives, ‘is to plan and deliver a long-term programme of investment and actions to bring about transformational social, economic, and physical change. The Southern Initiative is an opportunity to improve the quality of life and well-being of local residents dramatically, reduce growing disparities, and increase business investment and employment opportunities, for the benefit of all of Auckland and New Zealand’.\(^{272}\) Approaching Pacific entrepreneurship research using Pacific methodologies and frameworks may assist with engagement and locate the research within the communities it serves. Focusing on the Southern Initiative is one way to make the research on Pacific entrepreneurship meaningful and applied.


\(^{271}\) Auckland Council, ‘Exploring Pacific Economies’.

8.0 Gaps in the Literature

There are some gaps in the literature on Pacific entrepreneurship in New Zealand. Most studies use very small numbers of participants, which prevents meaningful quantitative analysis. Studies using larger numbers of entrepreneurs could help address this gap. Alongside this quantitative analysis is the need for more qualitative research, particularly using Pacific methodologies, such as *talanoa*. The more stories that are told helps build not only a sense of emerging themes, but also a recognition of the many and diverse experiences of Pacific entrepreneurship. Women entrepreneurs in general, and Pacific women and entrepreneurship specifically, are gaps in the literature, including an examination of women-based enterprises.

As there are so few people working in the area of Pacific entrepreneurship in New Zealand, their specialities come to dominate the literature. This has led to a dominance of research on Tongan entrepreneurship over any other Pacific ethnic group. Other literature has noted that in New Zealand Tongan and Samoan ethnic-specific research dominates in part due to these being the two biggest groups of Pacific peoples in New Zealand. There are also critiques about research that takes a pan-Pacific approach. Tracie Mafile’o also argues for the importance of ethnic specific research – to break down assumptions about a ‘one-size-fits-all’ approach to Pacific peoples. So there are gaps for research that considers Pacific peoples as a heterogeneous group, considers the differences and commonalities between the different Pacific ethnicities, and covers a wider range than just Samoan and Tongan ethnicities.

A range of studies have highlighted that Pacific entrepreneurs perceive that business and cultural values are sometimes at odds and can act as barriers to success. Research investigating compromise between cultural and business mindsets and the effects of these perceived incongruences on entrepreneurs’ decisions and performance could be elucidating. There is also a recognised a gap in research looking at how Pacific and Western economies meld within a New Zealand context – given the dominance of second and third generation New Zealand-born Pacific peoples in Aotearoa. This ‘two world’ or dual culture impacts worldview, practice, and can inform a

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methodological approach – where a mix of Western and Pacific methodologies might be most appropriate.\textsuperscript{277}

Auckland Council’s research on ethnic precincts pointed out that the New Zealand literature did not emphasise the distinctions between transnational and ethnic entrepreneurs. Further research on this could ‘provide insight into the kinds of capital immigrants rely on, the extent of their agency in setting up and running their businesses, and the forms and extent of transnational ties’.\textsuperscript{278}

Transmigrants are those who create and sustain links (cultural, linguistic, physical) with both their country of origin and their country of residence, and the research shows that they are more likely to be entrepreneurs and have business success.\textsuperscript{279} Pacific peoples in New Zealand retain and sustain links with their country of origin, but are not labelled as ‘transmigrants’ in the literature, and are shown to not engage in large numbers with international economic networks. However, there is evidence that Pacific entrepreneurs in New Zealand expect that they will expand their business or invest in business in their Pacific (ancestral) homeland. Further research into Pacific entrepreneurs’ relationship to ethnic and transnational entrepreneurial patterns would be insightful.

Research into Pacific entrepreneurs in New Zealand revealed that there may be some negative perceptions about Pacific peoples or Pacific businesses by non-Pacific peoples in Auckland. There are also some negative perceptions by Pacific entrepreneurs of some Pacific values identified in the literature. Research into the perceptions, by both Pacific peoples and non-Pacific peoples, of Pacific business and entrepreneurship may identify important areas for change or focus for policy and education.

\textsuperscript{277} Solomona, ‘Samoan Entrepreneurship’; Vaioleti, ‘Talanoa Research Methodology’.
\textsuperscript{278} Meares et al., ‘Ethnic precincts in Auckland’, p.28.
9.0 Conclusion

Promoting Pacific entrepreneurship is one way of contributing to Auckland’s economic development and innovation, while simultaneously raising economic opportunities for Pacific peoples. Uncovering the drivers and motivations behind Pacific entrepreneurship will help public and private organisations target their support and further reveal how informal support structures contribute in this area. The literature shows that different stages in the ‘life’ of a business require diverse support measures and will achieve a range of outcomes (e.g. enable a business to start, or encourage business longevity), and that while support measures (e.g. financial or mentorship) exist, they are not always accessed. This indicates that better dialogue between the providers and the users may be needed, along with marketing and education of the support available. Research into Pacific entrepreneurs will create an evidence-base from which to inform future decision-making in these areas.

Encouraging Pacific entrepreneurship involves recognising, celebrating, and promoting Pacific frameworks and worldviews – in economic, educational and social systems. Supporting Pacific systems in business will help promote Pacific entrepreneurship within a Pacific framework. Different Pacific cultures have different worldviews, values and needs, and this diversity within Pacific cultures needs to be acknowledged, and policies and actions tailored accordingly. The literature proposes addressing educational attainment as well as encouraging cultural responsiveness in educational structures and content (at all levels) including promoting entrepreneurial skills amongst Pacific youth.

Research on Pacific entrepreneurship needs to be undertaken in a culturally responsive way, with recognition of Pacific values and worldviews. The literature advocates using Pacific methodologies to undertake research into Pacific peoples. Pacific methodologies enhance the opportunities for Pacific peoples’ voices to be heard. This can help with developing action-based policy that is responsive to the needs as determined by the communities they serve to support. The literature indicates that understanding the issues relating to business and entrepreneurship from Pacific perspectives, undertaking research using Pacific methodologies, and learning from Pacific peoples’ experiences will help develop strategies that are relevant. In turn these targeted policies will allow the strengths of Pacific communities to be leveraged so they can participate in a stronger and economically prosperous, diverse Auckland economy.

There are differences between Pacific groups, ethnically, but also in terms of migrant generation, age, and gender. While there is some preference for ethnic-specific, rather than pan-Pacific research, the pan-Pacific research that is done needs to recognise the differences within and between different Pacific groups and that their needs might be divergent. Such divergences
between Pacific groups might be felt differently dependent on whether that person is a migrant or New Zealand born, whether they live in rural or urban New Zealand, how they self-identify and the nature of their cultural ties. A sense of cultural pluralism has been noted within second and third generation Pacific people who identify with a broader ‘Pacific’ community in New Zealand, rather than an ethnic-specific community.280

Encouraging Pacific entrepreneurship is connected to the vision of social and economic equity across Auckland. This is underpinned by recognition that Māori and Pacific peoples are currently under-represented in positive social and economic indicators, and that action is needed to ensure Māori and Pacific peoples share in Auckland’s economic growth. Research and policies can draw from ideas found within the Māori entrepreneurship literature, such as Dawson’s Framework for Māori Entrepreneurship, and adapt them to fit or provide contrast to Pacific entrepreneurship. Rather than encouraging Pacific peoples to adhere to Pākehā or Western business models, being frustrated at the lack of Pacific business (which is deficit theorising), or seeing the responsibility for this as located with the person or their community, support and recognition could come through critically appraising the deficits of the mainstream system and working to create a culturally responsive system that empowers Pacific entrepreneurs.

10.0 Reference List


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