

FRAMING THE MĀORI ECONOMY

The complex business of Māori business

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Abstract

The realisation of the developmental aspirations of Indigenous communities requires a reframing of economy and economic representation. The “diverse economies” framework provides a platform from which to counter the dominant Western narrative surrounding notions of economy, and bring to the fore forms of enterprise and practices all too often “hidden” or viewed as alternative, and therefore deemed inferior. This paper explores the notion of economy and economic activity through the lens of diverse economies to best represent the complex and multidimensional nature of Māori small and medium-sized enterprises—pakihi Māori. We propose that the diverse economies framework will enable a deeper understanding of the Māori economy in its many distinctive forms and more accurately represent the rich diversity of Māori enterprise that has evolved therein. The current literature provides a platform for case study research currently being undertaken that aims to show the diversity that is missing within current economic representations of the Māori economy. The literature will form the basis for developing the theory and expand thinking in relation to notions of economy. By reframing the way in which the Māori economy is considered, our aim is to offer insight into the key drivers, characteristics and values that are foundational to the creation of resilient Māori organisations, modes of economy and strong communities, today and in the future.

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Introduction

Recent years have seen significant discussion on the merit of the Māori economy, based on the potential of an economy estimated at NZ\$50 billion (Chapman Tripp, 2017). Therefore, the notion of a Māori economy has a growing profile in relation to the New Zealand and global economy and is testament to a strong Māori economic base built on the distinctive forms of organisation that pre-existed colonisation and those that subsequently emerged. The transformative potential of the Māori economy for our Māori communities and the New Zealand economy in general is not in question. However, the modern Māori economy is a dynamic, deep-rooted, complex and ever-evolving space, incorporating inter-generational wealth, maintenance of cultural identity and the well-being of iwi, hapū and whānau (Barr & Reid, 2014; Cram, 2014; Eketone, 2013; Reihana, Sisley, & Modlik, 2007). We propose that while the label “Māori economy” is useful to highlight the increasing contribution of Māori to New Zealand’s overall economy, this well-established term masks the true diversity and complexity of what constitutes the way Māori participate in and make sense of economic activity. To date, the Māori economy is articulated in a way that conforms to the dominant Western/capitalist rational economic model, which is not reflective of the socio-economic realities that Māori live and experience, and is in fact a multiplicity of economies.

Our thinking takes a relational approach to economic activity from which we “reframe” the Māori economy as an evolving process rather than fixed taxonomic categories contained within a Western-dominated narrative of “the economy”. This prompts new ways of

understanding the notion of economy and the broader socio-cultural field in which economic activities are considered. Therefore, we argue for an alternative way of thinking about the Māori economy that “makes sense” to Māori, prompting broader meaning and interpretation of the forms of economy and enterprise of Māori communities that maintain consistency of mātauranga and tikanga. To do so, we need diverse socio-economic models and frameworks that are capable of responding to the distinctive aspirational expectations of Māori communities and organisations (Bargh, 2011), that is, a notion of economy that “fits” with forms of social organisation that are derived from context-specific socio-historical culturally constituted frameworks (Gibson-Graham, 2006).

Whai Rawa: Research for the Māori Economy, an ongoing Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga programme of research specifically related to the diverse economies of Māori small to medium-sized enterprises (SMEs), both acknowledges and describes the diverse modes of Māori economies that are grounded in conceptions of identity, landscape and socio-historical experiences and exist today in the modern world. This perspective contributes to the significant scholarly work that has produced alternative ways of conceptualising the notion of market and economy using both social and cultural constructs (Fiske, 1991; Granovetter, 2005; Polanyi, Arensburg, & Pearson, 1957/1971). Economic activity, therefore, is affected by different social systems, in their varying values and norms, inclusive of variables such as kinship, traditional knowledge, religious and governmental institutions, and Whai Rawa recognises that different types of economic activity occur not only in different historical times and in different societies but also very much within the same society (Biggart & Delbridge, 2004; Fiske,

1991). One of the most influential discourses on diverse economies has emanated from the domain of geography and been developed by Gibson-Graham (2006, 2008). The discourse suggests that diverse economies are politics of collective action that involve conscious and combined efforts to build a new economic reality—one that captures the intricate exchange of socio-economic logics, such as market and non-market, paid and non-paid work, capitalist and alternative or non-capitalist (Gibson-Graham, 2006), that are not mutually exclusive and traverse our socio-economic institutions, that is, a dynamic construction of economy that is inclusive of esoteric values beyond monetary value, such as morality and equality (Biggart & Delbridge, 2004; Yang, 1989).

In terms of Māori economic development, we contend that the notion of diverse economies implies the co-presence of variegated capitalist or non-capitalist enterprise that necessitates deeper understanding of the role Māori organisations have as critical constituents of the Māori economy. More recently, a shift to research focusing on Māori SMEs has provided a more nuanced perspective of the specific characteristics and environmental dynamics that characterise Māori business (ANZ Bank, 2015; Bargh, 2011; Reihana et al., 2007; Statistics New Zealand, 2016; Te Puni Kōkiri, 2014). Juxtaposed with this shift is the need to more fully understand the social, cultural and moral imperatives of a Māori economy whereby points of difference (e.g., value systems and traditional knowledge) are acknowledged and utilised. Therefore, this article explores the diverse economies literature to support a research agenda to understand more deeply how the modes of economy connected to specific communities, landscapes and people can enhance the potential and distinctiveness of Māori enterprise.

This article, then, does some key things. It argues that the traditional (neoclassical capitalist) definition and discourse of Māori economy and enterprise is problematic, primarily because

it contradicts the heterogeneity of how Māori think about themselves, their modes of social organisation, the resources available to them, how they see themselves connected to those resources and therefore how they use those resources. It explores the notion of economy and economics through the lens of “diverse economies” to enable a deeper and more complex understanding of the multidimensional nature of Māori economies, the many distinctive forms of Māori organisation and how they contribute to the local and collective economy. Reframing the thinking and discourse surrounding the Māori economy brings the focus on economic difference back to where collective actions help transform livelihoods by enhancing well-being, community and environmental sustainability, building economic interdependence and adopting an ethic of care of the other (Gibson-Graham, 2016; Gibson-Graham & Cameron, 2007). In this we move beyond the issue of representing economic identity to that of representing economic dynamics. We conclude with a series of research questions that provide the focus of case study research that contributes to Whai Rawa.

Deconstructing narrative on the Māori economy

In its broadest sense, “the economy” can be understood as the complex set of activities, or social relations, concerned with the production, distribution and consumption of goods and services (Altman, 2009) operating at various scales: from the global to the national, regional and local community. A given economy incorporates political and legal systems, geographic and demographic factors, history, culture, values, technology and ecology—factors that give context, content and a set of conditions in which an economy functions. Accordingly, we might deem this the “real” or “rational” perspective of the notion of economy. In mainstream discourse, the economy is understood as essentially

capitalist, one in which the economic subject is situated as either wage worker or capitalist entrepreneur. Within this space, capitalism is the “norm” and non-capitalist economic relations are understood with respect to capitalism as the same as, complements to, opposites of or contained within capitalism. Popular understandings of economy accept the prevailing idea that capitalist enterprises, market transactions and wage labour delimit a “real” economy. These forms of organisation, exchange and labour are assumed to be universal and easy to measure (McKay, 2009). In traditional approaches to economic development, social, cultural and environmental obligations are viewed as friction, as cost, as something to be controlled, mitigated or eliminated.

In terms of government reporting in New Zealand, the Māori economy is represented as an abstract notion founded on statistics that aggregate out context and meaning, and draw from a narrow, Western conception of what constitutes an economy and therefore a business, thus inadequately characterising the multifarious ways in which Māori are engaged in economic activity, particularly the richness and diversity of those small enterprises operating at a regional level. Reports such as *Tatauranga Umanga Māori 2016* (Statistics New Zealand, 2016) focus on capturing information about collectively managed assets of Māori authorities and SMEs. This is problematic because it suggests the parameters of the SME are distinct, objective and recognisable categories, while failing to consider a politics of alterity in which “alternative capitalist” forms of enterprise are uncovered. While such reporting is an important indicator of Māori economic development, it fails to capture the subjectivity and, indeed, complexity of its various components, including the many Māori forms of organisation and activity.

Such views exclude what sustains the economic “reality” of the majority of the world’s inhabitants: their daily lives, practices, institutions and relations. Although many people’s lives

engage with capitalist firms and formal markets, their lives are also shaped by non-capitalist organisational forms such as gifts, reciprocal exchanges, barter and “hidden” forms of economic practice. For economic aspirations to be successful for whānau, hapū and iwi, an emphasis is required on Māori knowledge frameworks, which are essential to effective understanding (Firth, 1959) of the economy, and consequently movement towards achieving social and cultural well-being. Incorporating mātauranga Māori into the economic landscape presents opportunities for Māori to “work out their own economic adjustment with reference to all kinds of social considerations” (Firth, 1959, p. 58).

The representation of the economy as a singular, hegemonic and all-encompassing yet abstract entity reduces the economy to mere monetary values, stifling possible alternative, diverging or parallel economies. Therefore, research on Māori forms of organisation becomes an important space of resistance against dominant discourse around notions of Māori economy that are too narrow and unresponsive to the complex collective reality within which Māori businesses operate. Bargh (2011) has criticised dominant discourses of Māori entrepreneurialism, which is implicitly understood as still being at a less advanced position on the continuum—a position that could be modified by embracing more “modern” (Western) attributes. We propose in this article, along the lines of Peredo and McLean (2013), that research and practice must rise above the concept of economy and enterprise grounded in narrow economic and cultural assumptions. The result is approaching the Māori economy as a system that serves the people, rather than people serving the economy, providing for a creative and organic interdependence among the economy, communities and peoples (Max-Neef, 1995, 2005).

The diverse economy approach

The many different forms of economy have long been recognised in sociology and anthropology (Fiske, 1991; Mauss, 1970). In addition, through economic sociology and, more recently, within the domain of organisation and business studies, there has been recognition that qualitatively distinct types of socially organised exchange exist that support substantively different orientations to economic action and, hence, culturally different trading areas (Biggart & Delbridge, 2004; Max-Neef, 1992), thus lending support to the growing movement for economic alternatives and the possibility of “other economies” and “other worlds” (Peredo & McLean, 2013). Within the scope of this paper, we also recognise that there are many economic systems (e.g., market, mixed, traditional, gift, barter and participatory) represented in an expansive literature pertaining to diverse economies and alternative, hybrid or hidden economic spaces (Table 1). We concur and consider that most people engage in economies in various ways—a notion that invokes a consciousness of the varied local economies occurring in our world today and that we need to think about these economies as part of the spectrum of economic models.

Potentially, “hidden”, “alternative” and “informal” types of economy have more impact on social well-being than capitalism does, yet their status as marginal persists. Such economies are seldom seen as drivers of change, yet make up and account for more hours worked and more value produced than the capitalist sector. That said, there is a need to be sure that highlighting hidden aspects of the economy does not disadvantage people. For example, kin-based home care can impede access to government help, and as a consequence, caring is disincentivised. Exploring economic diversity opens up a space in which relational economic personhood could be recognised as an asset, delimiting popular conceptions of what counts as the “real” economy (McKay, 2009). Here,

assets of the community include networks of interaction between people that contribute to community resiliency, identity and well-being. Moreover, an organising framework of diverse economies is adaptable to new narratives—allowing others to tell their stories in the face of master narratives that suppress, deny and devalue their reality (Delgado, 1989). Thus, counter-stories subvert dominant conceptions of the economy, highlight possibilities, alternatives and the importance of hope, and give strength to enact new realities and confirm identities, thus highlighting that there are many organisational forms and activities that are operating outside of dominant capitalist structures, forming the basis of the diverse economy.

Contingency, rather than determinism, underpins the concept of diverse economy in its objective to imagine new economic subjects, new visions of economic transformation and collective actions to realise them (Jonas, 2013; Roelvink, St Martin, & Gibson-Graham, 2015). Following the thinking of scholars like Gibson-Graham, we endeavour to think of “economy” not as a unified system or a dominant domain of being but as diverse processes and interrelations through which we constitute livelihoods. From this standpoint, we recognise the economy as a historical, discursive production rather than an objective ontological category (Callon, 2007; Mitchell, 1998, 2008). Thus, it challenges hegemonic visions of normative capitalist development and opens up the possibility for alternative localised development pathways that increase Indigenous well-being. Diverse economies are populated by all sorts of subjects; thus, we must acknowledge and incorporate within our thinking diverse economic subjectivity (and, by association, its activities). In the diverse economy, a range of market and non-market transactions are enacted, various kinds of labour are deployed, and different processes of production and distribution coexist (Gibson-Graham, 2006, p. 54).

As a way of reframing the Māori economy, a diverse economy strategy integrates economic

practices that are largely ignored by mainstream economic thinking and rarely incorporated in representations of what constitutes a functioning economy (Gibson-Graham, 2014, p. 149). Such a strategy paves the way for recognising previously unexplored approaches to enterprise and economy (Max-Neef, 1992; Peredo & McLean, 2013) that produce goods, services, values and care that are crucial contributors to material well-being (e.g., trust, stewardship, sharing, reciprocity, cooperation, collective agreement, equity, spiritual connection, and environmental and social justice). We suggest that a “diverse economies” approach enables non-market-oriented ethics to contribute to the broader picture of “the economy”. Moreover, it makes available a language and organising framework that is capable of describing the socio-economic realities that Māori live and experience, whereby economic theory and practice are translated into a setting where “the forms of exchange as well as the parties to the exchange and the kinds of value are more broadly understood” (Peredo & McLean, 2013, p. 611) and connected to everyday life and practices. This underrecognised perspective is an important distinction driving this Whai Rawa research project in which we locate the notion of Māori economy as being one of many diverse economies, but also as being constituted by multiple modes of economy.

[Re]Framing the Māori economy

By shifting our emphasis towards an idea that views economy as ecology (or an ecosystem of collective action) in which human behaviour and activities are integrated “coordinates” of a complex flow of ethical and energetic interdependencies (Bargh, 2012), we expand upon this way of thinking about the Māori economy. Starting from this premise, we contend that diverse processes of human livelihood, rather than being bounded and marginalised from the dominant discourse of economy, are

reconceptualised as synergies that build collective power. The “collective” in this context is a broad and distributed notion of collective action that rests on a reworking of familiar understandings of both agency and collectivity. If Māori are to enact new economies, “the economy” needs to be imagined differently (Gibson-Graham, 2006) to dislodge the discursive dominance of capitalism in favour of a more generative and expansive politics of non-capitalist construction. In this, we bypass and negate the trap of capitalist thinking towards one of critical reformulation that shows that a diverse economies approach (re)engages mātauranga Māori and paves the way for research into the multidimensional nature of Māori modes of economy and the forms of organisation that have evolved therein.

The power of reframing the Māori economy is embodied by the processes of social and political transformation (Gibson-Graham, Cameron, & Healy, 2013) that are necessary preconditions. The language of diverse economy is deemed both exploratory and explanatory in widening the identity of the economy to include all those practices excluded or marginalised by the strong theory of capitalism (Bargh, 2011; Gibson-Graham, 2006; Gibson, Cahill, & McKay, 2015). As a theoretical tool, the salience of diverse economies lies in its disruptive capacity of cultural systems and discourses, which celebrates the diverse through heterogeneity, multiplicity and difference. In this article, the transformative potential of a diverse economies framework is seen through the possibilities and opportunities in considering a more holistic understanding of the Māori economy. We argue that this diverse perspective is critical in any research aimed at better understanding Māori businesses today as Māori forms of organisation operate in a diverse landscape, and do not fit neatly into any one logic or rationality.

The utility of a diverse economies framework is well established in Māori scholarship, enabling us to envision the Māori economy as complex, multi-layered and contextual (Bargh,

2011, 2012; Bargh, Douglas, & Te One, 2014). This is already evident in writings on what a Māori economy might look like (Henare & Yarwood, 2015; Spiller, Erakovic, Henare, & Pio, 2011), the ways in which Māori values are present in the business world (Best & Love, 2010; Haar & Delaney, 2009; Warriner, 2007) and how business models can better reflect Māori aspirations and culture (Prendergast-Tarena, 2015; Spiller & Stockdale, 2013). In taking a broader perspective, more attention is afforded to enterprises that focus less on “pure” economic activity and more on community well-being through resource-based economies like food gathering, subsistence fishing and harvesting (Dana & Hipango, 2011; Poe, Levin, Tolimieri, & Norman, 2015), and food sovereignty (Moeke-Pickering, Heitia, Heitia, Karapu, & Cote-Meek, 2015; Shirley, 2013). For example, Hutchings (2016) explores “bringing Māori food politics to the table” through Hua Parakore—a Kaupapa Māori educational programme that aims to connect people with their bodies, the earth and food in an effort to create Māori food sovereignty and food security. The Hua Parakore approach encompasses local cultural food practices and knowledge that connect to landscapes—a key part of cultural, mental and physical well-being.

Reframing a contemporary understanding of the Māori economy is more about returning to our traditional perspectives of social and economic activities. Indigenous modes of economy are rooted in localised concepts of wealth, accumulation and distribution characterised by conscious articulation and practice of Indigenous cultural values, such as stewardship of nature and contribution to community (Bunten, 2011). Characteristics of Indigenous economy are a philosophical space driving economic activity that is associated with the respective Indigenous worldview (which therefore informs the central cultural values, sustains customary social relationships, defines identities, and shapes personal and cultural well-being); and an approach that values “accumulation

of sharing” (equitable distribution of wealth among the community) (Kuokkanen, 2011). A diverse economies framework acknowledges that many of the goods and services we rely on are obtained via exchanges in alternative or non-market transactions, among them local exchange trading schemes, barter, household flows, gift-giving and Indigenous exchange. That being so, recognition of the importance of unpaid and alternatively paid transactions (e.g., reciprocal labour, in kind, family care, self-provisioning) and their value to cultural well-being highlights the need for a transformative ontology of economic difference. Such acknowledgement aims to empower those distant others rendered invisible within the capitalist hegemony (Gibson-Graham, 2006).

Exploring the diverse economies of Māori SMEs

The diverse economies perspective provides a framework for exploring how Māori economic, social and environment developmental aspirations are linked to Māori identity, connection to landscape and worldview. Our research seeks to reflect the diversity and complexity of Māori enterprise whereby the dynamics of Māori values and culture overlap with market values and culture in a way that disrupts the capitalist/non-capitalist binary in favour of the Māori economy as “a complex array of intersecting and diverging co-ordinates” (Bargh, 2011, p. 65). Therefore, this review of the diverse economies literature provides a framework for analysing the complexity of Māori modes of economy and enterprise, which forms part of a research theme in the broader research programme of Whai Rawa.

In this research, our focus is on the many forms of non-tribal small Māori businesses operating successfully in the Māori economy, ranging from small and local, cutting-edge innovation and growth, and new start-up, to those with a long history of operation. These

TABLE 1 Diverse economic models

Ways of construing “other economies” and “other worlds”		
Diverse economic models	Description	Reference
Hybrid	This anthropological model incorporates three sectors—the market, the state and the customary—that all overlap. It encompasses different forms of work, from individual to group, and accommodates the lived reality of the rapid sectoral movement of economic actors.	(Altman, 2009; Curchin, 2016; Haigh & Hoffman, 2012; Thomassin, 2015; Vira & James, 2011)
Ethnic	Includes spatial, economic and social aspects of migrant communities comprised of the self-employed, employers and co-ethnic employees of the group.	(Knight, 2015)
Informal	Work that is “not formal”, such as unpaid domestic work, unpaid community and voluntary work, and undeclared work, commonly conducted by household members by and for the extended family, social or neighbourhood networks and voluntary and community groups.	(Williams, 2011)
Alternative	Inspired by reframing and mapping diverse economies of being-in-common, which are bestowed with values, such as cooperation, altruism, generosity, mutuality, solidarity, and lead to collective actions, such as alternative exchange networks, food networks and cooperatives.	(Daya & Authar, 2012; Gritzas & Kavoulakos, 2016; Scarborough & Valdez, 2014)
Bio	“The use of renewable biological resources and bioprocesses for more sustainable and eco-efficient manufacturing of goods and provision of services.”	(Meis Mason, Anderson, & Dana, 2012, p. 196)
Circular	“An industrial system that is restorative or regenerative by intention and design . . . shifts towards the use of renewable energy, and aims for the elimination of waste through superior design of materials, products, systems and business models.”	(Hobson, 2016, p. 88)
Blue	“Improved human wellbeing and social equity, while significantly reducing environmental risks and ecological scarcities, endorsing low carbon, resource efficiency and social inclusion.”	(Bargh, 2014; Smith-Godfrey, 2016, p. 59)
Sharing	“Forms of exchange facilitated through online platforms, encompassing a diversity of for-profit and non-profit activities that all broadly aim to open access to under-utilised resources.”	(Richardson, 2015, p. 121)

SMEs forming the silent majority of small and micro-businesses are often overlooked in New Zealand business research and, indeed, within the bicultural discourse of the national (New Zealand) and Māori economy. SMEs are critical to the success of the Māori economy, but little is known about who runs them, what drives them, their forms of organisation and resources, and how they think of themselves and their world. In 2016, our research team began a research journey to examine the overarching question: What constitutes the intergenerational reality for Māori forms of enterprise, or pakihi Māori, their economies and economics, when explored through Māori narratives and worldviews?

To address this question, we use a lens of diverse economies to explore, through Māori narrative and worldview, key drivers, characteristics and values that constitute intergenerational reality and “success” for Māori enterprise in all its forms. For this project, under the auspices of the Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga research theme *Whai Rawa: Research for the Māori Economy* and the overarching research question, we are conducting case study research on several Māori SMEs to address the following sub-set of research questions: (a) Why is the traditional (mainstream) definition and discourse of Māori economy and enterprise problematic? (b) What types of Māori SMEs lend themselves to collective organisational arrangements? (c) What are the key values (and characteristics) that contribute to the resilience of Māori SMEs that have stood the test of time in the realisation of Māori aspirations? (d) What are the forms of Māori SME that will respond to the social, cultural, environmental and economic challenges of the future?

Māori enterprises encompass the broad spectrum of organisational types, from independent small businesses operating solely in their local community, to large export-oriented corporations, to organisations that have emerged out of Treaty settlements as well as trusts managing collective assets (Ruckstuhl, Ruwhiu, Lont, Yap, & Turner, 2014). Thus, the Māori

economy comprises a number of actors who contribute to the economy, including trusts and incorporations, SMEs, iwi and collectives, and self-employed Māori. We need to therefore recognise that multiplicity rather than uniformity unpins any notion of the Māori economy, and the forms of enterprise that operate therein. A diverse economy approach demonstrates that organisations, Māori or otherwise, are not simplistically capitalist or non-capitalist but contain multiple forms of transactions, labour, resource and property ownership. In reframing the Māori economy, we “imagine” a constant negotiation of space in which Māori are not only active participants but also drivers of processes of economic transformation. The diverse economies framework, by focusing on the well-being of whole communities first and the equitable and appropriate distribution of production, surplus and enterprises among and within these communities (Cameron & Gibson-Graham, 2003), is a useful lens through which to explore Māori enterprises and people, and their processes of economic transformation.

Conclusion

In this article we have outlined the diverse economies perspective and propose that it offers a transformative framework to enable the stories and practices of our Māori SMEs to be more accurately represented in the Māori economy (in all its forms: economic, cultural, social and political). The language of “diverse economies” is a contested space of representation, whereby the term “economy” might then become a conceptual frame or theoretical entry point through which to explore the diverse specificities of livelihood creation by a population or a community. Many of the key points of diverse economies have parallels in Kaupapa Māori research and decolonisation discourse. As an organising framework, it provides a discursive space of deconstruction and reframing of meanings, values and relationships

that question the dominant Western narrative surrounding notions of economy, enterprise and what constitutes wealth, growth and success (Gibson-Graham, 2006, 2008). We contend that this is where the diverse economies approach can enrich Māori development and temper economic discourse where growth and monetisation have become the focus, and in many cases, define the “success” of the Māori economy.

Ultimately, through case study research, our aim is to reveal and celebrate the multiplicity of environments in which our Māori organisations, specifically SMEs, operate and enjoy success. We do not want to make universal claims as to what constitutes Māori business, nor create a “model” of best practice. Rather, we want to emphasise the vulnerability that exists among our Māori SMEs, but also the deep sense of strength, particularly in those Māori enterprises in which ways of being and doing business are “hidden”, viewed as alternative, and yet are significant contributors to the Māori economy and critical to the enduring relevance of Māori business in the future. What we really need now is to develop our understanding of the mātauranga–economy interface and learn how to have encounters within a new kind of economic reality.

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Glossary

hapū	sub-tribe(s) that share(s) a common ancestor
iwi	tribal kin group; nation
Kaupapa Māori	Māori-based topic/event/enterprise run by Māori for Māori
mātauranga	knowledge, tradition, epistemology
pakihi	business, enterprise, venture
tikanga	customs and practices
whānau	family; nuclear/extended family

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