



International Comparative Social Enterprise Models

Social Enterprise in New Zealand: An Overview

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PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This paper is part of a series of Working Papers produced under the International Comparative Social Enterprise Models (ICSEM) Project.

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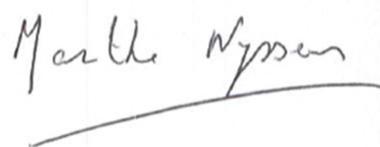
As intermediary products, ICSEM Working Papers provide a vehicle for a first dissemination of the Project's results to stimulate scholarly discussion and inform policy debates. A list of these papers is provided at the end of this document.

First and foremost, the production of these Working Papers relies on the efforts and commitment of Local ICSEM Research Partners. They are also enriched through discussion in the framework of Local ICSEM Talks in various countries, Regional ICSEM Symposiums and Global Meetings held alongside EMES International Conferences on Social Enterprise. We are grateful to all those who contribute in a way or another to these various events and achievements of the Project.

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Dey and Grant's (2014) discussion of Ngāti Pūkenga draws largely on the conversations and cultural ways of knowing of Kahurangi Dey, who has direct links with the marae and its people; these relations and relationships are recognised and appreciated.

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PART A. UNDERSTANDING CONCEPTS AND CONTEXT

Introduction¹

Social enterprise (SE) in New Zealand is still in its infancy (Grant 2008; Kaplan 2013), with awareness of SE in the wider community low (Jennings 2014). Indeed Kaplan (2013, p13) notes that “(s)ocial enterprise in New Zealand is immature and somewhat stalled, in stark contrast to momentum taking place internationally. The field lacks a clear identity, recognition and credibility...social enterprises tend to be small and severely under resourced”.

Grant (2008) identifies four key influences that contribute to the scope and “flavour” of SE developing in New Zealand: socio-cultural norms, the neoliberal reforms initiated by successive New Zealand governments during the 1980s, Crown settlements in relation to breaches of the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi 1840, and the positioning of New Zealanders as international citizens. Each of these influences is introduced briefly below. Kaplan (2013, p.15) also identifies the significance of negotiated treaty settlements in helping to build Māori enterprise (further discussion of Māori SE is developed in section B), while Jennings (2012) notes that the changes that occurred in the 1980s “slowed down the [development of the social enterprise] movement here” (p. 9).

Socio-cultural norms incorporate those aspects of New Zealand culture that might be described as “uniquely Kiwi”, such as “Kiwi ingenuity”. Perhaps driven in part through geographic remoteness and an absence of entrenched tradition (Campbell-Hunt et al. 2001; Green & Campbell 2004 as cited in Grant 2008), the New Zealand (Kiwi) psyche is often recognised as innovative. Further, Kiwis have never been afraid to “take a stand”, as evidenced through actions such as the anti-apartheid Springbok tour protests in 1981, and anti-nuclear legislation adopted by the New Zealand government in 1987, both key turning points in the country’s history. New Zealanders typically have an active life beyond the workplace. Approximately one third of the New Zealand population can be identified as active volunteers (Statistics New Zealand, n.d.), with lifestyle and independence rating high in most New Zealanders’ lives. Visitors to New Zealand may observe that “Kiwis work to live, rather than live to work” (Grant 2008, p.12).

The individualist market discourse which dominates the New Zealand economy is a legacy of government reforms enacted since the 1980s. Although many Western economies implemented change during this time, the vast range and far-reaching effects of change enacted had a dramatic impact on New Zealand, to the extent that New Zealand was seen by some as “the social laboratory of the world” (Tennant et al. 2006, as cited in Grant 2008, p.13). New Zealand has no federal/state system such as Australia or the United States, and local government is far less devolved than in the UK, so there were less institutional and/or bureaucratic structures to buffer the changes brought about through government reform. The community received a direct hit (Grant 2008). The incoming fourth Labour Government in

¹ This report combines a collection of secondary material complemented by input from my colleagues working in the social enterprise and entrepreneurship areas around New Zealand, including conversations with people from a range of new and established social enterprises. Typically these participating social enterprises were quite small, and not necessarily the “high profile” activities which may be profiled through main stream media.

1984 advocated, and voluntarily adopted, a new regime whereby industries were deregulated, markets “opened” and trade and protective subsidies removed, purportedly to ensure that competitiveness, accountability and efficiency could be achieved without government interference. The social security system was revamped and amid a new era of contractualism many social services were contracted out to not-for-profit organisations, allowing the government to meet their own criteria of ensuring the provision of essential services without being the direct service provider. Many organisations that previously received grants or subsidies, such as health, education and social service providers, became contract seekers to maintain their sources of funding. This contracting model resulted in a power imbalance between the State and community sector, and fuelled growing mistrust between the parties (Grant 2008).

The Treaty of Waitangi is the founding document of modern New Zealand. Two versions of the Treaty were signed, one in English (signed by representatives of the British Crown) and one in Māori (signed by representatives from a number of *iwi* (tribes)). Complicating what was already a contentious exchange, neither version was an exact translation of the other (Tennant et al. 2006), and debate over inconsistencies and variations in intent continues today. Historical events of injustice, such as the seizure of Māori land and accompanying loss of access to cultural and natural resources, have gradually been recognised as breaches of the Treaty principles, and are now recognised as grievances between Māori and the Crown. Resolution processes are lengthy, emotional, historic and complex; and settlements comprise multiple dimensions, including historical, cultural and financial redress (Grant 2008). While some claims are yet to be resolved through the lengthy settlement process, commercial and financial redress provisions have provided a platform from which many Māori *iwi* (tribes) and *hapu* (sub-tribes) have been able to accrue substantial asset bases. These bases in turn provide a platform for the development of enterprises which protect their heritage while also investing in the development of their people and culture.

Increased pressure of globalisation has seen cultural influences from around the globe, both positive and negative, impact on New Zealand culture and life style. While the nations’ bi-cultural heritage is clearly evident, demographically the multi-cultural nature of New Zealand’s population continues to grow, with Asian and Pacifica ethnicities having strong representation alongside growing numbers of people from Latin America, Africa and the Middle East. At an organisational level, the influence of the “global market” can be seen in many aspects of New Zealand business education and the adoption/adaptation of US business models, while colonial influences remain visible in the national infrastructure. The New Zealand parliamentary system follows the British Westminster model (www.parliament.nz), hence public policy, community planning and development models are often adapted from UK experiences. Perhaps in part as a response to the country’s geographic isolation, and also as a response to the immigrant history of many citizens, New Zealanders are keen to travel. Overseas experience is typically recognised as beneficial to personal and career development, so the Kiwi lifestyle is often complemented by global experiences as those returning from overseas bring an increased skill base and greater awareness of opportunities and the global context (Grant 2008).

A diversity of approaches to social enterprise

Academic scholarship features a varied approach, with New Zealand-based scholars publishing work relating to social enterprise (de Bruin & Stangl 2014; Dey & Grant 2014; Grant 2008, 2014a; Grant & Palakshappa 2013; Humphries & Grant 2005), social innovation (de Bruin et al. 2013; de Bruin & Stangl, 2013) and, as described in more depth below, Māori entrepreneurship and/or enterprise (Dey & Grant 2014; Keelan & Woods 2006; Spiller et al. 2011a; Spiller et al. 2011b; Tapsell & Woods 2008a, 2008b, 2010). Although formal scholarship on social enterprise in New Zealand is also still in a formative phase (Grant 2008), the limited number of formal publications published should not be misinterpreted to suggest that social enterprise practice is insignificant. “Social enterprises in New Zealand are operating in a range of industries, serving many different types of beneficiaries. While most organisations are locally based, a number have more regional or national perspectives. A small number also focus their profits on international causes” (Department of Internal Affairs 2013a, p. 20). From a 2012 government-initiated survey of New Zealand social enterprises, approximately five percent of the responding organisations were affiliated with Māori authorities, including *marae* (community space, meeting place), *iwi* (tribe) and *hapū* (extended family, sub-tribe) groups (Department of Internal Affairs 2013a).

A range of definitions and nomenclature are applied to describe social enterprise across New Zealand. Kaplan (2013, p. 6) endorses the application “of a broad, inclusive definition” at this time, suggesting such an approach will help grow the sector. The approach taken during her research was quite general, considering organisations that use business tools and models for a social purpose. Government appears to be taking a more focused approach. The government-initiated mapping survey conducted in 2012 identified three key elements as being required for an organisation to identify as a SE: 1) a social, cultural or environmental mission; 2) a substantial portion of income derived from trade; and 3) the majority of profit/surplus reinvested in fulfilment of mission (Department of Internal Affairs 2013b). At this stage the government focus does not appear too restrictive. The Department of Internal Affairs (2013b) observes how social enterprises in New Zealand operate across a wide range of industries, have a range of approaches to supporting their many and varied missions, and serve many different types of beneficiaries. A local focus informs the strategy of most SEs, with organisations typically located in a similar area to their beneficiaries. Education and training, social assistance services, recreation and sport, and arts and heritage were identified as dominant areas in the recent mapping survey (Department of Internal Affairs 2013b). Jennings (2012) reinforces how “employment and development of the labour market, rather than community renewal and regeneration (as in the UK)” (ibid) are the main drivers of social enterprise growth in New Zealand. Given this concern Jennings (2014) also notes overlaps between the concepts of community economic development and social enterprise².

Public authority interest and involvement

Public authority interest and involvement appears to vary, depending on which side of the debate commentators are sitting. Kaplan (2013) and Jennings (2014) both note the importance of support from local and central government, but also mention how limited action and policy support actually are. Local government is beginning to respond to social enterprise. The largest local authority in New Zealand, Auckland Council, is developing a

² This overlap is discussed further in section B of this report.

collaborative strategy to grow social enterprise in the Auckland region. In the capital city, the Wellington City Council is looking to support the social enterprise hub, Enspiral,³ which has insufficient space, by co-locating it with small business incubators in new expanded premises. As noted elsewhere in this report, redevelopment efforts in Christchurch have provided opportunities for many new social enterprises.

Contrary to Kaplan's (2013) statements regarding seeming disinterest by central government, a position statement released in February 2014 expresses how social enterprise is of growing interest to central government who are keen to demonstrate support, in hopes that said support will also stimulate support from the private sector. Although relatively low profile, this statement and associated press releases indicate the first move at a whole-of-government level to encourage government agency and private sector activities to grow the social enterprise sector (see appendix 1) (Department of Internal Affairs 2014).

Associated with the position statement was an announcement of funding from the Department of Internal Affairs for social enterprise capacity building. The funding (NZ \$1.27 million) is described by the government as an investment in development of a solid support infrastructure for emerging social enterprises (Goodhew 2014) and was provided through the Hikurangi Foundation, an existing philanthropically supported organisation⁴.

The Department of Internal Affairs (2014) refers to social enterprises as hybrid organisations that mix social and economic goals. The New Zealand Government conception is evenly weighed between earned income and social outcomes. There is a relatively low emphasis on democratic governance; however, as noted earlier, the efficacy of different legal structures for supporting social enterprise aims has been given some consideration.

Each government agency views social enterprises through a slightly different lens, for instance:

- the Ministry of Business, Innovation and Employment is primarily interested in the contribution of social enterprises to the economy;
- the Ministry of Social Development and the Ministry for the Environment are most interested in the social or environmental outcomes that social enterprises can achieve, and the potential for trading income to increase the financial sustainability of these organisations;
- the Department of Internal Affairs provides advice to the Minister for the Community and Voluntary Sector about community development and the role of non-profit organisations and social enterprises in supporting strong, resilient communities;
- the Ministry of Health is leading cross-government work to pilot social bonds in New Zealand.

Such variation in perspectives demonstrates there is still a need for clear policy support by central government. Recognising the resource constraints faced, Kaplan (2013) encourages the New Zealand government to learn from lessons learnt elsewhere.

³ Enspiral is discussed further in section B of this report.

⁴ The role and activities of Hikurangi are discussed further in the next section.

Enablers and Barriers to Social Enterprise

Grant (2008) observes that although SE development lags behind the likes of the UK and Europe, it still has a tendency to follow UK models over those from the US. As noted above, this orientation may be the influence of our colonial heritage, but may also be attributable to the work and lifestyle experiences many New Zealanders accumulate during their “overseas experience” (OE), where the UK is still identified as a destination of choice to seek employment and adventure.

The large scale redevelopment effort underway in the city of Christchurch and surrounding areas in the Canterbury region of the South Island, following the 2010 and 2011 earthquakes has provided a fertile ground for community development and social enterprise (Lewis 2013; Vallance 2013). Examples such as the Ministry of Awesome (www.ministryofawesome.com) and Rekindle (www.rekindle.org.nz) are gaining a national profile. Some of this activity may have stemmed from the “Social enterprise fund” established by the Canterbury Community Trust after the earthquakes. This NZ\$ 2.5 million dollar fund aims to help support employment opportunities and outcomes, as well as encourage innovation, self-sufficiency and community participation (Jennings 2014). There is also a possible downside to this growth, however, as Kaplan (2013, p. 15) suggests: the massive cost of rebuilding infrastructure around Christchurch has shifted the attention of government and potential philanthropic supporters away from direct investment in SE elsewhere. Negative perceptions of a strong government focus on Christchurch appear to be growing among regional social service providers and community organisations outside the Canterbury region, with some expressing feelings of being “left out” and “under supported”. For example, “Government needs to remember that housing remains an issue outside of Auckland⁵ and Christchurch” was a common theme encountered during recent research into social housing in the Waikato region (Grant 2014b).

As noted above, in February 2014 the government announced support for developing social enterprise infrastructure through a NZ\$1.27 million fund to be dispensed through Hikurangi Foundation, a philanthropically supported organisation which at that time worked with early stage organisations to find scalable solutions to sustainability challenges. While not established with social enterprise in mind, over time Hikurangi found that social enterprise had become the most effective and efficient method of addressing such challenges. Partly in response to being tasked by central government with this supporting role, in May 2014 Hikurangi widened its mission and became known as the Ākina Foundation. The new organisation’s name was chosen to reflect its new role and responsibilities: Ākina is a Māori word used as a call for bold action. It also conveys a spirit of watchful and active encouragement, helping others to identify pathways through their challenges (Ākina Foundation 2014). The influence of New Zealanders as international citizens (Grant 2008) discussed above is evident within Ākina, with several key staff bringing UK social enterprise experience to the organisation. While still very new, and as yet relatively unproven beyond its own network of support, Ākina operates as an intermediary, facilitating partnerships and encouraging private and corporate sectors to match government support and similarly engage with developing social enterprises. Ākina CEO Alex Hannant observes how investment of resources (including but not restricted to cash) in servicing emergent SE talent has the potential to change the balance of power between funders and recipient organisations.

⁵ Auckland, New Zealand’s largest city, is experiencing an acute housing shortage. This shortage is not related to the Christchurch earthquakes, but remains a key social challenge for New Zealand.

The organisation's recently revised mission provides more scope for supporting SEs, as Ākina seeks to:

- activate talent, raising awareness and building capability for social enterprise;
- support high-potential social enterprises to deliver scalable solutions to pressing social and environmental challenges;
- facilitate new market and investment opportunities for social enterprise (Ākina Foundation 2014).

Capacity building is identified as Ākina's key objective (Hannant 2014). The programmes to be delivered by Ākina reflect the various stages of development a social enterprise may move through. Design workshops provide an open space for interested organisations to learn more about social enterprise, but the number of participating organisations narrows as they move through the more established and structured programme phases such as validation and viability. By the time organisations enter the third stage, viability, they will be receiving full incubation support. The recently released "Launchpad programme" seeks to identify high-potential projects which can be nurtured through the start-up and validation phases (Ākina Foundation 2014), and has generated an enthusiastic response. With the ten projects to be supported due to be selected by October 2014, outcomes from this programme are anticipated by April 2015. Given the emergent nature of Ākina's operations, the fourth stage, "Expansion" is yet to become operational, but is it is envisaged that this phase will include social investment opportunities (Hannant 2014).

Ākina purposefully engages in business discourse, noting the substance behind the language is fundamental to the organisation's perspective and outlook which they encourage among participating social enterprises. Business models that maximise social impact are advocated as this approach is seen by Ākina as a means to enhance social purpose. The "enterprise" component of the organisation is viewed by staff as essential to the skills that they seek to impart, encouraging a strong commercial approach which is able to establish benchmarks for the achievement of social change (Hannant 2014).

It is interesting to note how the changes to Ākina's name, mission and operation occurred after their positioning by the Government as the medium through which SE infrastructure and support would be delivered. Aiming to establish a strong position from which to facilitate the whole NZ social enterprise sector, to date the organisation has established a strong profile in major cities although networks in regional areas are still to be developed. It is perhaps this city vs. regional presence that influences some smaller, regional SEs' perception that they "don't fit" the Ākina model, and therefore anticipate minimal or no benefits accruing from Ākina programmes (personal communication 2014).

Limited resources appear to be the main barrier to SE growth in New Zealand. Kaplan (2013, p. 2) observes that "there are plenty of energetic community-based social enterprises, but they are remarkably fragile and there are few supports to stimulate growth". This barrier is not all bad, however. The chief executive of one newly established SE I spoke with described the limited access to (government) funding as "quite motivating" as it made them "get out there and get known" (personal communication 2014). Jennings (2014) suggests that, although improving slowly, a lack of capacity-building support has stifled growth in social enterprise and community economic development. The Department of Internal Affairs (2013a) observes that the recent economic downturn has contributed to the scarcity of resources, specifically identifying access to funding and advice as a key barrier, particularly for start-up SEs. Those not-for-profit organisations moving towards a commercial business model may struggle to

develop the necessary business expertise and certain legal structures may also limit an organisation's ability to raise capital. As will be discussed further in part B, social enterprises aligned to not-for-profit organisations are one of the most prevalent SE forms within New Zealand. Fitzgerald (2014) explores how these organisations accommodate the requirements of both commercial and social organisations. She identifies that the challenges most not-for-profit organisations encounter regarding reconciling mission, stakeholders, customer and market focus continue to be experienced by those organisations engaged in SE activity.

A range of legal structures are adopted across social enterprises in New Zealand, but the view of the government is that growth in social enterprise is not hinged on the issue of legal structure. No specific legal form is currently required or encouraged by government. Charitable trusts made up 53% of organisations participating in the New Zealand SE mapping project, with a further 37% identifying as incorporated societies and 7% as limited liability companies (Department of Internal Affairs 2013b). A recent review of legal structures suggested that the value of developing a specific SE legal structure be considered once other barriers, such as finance, are addressed (Department of Internal Affairs 2013a).

Frykberg (2012) observes how grants to social enterprises and social loans are becoming more common in New Zealand, but notes there is still a need for funders to have a better understanding of social enterprise if they are to successfully support the sector. Jennings (2014) suggests that those SEs who are better established and hence able to demonstrate scale and maturity in their operations are likely to be more successful in attracting investment funding. Overall, the social finance market in New Zealand remains very small. Funding is a key constraint, but in a somewhat chicken-and-egg scenario, "there are simply not enough social enterprises that are investment ready in New Zealand. It is a major hurdle to develop from early stage operations to meet criteria for funding.....the critical gap at the moment is the lack of grant funding to adequately prepare early-stage ventures for growth" (Kaplan 2013, p. 14.) This concern is echoed by Jennings (2014), who identifies a lack of finance and investment as restricting the development and growth of SE activity, with research and development and start-up ventures being the areas most in need.

There is growing interest in entrepreneurship schemes in schools, although the extent to which these activities take a social focus varies considerably. For example, Young Enterprise Trust, UPT Digital, and High Tech Youth are all school-based initiatives, with the latter two organisations taking a specific focus in technology applications and development. Government support for youth enterprise initiatives is evident through the NZ\$ 2.5 million of operating spending to be spent over 2014-2017. "This funding supports a number of initiatives for young people to learn financial literacy and business enterprise skills, as well as get opportunities to develop social enterprise projects" (Kaye 2014).

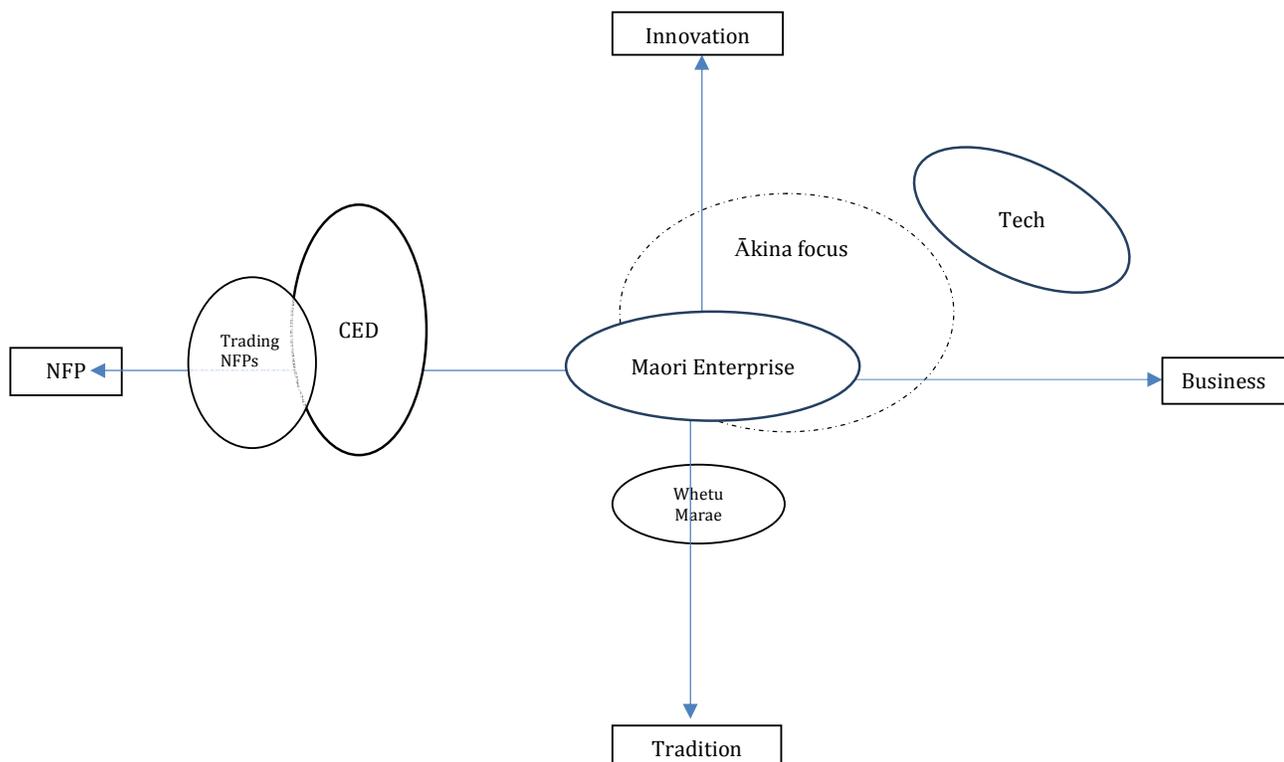
Support from tertiary institutions is limited from an academic level, with only the University of Waikato offering a formal SE qualification, albeit at post-graduate level. This qualification is offered online, so it is available to students anywhere in New Zealand or indeed the world. The paucity of academic papers is noted by Kaplan (2013). There are however faculty from at least five of New Zealand's eight universities who have expressed an interest in SE and/or its variations, and student interest is evident through a range of student-run clubs. Kaplan (2013) identifies clubs such as Spark (University of Auckland), P3 Foundation, and UC Innovators (University of Canterbury). In addition Social Innovation New Zealand is a newly formed organisation/network active across University of Waikato, Massey University (Albany campus) and University of Auckland.

This first major part of the paper has identified the complex, and to some extent disjointed, environment within which the diverse range of social enterprise activity in New Zealand occurs. While social enterprises bring positive social value to their communities through innovation and creativity, in many cases their efforts are constrained through a lack of resourcing and supportive infrastructure. The next section looks more closely at four different areas through which social enterprise in New Zealand may be conceptualised, namely trading not-for-profits, community economic development, social innovation, and Māori social enterprise.

PART B. SOCIAL ENTERPRISE MODELS: EXISTING AND EMERGING CONCEPTUALISATIONS OF SOCIAL ENTERPRISE

Conceptualisations of social enterprise in New Zealand are influenced by a variety of ideologies, which in turn contributes to diversity in SE activity. These groupings of SE activity are represented in Figure 1, recognising diversity in activity orientation (e.g. not-for-profit or business), as well as the drive to maintain tradition and customs compared to being innovative. Figure 1 should be interpreted as a snapshot of current status, rather than a static model. Some organisations within some of the groups, especially the Not-for-Profit Trading (NFP Trade) and Community Economic Development (CED) groups identified aspire to move further along the continuum towards the business/economic dimension. Their current placement as per figure 1 is seen as a starting point.

Figure 1: Groups of SE activity in New Zealand



The first three models presented cover both ends of the economic SE spectrum, with trading not-for-profit organisations and community economic development at one end, and business-oriented social innovation, particularly that driven by youth and their technology applications, at the other. Developing in parallel to these activities is a fourth model, Māori social enterprise. Informed by *Te Ao Māori* (a Māori worldview), this model is unique to New Zealand, and indeed will still vary across *iwi* (tribes). For this reason, Māori enterprise is depicted in Figure 1 as encompassing all dimensions of SE. The activities of one *iwi*, *Ngāti Pūkenga*, on their *marae* known as *Whetu*, are presented below as an example, rather than a definitive model. The specific examples from *Whetu Marae* described later in this section would tend to be more closely located with tradition rather than innovation, but this orientation needs not always be the case. Ākina Foundation, the organisation chosen by the central government to help establish the SE infrastructure in NZ, identifies itself as working within a zone not dissimilar to that where Māori SE has been positioned, but with Ākina potentially supporting *all* SEs. From its espoused discourse and business orientation, however, I propose this support to be potentially skewed as per the dotted lines included in Figure 1.

Amid this diverse range of activity, it is noteworthy to acknowledge that co-operatives do not feature prominently in the New Zealand SE landscape. Although a lot of co-operatives operate in New Zealand, many represent some of the country's leading consumer/supplier brands and thus could be more appropriately considered as business/corporate organisations. For example, Fonterra, New Zealand's largest co-operative, represents 95% of New Zealand farmers and is the world's largest dairy exporter (www.fonterra.com).

Each grouping of activity is considered below. Given the uniqueness of Māori social enterprise, examples provided for this grouping are explained in greater detail than in the other sections.

i) Trading Not-for-Profits and Community Economic Development

The categories of Trading Not-for-Profits and Community Economic Development are considered here together, as there is reasonable overlap between these groupings.

One of the most common areas of SE development in New Zealand has emerged from not-for-profit organisations (NFPs) developing trading arms, in part with the intention of developing independent revenue streams. As such, (self-) sustainability (as opposed to a cycle of perpetual dependency) is a key focus within these groupings. Often developed from a church or charity-based organisation, concern for a social issue typically underlies the core activity, for example counselling, parenting, social justice, and/or support for the homeless. Community economic development (CED) is another common theme among some of these organisations. In these cases activity is typically rooted in local communities, and embraces social enterprise, community asset ownership, and community exchange initiatives (e.g. time banking), as well as small, local social value-led businesses. Jennings (2014, p. 7) found that although there are many examples of CED and social enterprise in New Zealand communities, they are not often seen to be part of mainstream societies. Taking a range of legal forms, such organisations might include: credit unions, work creation schemes, mental health support teams, arts festivals, environment and social justice initiatives, and book publishing (Fitzgerald 2014; Jennings 2014).

From the sample of 97 organisations who participated in Jennings' (2014) research, 46% preferred the term "social enterprise", while a further 19% preferred CED. The shift from a charity mind set to an entrepreneurial one is identified as a key leadership challenge for these

organisations, where most trustees continue to be unpaid for their role (Jennings 2014). Consistent with outcomes reported by the Department of Internal Affairs (2013b), most organisations were structured as a charitable trust. 74% of the organisations chose to reinvest any surplus from operations back into the organisation to increase their capacity to deliver social services.

Increased innovation among CED organisations is evident in Figure 1 when the grouping is compared to Trading NFPs. Although she describes her participant organisations as “some of the most innovative hybrid organisations in New Zealand” (Jennings 2014, p. 45), Jennings also notes how competitive tendering for (service delivery) contracts remains a defining characteristic of most CED/SEs. These observations are interesting on two levels. First, the motivation to move beyond contracting for service has previously been identified as a reason for the development of SE in New Zealand (Grant 2008), so this continued focus on service delivery contracts might be seen by some as counter to the SE aspirations of independent revenue streams. Secondly, perceptions of what is (or is not) innovative are highly subjective. In comparison to some of the activities discussed in section ii) below, many of these activities might be seen as located at the lower end of an innovation scale.

The CED activities reviewed as part of Jennings’ (2014) research highlight the positive contribution these activities make to creating meaningful employment. Indeed, the creation of job opportunities, especially in rural areas, is a key reason why government supports CED (Grant 2007). With 55% of all New Zealand social enterprises having a local focus (Department of Internal Affairs 2013b), CED organisations make a particular contribution to creating jobs in rural and/or isolated areas where unemployment is typically high (Jennings 2014). Operational details of organisations featured in Jennings’ (2014) research reveal average gross revenue of NZ\$2.98 million, and an equivalent staff (including paid and unpaid labour) of 29.9 people. These figures indicate how CED/SE makes a substantial contribution to NZ society.

Organisations that develop a SE identity/activity alongside or within their existing NFP structures may find themselves grappling with a complex organisation structure, and face the decision as to whether to position the SE inside the existing structure or to establish it as an independent output (Grant & Kinley 2010). Resourcing between parent NFPs and emerging social enterprises can also be complex. While buildings and facilities may be shared to reduce costs, it is not always easy and/or practical for staff to move between organisations. The CEO of a newly established SE identified the challenges of having the same person attempt to lead both organisations. She observed how a primary business focus is often needed within the SE, which is not always easy to achieve when a person is required to balance both roles (Personal communication, September 2014).

ii) Social innovation – through youth and technology

Both Jennings (2014) and Kaplan (2013) identify the emergence of a new generation of talented social entrepreneurs. Young people are combining their passion for social change and their technological capabilities to develop start-ups (Kaplan 2013). Described as “digital natives”, this group uses information technology and social media networks to create new products and services for social, cultural, economic and environmental benefit (Jennings 2014). Perhaps driven as much by innovation and the desire to challenge traditional structures, the common link between these organisations is the desire to contribute positive value, although this contribution may not be perceived as overtly “social” as is the case with

trading NFPs or CED organisations. “Wellbeing” and “community” are common themes within the social innovation activity; however, the conscious adoption of business lexicon and models by most of these organisations potentially obscures their “social” contribution.

When compared with some of the NFP/CED activities highlighted in the previous section, this activity can be seen to demonstrate a stronger “individual/independent” focus (Kaplan 2013). Although these start-up organisations may provide potential for business collaboration/partnerships, Kaplan (2013, p. 14) observes that business does not currently play an active role. Indeed Kaplan (2013, p. 16) notes that “(t)he gulf between business and social sectors is particularly acute” and “a scarcity of intermediary organisations impedes opportunities to build relationships and structures across sectors”. The recently released government position statement regarding SE (Department of Internal Affairs 2014) suggests that policy makers are keen to change this dynamic as government “acknowledges the value of the growing social enterprise sector and supports collaborative action to ensure social enterprises meet their full potential” (Department of Internal Affairs 2014).

Despite the gulf between business and SEs identified by Kaplan (2013), a strong business orientation and greater emphasis on social innovation (than some of the CED/SE organisations discussed above) are dominant features in this group of SE activity. The concept of “social innovation” tends to be applied more than that of “social enterprise” in this realm, as the former label is seen by participants to better capture “social entrepreneurial change efforts”, as opposed to “managing social problems” (Rye 2014, personal communication). To this end, social innovation is perceived by those involved in these organisations as having “higher impact” than social enterprise (Rye 2014, personal communication). It is perhaps this focus on innovation that sees technology as a prominent feature in many of these ventures.

Some of the organisations that fall into this category also form part of the Enspiral Network, an example of effort from within the SE sector to build better relationships. Described by one of its members as a “social business” (Rye 2014, personal communication), Enspiral promotes itself as a social innovation ecosystem providing “a virtual and physical network of companies and professionals working together to create a thriving society” (Enspiral Network 2014). The network comprises three key sections: a) Enspiral Foundation, which is the glue that connects the people and companies in the network, holds Enspiral intellectual property, and provides the infrastructure that enables members to communicate with one another and make decisions; b) Service companies, which bring together teams of professionals to offer a range of business services under one roof, including web design, communications, accounting and legal services; c) Start-up ventures, which are facilitated by bringing together potential collaborators, service providers, mentors and funders. These start-ups are typically digital-based solutions that create positive societal value as part of their core operations. The range of “start-ups” established to date have been diverse, for example enabling local food distribution (www.buckybox.com), collaborative decision-making (www.loomio.org) and software development (www.devacademy.co.nz).

“Start-up” events are proving to be a popular forum for gathering together entrepreneurial groups, particularly young people. Such programmes, which support and prepare the next generation of New Zealand entrepreneurs, are profiled and applauded by Kaplan (2013) because they provide opportunities to create an entrepreneurial culture among participants as well as generate innovative projects. The publicity generated through local media also helps promote awareness of SE activity across a range of groups in society (Fowler 2014). Kaplan (2013, p. 17) profiles another Enspiral facilitated venture, Lifehack, which was established through a series of start-up events and aims to tackle the serious challenge of youth mental

health through the application of innovative business approaches (www.lifehackhq.co). Their initial pilot project was supported by the Ministry of Social Development. The Lifehack web site includes examples of web and mobile apps, games and media which all focus on well-being. Workshops, start-up events, and a tailored support programme provide the mediums through which young people are encouraged to develop technological solutions and applications which contribute to personal well-being. Specific efforts are being made by the Lifehack team to provide opportunities for young people in smaller centres to participate; for example, a residential *hui* (gathering) is planned to be held in Kaitaia, the last major settlement (but still less than 5,000 people) in the Far North of the North Island of New Zealand (Lifehack New Zealand 2014).

iii) Māori Social Enterprises

Māori are the indigenous people of Aotearoa New Zealand. From a 2012 government-initiated survey of New Zealand social enterprises, approximately five percent of the responding organisations were affiliated with Māori authorities, including *marae* (community space, meeting place), *iwi* (tribe) and *hapū* (extended family, sub-tribe) groups (Department of Internal Affairs 2013).

Social enterprise is thriving amongst Māori community activities, where there is a significant collective ownership of assets and enterprise development within *iwi* organisations. However, Māori/*iwi* organisations tend not to use the terms CED (community economic development) or social enterprise (Jennings 2012). Non-compulsory, or voluntary, membership and/or participation is often a defining feature of community-based organisations (e.g. as required by the Johns Hopkins International Comparative Nonprofit Sector Project) (Tennant *et al.* 2006). In the New Zealand context, although blood relations and cultural contexts may bind blood founders/members of an organisation, their participation is still recognised as voluntary as it is not legally binding. Hence such organisations may be recognised as not-for-profit entities; and organisations set up by *iwi* (tribal) or ethnic groups might reasonably be considered as social enterprises if profits are reinvested to serve the needs of the community (Department of Internal Affairs 2013b). Works such as Dey and Grant (2014), Overall *et al.* (2010), and Tapsell and Woods (2010) reflect this area. Kaplan (2013, p. 15) observes that “(t)he Māori economy is likely growing faster than the New Zealand economy as a whole, which could create enormous opportunity for new, culturally sensitive social businesses.”

Dey and Grant (2014) observe that the work and efforts of many Māori communities in New Zealand is “consistent with the aspirations and intentions of social enterprise” (p. 194). While no overriding interpretation or definition of social enterprise is accepted as standard, many of the values, ideas and aspirations which pervade Māori communities are consistent with the values, ideas and ideals of social enterprises. Cultural, social and political aspirations provide the foundation for SE activity, while economic undertakings occur as a secondary action. For example, although monetary resource, voluntary and paid work (all Western conceptions introduced by colonial settlers) are now also common place in Māori communities, traditional values and ideals are also prominent. An explicit aim to benefit the community is evident in Māori social enterprise, driven by the communitarian dimension maintained through *iwi* (tribal) groupings and their activities. Dey and Grant (2014) identify cases where social enterprise activity in Māori communities is undertaken as voluntary *mahi aroha* work. *Mahi aroha* is a Māori sense of responsibility to the collective, the sense of duty.

Further evidence of SE driven by Māori values can be found in the work of Tapsell and Woods (2008a, 2008b) who developed *Potikitanga*, a theoretical model drawn from an historical and cultural analysis of traditional Māori societal relationships between *potiki* (aspiring younger individuals) and *rangatira* (moderating elders) to distinguish Māori-centred businesses. Māori-centred values are evident in the three cases of indigenous entrepreneurship in a Māori context profiled by Tapsell and Woods (2008b). Cultural influences are also recognised in Henare et al.'s (2014) consideration of influences on Māori entrepreneurship, as well as Spiller et al. (2011b) and Spiller et al.'s (2011a) work on relational well-being in business interactions. Although Spiller and her co-authors focus on Māori business, rather than SE, their applications of the Māori concept of *kaitiakitanga* or stewardship has strong link to social enterprise. They explain how, as stewards, humans are “endowed from birth with obligations, and empowered at the same time to care, respect, conserve and create *mauri ora* (conscious well-being)” (Spiller et al. 2011b, p. 223). In a similar manner, while Henare et al. (2014) do not specifically link their work to SE, they recognise how Māori entrepreneurial practice is informed by a tribal world view that acknowledges spiritual and human ancestors and descendants not yet born as part of the entrepreneurial team, and prioritises holistic well-being and value creation over profit maximisation—a view which certainly fits within the spectrum of SE activity in New Zealand. Henare et al. (2014) present the *Takarangi* spiral of innovation (see Figure 2). This framework presents a double spiral of innovation that balances heritage with opportunity and ancestors with descendants (p. 9). Similarities with the *Potikitanga* model described above are evident, as this model posits “that entrepreneurial activity in Māori tribal communities occurs through the interaction of the opportunity-seeking entrepreneur (*Potiki*), the elder heritage protector (*Kaumatua*) and the visionary leader (*Rangatira*)”. The interaction between these groups facilitates innovation. Tradition and heritage (*Kaumatua*) provide the pathway for such innovation whilst action taken by opportunity-seeking adventurers (*Potiki*) and leaders (*Rangatira*) are necessary if progress is to be made along the pathway provided (p. 11).

Figure 2: Takarangi Spiral of Innovation



Source: Overall et al. (2010, p. 156), as cited in Henare et al. (2014, p. 9)

Most Māori SEs are *iwi*-based, i.e. tribal organisations, and as such are private endeavours free from public or government influence. Initial funding for many of these organisations came from Treaty of Waitangi settlements which have been negotiated between *iwi* and the Crown since the mid-1980s (Grant 2008). *Iwi* organisations have particularly strong collectively owned asset bases, many of which were also returned to Māori collective/community ownership through Treaty Settlement processes (Jennings 2014). Land is of specific significance to Māori as it provides the foundation upon which each community builds, and is increasingly re-building, their well-being (Anderson et al. 2006, Dey & Grant 2014). Decision-making in contemporary Māori communities is wide and varied, although elements of the chief-based culture remain. The traditional aspects of communal ownership, communal resources and kin-based connections allow for open approaches to representation and participation. Much cultural importance is placed on open forums for discussion (*hui*), and opportunities for all types of exchanges to take place.

The Crown Treaty of Waitangi settlements with Māori communities has provided many *iwi* with a strong financial asset base. Subsequent investments from these settlements may be seen as a means of promoting Māori self-sustainability as opposed to state welfare-reliance (Dey & Grant 2014, p. 201). The current neoliberal environment in New Zealand thus affords flexibility for the social enterprise activities of Māori communities, which is embraced by some and shunned by others within the same communities. As kin-based organisations, Māori communities generally are seeking to preserve and maintain the resources under their care. Barrett-Ohia (2009, cited in Dey & Grant 2014) undertook research on collective ownership, communication and governance of Māori farming operations such as *Waewaetutuki 10* (a Trust) mentioned below. She found that the Māori farming groups spoken to “were not prepared to take financial risks that may jeopardise their assets” (2009, p. 92); of utmost importance to the Māori owners was the Māori cultural value of preserving the land for future generations. Trustees of the Trust consider themselves “as *kaitiaki* [guardians] and will do [their] best for the block. [They’re] there for the long-haul, [they’re] never going to sell it” (Tawhiao 2012, p. 32 as cited in Dey & Grant 2014, p. 208).

Adherence to cultural heritage is not a fail-safe process, however. As always, there are exceptions. Dey and Grant (2014) cite examples where the best of intentions have still gone wrong. In 2011, after a failed 2001 business venture, Māori landowners in the Northland group *Matauri X* were forced to subdivide and offer ancestral land for sale in order to repay a NZ\$15 million debt (Ali 2011, as cited in Dey & Grant 2014). In 2012, *Ngati Tama iwi* (in the Taranaki region of the North Island) announced to their people that their managers had lost “close to NZ\$20 million in a series of high-risk financial ventures. The loss means [the *iwi* had] shed all of a \$14.5 million Treaty of Waitangi pay-out it received in 2003” (Maetzig 2012, as cited in Dey & Grant 2014). For some Māori communities, engaging in trade has been a route to misery and heart ache.

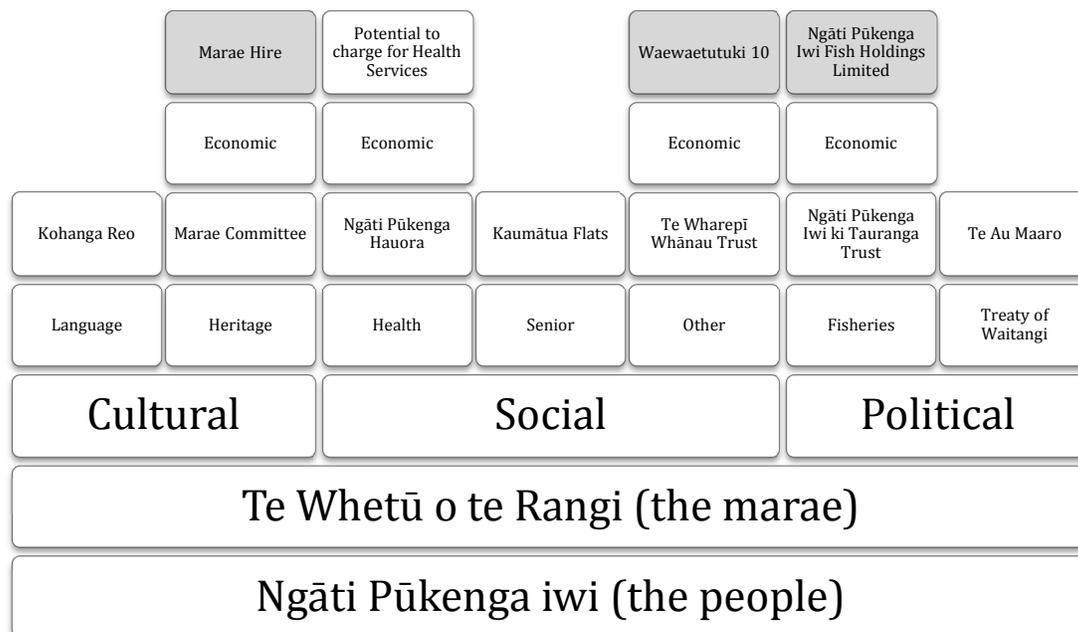
Each *iwi* has its own structure for activities, usually based around their *marae*. A *marae* is a multi-dimensional concept which is a visible, physical representation of Māori communities, as well as a spiritual, ancestral embodiment of Māori culture (Tapsell 2002, as cited in Dey & Grant 2014). Dey and Grant (2014) present an illustration of the organising and activities of a Tauranga *iwi*, *Ngāti Pūkenga*, through the *Whetū o te Rangī* (hereafter simply referred to as “*Whetū*”) *marae*, as social enterprise. This framework demonstrates how many of the social, cultural, political and economic activities undertaken by the *iwi* enable the economic and social aspirations of a community to be achieved simultaneously.

For example, *Whetū Marae* is host to a variety of organisations, including:

- Language services, e.g. *Kōhanga Reo* – the Māori language centre for pre-school children;
- Heritage services, e.g. *Marae Committee* – the day-to-day running of the *marae*, (including the trading *Marae Hire* conference facility);
- Health services, e.g. *Ngāti Pūkenga Hauora* - the health service;
- Senior services, e.g. *Kaumātua Flats* – accommodation for the elderly;
- Other organisations beyond the physical presence of the *marae*, e.g. *Te Wharepī Whānau Trust* – the trustees of a separate land block, including the trading *Waewaetutuki 10* dairy farm;
- Fisheries settlement services, e.g. *Te Runanga o Ngāti Pūkenga* – political representation including the trading company *Te Runanga o Ngāti Pūkenga Asset Holding*;
- Treaty of Waitangi settlement services, e.g. *Te Au Maaro* – political representation in the Treaty of Waitangi settlement processes. (Dey & Grant 2014)

The structure of these activities and interrelationship between them is shown below in Figure 3.

Figure 3: The social enterprise of Ngāti Pūkenga



Source: Dey & Grant (2014, p.206)

Underpinning all these activities are three core cultural influences:

- i. *whakapapa* (genealogy, layering);
- ii. *whanaungatanga* (family, kinship); and
- iii. *marae* (community space, meeting place).

More detailed explanation and application of these influences can be found in Dey & Grant (2014), but key points are summarised here. Consistent with a relational worldview, within *whakapapa*, resources (such as *marae*) are collectively held in trust for future generations who have a genealogical connection to the resource (Dey & Grant 2014). *Whanaungatanga* broadly encompasses family, kinship and reciprocal relationships. Although not a direct translation of the notion of accountability to the collective, the value of being accountable to society at large can be seen as aligning with the concept of *whanaungatanga*. *Marae* are physical places, as well as conceptual spaces and exist for social purposes. Both traditional and urban *marae* serve to conserve, narrate and transmit Māori culture and to benefit the Māori communities and other groups who experience them. The modern *marae* is a symbol of a social purpose, ceremony and distinct cultural importance within Māori communities. A unique aspect of life in New Zealand, *marae* are often open to the whole community. For example, in February 2011, following the 6.3-magnitude Christchurch earthquake, traditional and urban *marae* in and around Christchurch hosted many people from the region affected by the quake. In some instances those evacuated, including tourists, were hosted by *marae* as far away as Wellington (Dey & Grant 2014).

CONCLUSION AND FUTURE DIRECTIONS

This overview of social enterprise in New Zealand highlights a wealth of activity yet to be afforded mainstream recognition and support. Amid limited formal support and recognition of SE by government a diverse range of SE activity has developed across multiple dimensions. It would be premature to conceptualise these actions into formal models, hence this overview has identified key themes around which emerging social enterprises can be grouped. A key challenge facing SE in New Zealand is how to enable each grouping to develop and remain true to its mission, as each category serves a different part of the New Zealand community. Such diversity in SE must be embraced and encouraged, rather than be required to narrow down and fit a prescribed definition, as plurality in approach provides multiple opportunities to deliver value to society and promote positive change.

The SE sector in New Zealand clearly signals potential for growth and increased contributions to society, should adequate resourcing be available. The success of Māori enterprise to date provides a clear example of what might be achieved with appropriate and focused support. Resourcing required encompasses a range of requirements, including finance, education (formal and informal), mentoring and infrastructure, all of which should be delivered across all categorisations of social enterprise, rather than be limited to just one area. The recent commitment to developing infrastructure, as expressed by the New Zealand Government earlier this year, is a signal that this support and recognition is beginning to grow. However, not all organisations will fit into the business model promoted by Ākina Foundation and, given the value in diversity of SE activity highlighted above, nor should they be expected or required to do so. It is important that SEs across all sections of the economic spectrum be able to access and benefit from efforts to build SE capacity.

Support from government has been limited to date, but appears to be growing. While financial and infrastructure support is always welcome, there are other means through which central and local government can also support SE—for example, following the example of government in Japan, Taiwan and Hong Kong and adopting procurement policies that give priority to purchasing from social enterprises. However, provision of resourcing need not rest solely with government. The sector itself is already proactive in supporting growth, and there is scope to develop further relationships with business as well as potential for collaboration

between SEs themselves. Awareness and understanding of SE can also be further promoted to the wider community through education and/or advocacy campaigns to encourage conscious consumption. The number of student-led organisations with a social entrepreneurial focus at all levels of education is encouraging, but there is a need for this engagement to be reinforced through formal teaching and learning. Government could potentially assist here, encouraging tertiary institutions to commit to such scholarship. With funding in the tertiary education sector linked to class size, the small size of the SE sector in New Zealand potentially makes this market unattractive for education providers; however, forward-thinking institutions should look beyond the constraints to appreciate the greater contribution which can be made. Engagement in SE education provides benefits to all—whether they end up working specifically in the sector or not. For example, business students may not end up employed in a SE, but can nonetheless benefit from a better understanding of how their corporate organisations might operate in a more socially responsible manner and/or potentially might partner with SE or community organisations.

Partial assistance from government has provided scope and motivation for SE to evolve more “organically” than it may have in a policy-driven environment. The diversity evident in SE activity in New Zealand brings potential for rich contributions to be made across many aspects of New Zealand society. Spread across the economic spectrum, this overview demonstrates how SE activity is socially innovative, but also nurtures, respects and draws on the wisdom of tradition and customs. Such activity must continue to be encouraged, and just as there is plurality in activity, so too should support for these ventures be drawn from multiple bases.

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APPENDIX 1

Growing the Social and Economic Potential of Social Enterprise, recently released by Department of Internal Affairs on behalf of the Office of the Minister for the Community and Voluntary Sector, outlines a Government position statement (agreed by Cabinet on 21 January 2014):

GOVERNMENT POSITION STATEMENT ON SOCIAL ENTERPRISE

This Government position statement acknowledges the value of the growing social enterprise sector and supports collaborative action to ensure social enterprises meet their full potential.

Social enterprises use commercial methods to support social or environmental goals. They principally reinvest surpluses in the social/environmental purpose rather than maximising profit for shareholders and owners. Potential benefits of social enterprise include innovative responses to societal issues, new employment opportunities, and sustainable income generation.

The Government is aware of the significant growth of the social enterprise sector internationally and wishes to support development of the sector in New Zealand. The Government acknowledges the innovation and entrepreneurship of this sector and the valuable contribution social enterprises can make to community strength and resilience.

Social enterprises can support a range of government goals including the development of a productive and competitive economy. The Government values the role of social enterprises as potential partners for a range of government agencies in achieving “collective impact”, and as contributors to Better Public Services goals involving third party service delivery.

The Government recognises that emerging social enterprises face a range of challenges, including the need for business advice and funding tailored to their hybrid social/commercial nature. The sector currently lacks a solid support infrastructure and many social enterprises struggle to access external finance.

The Government appreciates the importance of raising awareness of social enterprise, of taking action to help build capability, and encouraging finance for this emerging sector. Social enterprise networks, investors, philanthropic organisations, local authorities and central government agencies can all contribute to a future where social enterprises can flourish.

Government agencies are encouraged to consider any policy barriers to social enterprise growth and to work collaboratively to create an enabling, supportive environment where more social enterprises can grow and attract investment.

(Department of Internal Affairs, 2014)

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