

**School of Built Environment
Department of Planning and Geography**

**Recognition, relevance and renewal: reframing perspectives on
entrepreneurship and networking through Aboriginal worldviews**

Warrick Nerehana Fort

**This thesis is presented for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy (PhD)
of
Curtin University**

August 2017

Declaration

To the best of my knowledge and belief this thesis contains no material previously published by any other person except where due acknowledgement has been made.

This thesis contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any university.

The research presented and reported in this thesis was conducted in accordance with the National Health and Medical Research Council National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research (2007) – updated March 2014. The proposed research study received human research ethics approval from the Curtin University Human Research Ethics Committee (EC00262), Approval Number #HR203/2014.

Signature:

Date: August 2017

Abstract

Entrepreneurship has been identified as a means of improving socio-economic outcomes for Aboriginal Australians. However, the ‘grand narrative’ of entrepreneurship, a product of Western ontologies, has largely treated this phenomenon as grounded in individual practices centred on financial profit, and undertaken by the white, middle-class, masculine hero of capitalist societies. This is in tension with the group-focused social and economic practices observed by many Aboriginal Australians. This thesis argues that recognition of how entrepreneurial practices are, and have been, enacted by members of groups whose ontologies and practices have been marginalised within capitalist societies and settings challenges longstanding theories of entrepreneurship, and highlights the need to modify these theories so that they become applicable to different settings. The research that underpins this thesis was gathered using a set of qualitative methods. These are two literature reviews, which draw from scholarship in a range of fields such as economics, anthropology, sociology and archaeology; twenty three semi-structured in-depth interviews, most of which were undertaken with Aboriginal entrepreneurs; participant observation at a number of cultural education classes and workshops; and, a field journal which was used to collate various notes taken across the course of my research.

There were three main findings from my research. First, entrepreneurship, as theorised within Western scholarship, was practised and highly valued by traditional Aboriginal groups for thousands of years, and contemporary Aboriginal entrepreneurship may be seen as a continuation of these practices. Second, ontology is a central determinant of how people theorise about entrepreneurship and engage in entrepreneurial practices, and the enrichment from these practices is not only economic, as socioeconomic innovation and ontological renewal are integral outcomes of entrepreneurship. Finally, ontology plays a defining role in the activation of network ties, and the use and growth of different networks. The influence that ontology has on the theorisation and practice of entrepreneurship and networking is rarely explained or even recognised, but acknowledgement of this role will allow for a more critical assessment of existing theories, and the development of more inclusive ones.

These findings are based to a large degree on the experiences, practices and perspectives of Aboriginal entrepreneurs and as such, are important for asserting ownership of, and encouraging further participation in, the entrepreneurial space by Aboriginal Australians. In addition, these findings have theoretical implications. They can contribute to a shift in the public's understanding of entrepreneurship, whereby people start to see that individual achievement and financial profit are not the only rewards that successful entrepreneurship has to offer, as entrepreneurship also brings about improved socioeconomic outcomes for Aboriginal communities. Furthermore, by revealing the importance of Aboriginal ontologies to the non-Aboriginal community, Aboriginal entrepreneurs are helping to create a more equitable Australian society. Finally, these findings also contribute to a 'grand narrative' of entrepreneurship; one that recognises how entrepreneurship continues to be practised in a variety of settings and by a range of people whose ontologies have been marginalised within capitalist societies, thereby highlighting the other 'heroes' who undertake this practice.

Acknowledgement

Ko <i>Taiarahia</i> te maunga	<i>Taiarahia</i> is the mountain
Ko <i>Ohinemataroa</i> te awa	<i>Ohinemataroa</i> is the river
Ko <i>Mataatua</i> te waka	<i>Mataatua</i> is the canoe
Ko <i>Tūhoe</i> te iwi	<i>Tūhoe</i> is the bone (tribe)
Ko <i>Te Purewa</i> te tangata	<i>Te Purewa</i> is the man
Ko <i>Te Rewarewa</i> te marae	<i>Te Rewarewa</i> is the gathering place

I would also like to acknowledge:

- the Whadjuk Noongar people, both past and present, who are the Traditional Owners of the Boodjar (Country) where my doctoral studies were conducted;
- my interview participants and in particular, those who shared stories with me about their Countries and culture, elders and kin, and their work as entrepreneurs;
- Curtin University for awarding me a postgraduate scholarship;
- my supervisors - Dr Tod Jones and Dr Diana MacCallum;
- Mum, Dad, Sharon, Donna and Quentin; and,
- Delwyne, Akiwa (Kiwa Bear) and Tainui (Little Tiny).

Also, many thanks to Jake Schapper of Curtin University for his time, patience, and InDesign skills (see Appendix 7).

Table of Contents

Declaration	ii
Abstract	iii
Acknowledgement	v
Table of Contents	vi
List of Figures	xii
Note on terminology	xiii
<i>Note on Acronyms</i>	xiv
Chapter 1: Introduction	1
1.1. The research problem.....	1
1.2. Background to research.....	2
1.3. Positioning the researcher	3
1.4. Research approach	4
1.5. Research focus and objectives.....	5
1.6. Research methodology and design	6
1.7. Thesis structure.....	7
Chapter 2: Research methodology and design	11
2.1. Introduction	11
2.2. Ensuring academic rigour through reflexive practice.....	13
2.3. Developing the project.....	15
2.4. Recruitment Criteria	16
2.5. Research methods	16
2.5.1. Literature reviews.....	16
2.5.2. Interviews.....	17
Interview design.....	17

Recruitment, settings, and ethical considerations	18
Interview and member checking	21
Direct quotes	21
2.5.3. Field journal	22
2.5.4. Participant observation.....	23
2.6. Data analysis.....	24
2.6.1. Data transcription	25
2.6.2. Determining themes.....	25
2.7. Conclusion.....	26
Chapter 3: Ontology, entrepreneurship and networking: a review of relevant literature	27
3.1. Introduction	27
3.2. State policies, structural forces and historical shifts: a short background to Aboriginal entrepreneurship following the British occupation	30
3.3. Ontology and its influence on entrepreneurship and networking.....	33
3.4. Aboriginal ontologies and the Dreaming	37
3.5. A brief history of the entrepreneur and the role of networks.....	39
3.6. Contemporary theories of entrepreneurship.....	42
3.7. Contemporary theories of networks and networking.....	45
3.8. Business and entrepreneurial networks, network ties and social capital	47
3.9. Contemporary Indigenous entrepreneurship	50
3.10. Contemporary Indigenous networks and networking	53
3.11. Conclusion	57
Chapter 4: Aboriginal Ancestors and ontologies: building a ‘grandeur narrative’ of entrepreneurship.....	59
4.1. Introduction	59
4.2. Beyond scarcity – the evolution of Aboriginal entrepreneurship.....	62

4.3.	The role of innovation - entrepreneurship as theorised by Schumpeter	64
4.4.	The influence of social embeddedness on entrepreneurial practices.....	69
4.5.	Entrepreneurship in traditional Aboriginal societies: drawing further theoretical links	71
4.6.	Innovation and overcoming resistance to change.....	73
4.7.	Networks, trade and entrepreneurship in traditional Indigenous societies .	77
4.8.	Conclusion.....	81
Chapter 5: Building contemporary ontologies: the relevance of Aboriginal ontologies and their influence on the entrepreneur and business practice		83
5.1.	Introduction	83
5.2.	Aboriginal ontologies in Australian cities	84
5.3.	Creating awareness of Aboriginal ontologies through cultural education..	86
5.4.	The emergence of contemporary ontologies through cultural education....	88
5.5.	Cultural education: moving beyond the tourism industry.....	91
5.6.	Cultural education: contesting entrepreneurial stereotypes	93
5.7.	Aboriginal ontologies and the right to engage as an entrepreneur: Aboriginal business in the city.....	95
5.8.	Aboriginal business beyond the city: honouring the ‘cultural connection’	97
5.9.	Conclusion.....	99
Chapter 6: Ontology and the negotiation of relationships within the institutional and social structures of community and business.....		100
6.1.	Introduction	100
6.2.	Strengthening ontology through entrepreneurship	101
6.3.	Ontological renewal: ‘bringing the two worlds together’.....	103
6.4.	Cultural obligations; their influence on business structure, and the upkeep of ontologies.....	105
6.5.	Negotiating ontological change: reconciling kinship and business obligations.....	106

6.6.	Contesting cultural obligations through entrepreneurship	108
6.7.	Managing obligations and relationships to elders	110
6.8.	Spiritual aspects of Aboriginal ontologies and their influence on entrepreneurship	113
6.9.	Perspectives on debt and time dependence and the implications for entrepreneurship	116
6.10.	Conclusion	119
Chapter 7: The importance of Aboriginal networks for successful entrepreneurship.....		121
7.1.	Introduction	121
7.2.	Overcoming forms of exclusion and other challenges encountered through membership of family networks	122
7.3.	Building the foundation: the importance of strong ties prior to the establishment of entrepreneurial ventures	125
7.4.	The importance of strong ties during the nascent and growth stages of entrepreneurship	127
7.5.	The importance of balancing the demands of business and family	130
7.6.	The influence of business structure and family on the use of networks ...	131
7.7.	Formation and growth of business networks: help from the wider Aboriginal community.....	133
7.8.	Succession planning and the role of capacity building.....	134
7.9.	The role of Aboriginal networks in succession planning.....	136
7.10.	Building business networks amongst Aboriginal entrepreneurs.....	138
7.11.	Overcoming barriers to the creation of Aboriginal business networks.	140
7.12.	Conclusion	143
Chapter 8: Building business networks with organisations and individuals outside of the Aboriginal community		145
8.1.	Introduction	145

8.2.	Blurring the boundaries between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal networks	146
8.3.	The role of business support organisations: Indigenous Business Australia and the Small Business Development Corporation.....	148
8.4.	Structural issues and their impact on aspiring entrepreneurs and the effectiveness of support services.....	151
8.5.	The importance of mentors and life-coaches for achieving social and business objectives	153
8.6.	Establishing and developing a network of mentors.....	155
8.7.	Overcoming barriers to network growth: racism.....	156
8.8.	‘Evening the playing field’ and breaking the ‘glass ceiling’: moving beyond the domain of ‘Aboriginal affairs’	157
8.9.	Overcoming barriers to network growth: gender-based issues	159
8.10.	Problems arising through the growth of business networks	160
8.11.	Assessing and managing network growth and monitoring its benefits.	162
8.12.	Conclusion	164
Chapter 9:	Discussion and Conclusion.....	166
9.1.	Introduction	166
9.2.	Building the thesis argument.....	166
9.3.	Research findings and significance	167
9.4.	The theoretical implications of my research	171
9.5.	The practical implications of my research	172
9.6.	Conclusion and directions for future research.....	175
References	178
Appendices	209
Appendix 1: Interviewee profiles	209
Appendix 2: Interview sample	217

Appendix 3: Interview questions	219
Appendix 4: Participant information sheet	220
Appendix 5: Participant consent form.....	221
Appendix 6: WAITOC letter of support	222
Appendix 7: WAITOC report.....	223

List of Figures

Figure 1 - Map of Noongar Country and metropolitan Perth, Western Australia....19

Figure 2 – Diagram of relationship between ontology and entrepreneurship.....101

Note on terminology

Estimates place the total Indigenous¹ population across Australia prior to the British occupation² at between 250,000 and 1,000,000, people (Blainey 1995), although “many scholars now accept a figure of at least 750,000” people (ATSIC 1999, 8). It is also believed that there were at least 300 autonomous language groups at this time (Blainey 1976; Flood 2006) and around 500 dialects (Dudgeon et al. 2010). Consequently, Aboriginal Australians today have widely varying political, economic, social and spiritual beliefs and obligations (Berndt and Berndt 1983; Flood 2006; Hiscock 2008; Foley 2010a), and their “knowledge systems...do not universalise” (Rose 1996, 32). They also live in a variety of settings that include urban areas, remote locations, and outlying islands, and their respective communities may be described in a number of different ways such as ‘contemporary’ or ‘semi-traditional’ (Dudgeon, Garvey and Pickett 2000; Pascoe 2010). While it is commonly assumed that all Indigenous Australians make up a single collective, that is, ‘Aboriginal people’, most do not identify as such, but rather, as members of specific groups (Sabbioni 1998; Foley 2010a). For example, the traditional home of the Noongar³ people is the south-west region of Western Australia (Collard 2000; Harben and Collard 2009), and within this group there are 14 distinct language groups (Tindale 1974; Robertson et al. 2016).

However, the use of regional names such as Noongar is inappropriate when referring to all of Australia (Flood 2006). In such instances, the terms ‘Aboriginal’ or ‘Indigenous’ will be used as there is no word amongst any Indigenous group of Australia that denotes the country’s entire Indigenous peoples (Berndt and Berndt

¹ The term ‘Indigenous’ refers to “cultural groups that have an historical continuity with a region before its colonisation”, and so Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islands people are included within this umbrella definition (Frederick and Foley 2006, 1). I will use the terms ‘Indigenous’ and ‘Aboriginal’ interchangeably throughout the thesis, starting with a capital letter as observed by Hindle and Lansdowne (2005) and Archibald (2008), although some direct quotes attributed to various authors use these terms starting in the lowercase.

² That is, prior to the arrival of the first European settlers in 1788 at (the place now known as) Botany Bay on Australia’s New South Wales coast (Nugent 2005).

³ ‘Noongar’ can be spelt in a number of ways. I have selected this commonly used version (Harben and Collard 2009).

1983; Flood 2006). These terms will also be used to help with consistency and clarity (Hiscock 2008) throughout the thesis. While the word ‘Aboriginal’ has negative connotations for many Indigenous Australians due to its imposition on them during the British occupation and early stages of colonialism (Flinders University 2012), it also encompasses many experiences and features that the Indigenous communities of Australia share (Sabbioni 1998). These features; particularly that of dispossession (Nugent 2005; Wensing and Porter 2015), provide a source of unity “and a common sense of identity” which contribute to “a shared, though not uniform, Indigenous culture” (Sabbioni 1998, xix). Of further importance is that Aboriginal groups (including those from Tasmania) and the peoples of the Torres Strait Islands are two distinct groups of Indigenous Australians (Flood 2006). For this reason the term ‘Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander’ will be used where the context makes it necessary to do so (Wensing and Porter 2015). The term ‘Aborigine’ will never be used unless it appears within a direct quote. Many Aboriginal people in Western Australia and beyond consider this term inappropriate due to its use in the classification and control of Indigenous Australians through discriminatory laws such as Western Australia’s *Aborigines Act, 1905* (Simon Forrest, personal communication August 24, 2016).

Note on Acronyms

As only a small number of acronyms are used in this thesis, I have elected to include them in my note on terminology rather than as a separate section.

IBA - Indigenous Business Australia

JVP - Joint Venture Partnership

NAIDOC - National Aboriginal and Islander Day Observance Committee

SBDC - Small Business Development Corporation

TAFE – Technical and Further Education

WAITOC - Western Australian Indigenous Tourism Operators’ Council

Chapter 1: Introduction

The ontological examination of entrepreneurship is fruitful for identifying new types of empirical research, it can lead to theoretical development, and it can impact the practical advice offered to entrepreneurs. (Martin and Wilson 2016, 272)

1.1. The research problem

Politicians, businessmen, and academics have all contributed to the development of a ‘grand narrative’ of entrepreneurship (Lindgren and Packendorff 2003). This narrative typically highlights the white, middle-class male who heroically throws caution to the wind and embraces uncertainty in pursuit of financial wealth, as the epitome of success (Ogbor 2000). Consequently, people who do not conform to this image are often seen as being unable to practice entrepreneurship (Peredo and McLean 2010). For example, it has been argued that a predisposition toward asset and capital sharing within Aboriginal communities, and the central role of reciprocity within their social relations, makes entrepreneurship a practice to which members of these communities are ill-suited (Johns 2011; Pearson and Helms 2012). Furthermore, business networks are considered an essential component of entrepreneurship, but the personal networks of Aboriginal Australians are often described as being unable to support the development of these networks (Foley and Hunter 2008; Klyver and Foley 2012). In addition, some members of the Aboriginal community do not approve of entrepreneurial practices (Foley 2010c).

Yet, economic activity undertaken in traditional¹ Aboriginal societies bears many of the hallmarks of the entrepreneurial phenomenon as theorised within Western

¹ The term ‘traditional’ is used in this context to refer to Indigenous populations prior to their incorporation into settler states (Taylor 2013). However, I acknowledge that this is a loaded term due to its use in classifying and marginalising Indigenous groups such as Aboriginal Australians based on their ‘authenticity’ (Flinders University 2012). For example, “the idea that the ‘real’ Aboriginal people” live in desert or remote areas rather than in cities, when in fact, many Aboriginal people who live in urban areas maintain strong ties to their traditional Country (Flinders University 2012, 2). In addition, the places upon which cities and other urban areas have risen *are* traditional Country for many Aboriginal groups. For example, the City of Perth sits on Whadjuk Noongar Boodjar, that is, the traditional Country of the Whadjuk Noongar people, who continue to live and practise their culture there (Mary, Indigenous education provider).

scholarship. Innovation, a key aspect of entrepreneurship, was common within such societies, as were individual characteristics and skills common to contemporary entrepreneurs, as well as many of the motivating forces that have always driven entrepreneurial practices (Foley 2012b). Now, members of Aboriginal groups are engaging in contemporary forms of entrepreneurship through innovative business practices. Hence, entrepreneurship occurs in different realms and accordingly, the ways in which we understand entrepreneurship change over time (Walker and Buckler 2009). This suggests not only that theories of entrepreneurship need to be re-examined (Berglund and Wigren 2012), but also that there needs to be a reframing of this phenomenon to encourage the development of new discourses that acknowledge and strengthen the bonds between entrepreneurship, networking, and culture (Harper 2003; Peredo and McLean 2010; Bwisa and Nafukho 2012; Klyver and Foley 2012). This thesis will contribute to this reframing by explaining the effect of ontology on the theorisation and practice of entrepreneurship, how ontology influences people's perceptions of entrepreneurship, including who may be considered entrepreneurial, and the role that entrepreneurship plays in ontological renewal.

1.2. Background to research

My head thesis supervisor, Dr Tod Jones, has a network of contacts within the Aboriginal tourism industry. One of these contacts, Simon Haigh, was the CEO of the Western Australian Indigenous Tourism Operators' Council (WAITOC) in February 2014 when I commenced postgraduate study. Upon learning that I was looking for a research project to underpin my doctoral thesis, Simon put me in touch with two tourism consultants who were designing a 'Product Development Project' for aspiring Aboriginal tourism entrepreneurs on behalf of WAITOC at that time. For a number of reasons this project did not go ahead (see Chapter 2.3), but after speaking with these consultants I started to engage with the literature on tourism entrepreneurship and Indigenous entrepreneurship, and networks and networking, and soon after my focus expanded to entrepreneurship literature in general, due to the commonalities between these literatures. While I also engaged with scholarship in numerous other areas across the course of my studies, it soon became obvious that the theoretical framework of my thesis would need to account for, and respond to, the array of entrepreneurship and networking theories I was engaging with, and the

ways in which they related to entrepreneurs who happened to be Aboriginal. For this reason, my research focus turned toward literature related to ontology, as this body of knowledge offered a way for me to critically analyse and help explain the reasons for, often conflicting accounts of entrepreneurship and networking posited by both academics and my research participants.

1.3. Positioning the researcher

Academic discourse on marginalised groups has often “been written from certain dominant positions”, and the voices of those who are the subject of such discourse have usually been silenced (Hubbard et al. 2002, 9) and their ontologies ignored (Harrison 2012). Therefore, questioning the extent to which one may speak for others and adequately portray their ontological perspectives (Gilbert 2014), and challenging the validity of knowledge and how it is produced are crucial considerations for researchers (Hubbard et al. 2002; Gale 2008). For example, while most research in the fields of entrepreneurship and networking has been undertaken by non-Indigenous people, their suitability “for building the body of knowledge” in the field of Aboriginal entrepreneurship has been questioned (Schaper 2007, 533). Is it “culturally appropriate” for non-Aboriginal people to carry out such “culturally sensitive” research, asks Schaper (2007, 533). While I am not of Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander descent, I identify as Māori (Indigenous New Zealander),² a group who like Indigenous Australians, continue to experience many of the negative impacts of colonialism.

While there are many differences between and amongst broad categories such as Aboriginal, Noongar, and Māori, one characteristic we do share is that of venerating our ancestors through a range of customs and practices, albeit, very different ones (Porsanger 2004; Bargh 2011) in many cases. I believe my own experience of marginalisation along with a personal understanding of Māori customs and protocols, particularly in terms of the way I am expected to interact with *tāngata whenua* (Traditional Owners) outside of my own *iwi* (tribe) and *hapū* (sub-tribe), allowed me to undertake my research with cultural awareness, sensitivity and respect (Greenwood 2014; Meyer 2014) throughout its duration. It was of particular

² See ‘Author Bio’ in the last page of Appendix 7.

importance for me to produce a thesis that not only privileged the voices of Aboriginal participants, but also allowed me to generate a narrative that paid respect to their ontologies and the accomplishments of their ancestors. In this way, I could also acknowledge the connection that Aboriginal and Māori peoples have as Traditional Owners within our respective countries, and pay respect to my own tīpuna (ancestors) in the process.

1.4. Research approach

Most of the primary data for this thesis was collected during semi-structured, in-depth interviews. According to Dunn (2010, 115), researchers must familiarise themselves with the “cultural context” of interviewees prior to an interview. For this reason, building my knowledge of Aboriginal cultures, histories, and the ways that Aboriginal peoples have resisted the structures and processes of colonialism (Jacobs 1996) was an important part of my research journey, and the literature reviews I wrote during this time also allowed me to understand and respond to, the ontological and theoretical issues I encountered when attempting to frame and address my research objectives. More specifically, while entrepreneurship has been reified as a phenomenon that is exclusive to capitalist societies (Schumpeter 1968; Verduijn and Essers 2013), the secondary research I undertook alerted me to the fact that traditional Aboriginal communities practised their own forms of entrepreneurship which led to ontological renewal and/or growth, and this became a focus of my research.

Another important outcome of familiarising myself with the cultural contexts of Aboriginal Australians was that I did not use the word ‘research’ when speaking to any of the entrepreneurs I interviewed. Through the reflexive research approach (O’Reilly 2005) I undertook for this thesis, I soon became aware that the word ‘research’ has negative connotations for many Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities (National Health and Medical Research Council 2014). Any use of the word ‘research’ could cause some interviewees to be cautious about what they say, and the ‘rich data’ (Archibald 2008; Nielsen and Wilson 2012) that I sought to uncover might remain hidden. During any type of conversation with interviewees (whether by email, phone, or in person), I referred instead to my ‘studies’ or my

‘project’, rather than my ‘research’. Incidentally, an Aboriginal postgraduate student I spoke to during the course of my studies said he also avoids using the word ‘research’ when speaking to other members of the Aboriginal community.

1.5. Research focus and objectives

The main focus of this thesis is to examine the influence of ontology in the theorisation and practice of both entrepreneurship and networking, and how ontologies are altered by these practices. Ontology “is central to all social understanding” (Pratten 2014a, 1), and may be described as people’s worldviews (Pavel 1981; Loring 1996), or the fundamental assumptions or beliefs a person or group holds regarding the nature of reality (Scheurich and Young 1997; Hubbard et al. 2002) and what can be known about the world (Andina 2016). Therefore, ontologies are complex and “contested propositions” (Gilbert 2014, 934). Pratten (2014b, 71) believes the contribution that ontological analysis can make to the field of economics remains uncertain, as it is carried out by a range of individuals and groups who undertake a variety of projects, with different aims, using their own “distinct conceptions of ontology.” However, Pratten (2014b, 71) does state that “fine-grained accounts of specific contributions or schools of thought” within economics can be useful. Thus, this thesis sets out to examine ontology and its relationship to entrepreneurship and networking and makes the following argument:

Entrepreneurial practices continue to be enacted by members of groups whose ontologies have been marginalised within capitalist societies and settings, and enrich these groups’ development in ways that are more than just economic. Recognition of this fact challenges longstanding theories of entrepreneurship and networking, and highlights the need to revise them so that they may be applied to a range of settings.

To make this argument I pursued three research objectives:

- Critically analyse conventional theories of entrepreneurship and apply an ‘entrepreneurship lens’ to economic activity in traditional Aboriginal Australian societies to determine if entrepreneurship was practised by these groups;
- Explain the influence that ontology has on both the theorisation and practice of entrepreneurship; and,

- Discuss the influence that ontology can have on networking behaviour and explain the impact that this has on the character of different networks.

1.6. Research methodology and design

This thesis uses a set of qualitative methods to investigate the research objectives, namely, two literature reviews, semi-structured in-depth interviews, participant observation, and a field journal. The information I gathered was analysed predominately through latent content analysis (Dunn 2010). My methodology was designed so I could counter dominant discourse on entrepreneurship and networking, and develop an understanding of these practices, as explained by Aboriginal entrepreneurs, and the outcomes they seek to achieve. An example of the lack of fit between mainstream models for analysing entrepreneurship and participation by Aboriginal Australians is how the strong obligation to meet community and social objectives as part of their business journey (Anderson, Dana and Dana 2006; Hindle and Moroz 2010), does not fit with the emphasis on fast-growing firms and financial profit (Imas, Wilson, and Weston 2012; Verduijn and Essers 2013) as idealised outcomes of entrepreneurship (Berglund and Wigren 2012). Until recently, dominant discourse on entrepreneurship has not considered the achievement of such objectives as a measure of entrepreneurial success (Imas, Wilson and Weston 2012).

Furthermore, there is a notable lack of data relating to Indigenous entrepreneurs in urban areas (Foley 2006a), and the research that has been carried out on Indigenous entrepreneurship, in general, has been criticised because it “lacks theory, rigour and Indigenous perspectives” (Russell-Mundine 2007, 417). Finally, recent critiques of research on entrepreneurship and networking have questioned its considerable focus on generating quantitative data (Jack 2010). In regard to networks specifically, there has been a strong focus on their structural features such as size, density, and levels of activity (Jack 2010), and a lack of attention to ontological influences (Berglund and Wigren 2012). Thus, by using a qualitative research approach that highlights the importance of Aboriginal ontologies, I was able to reveal other important aspects of entrepreneurship and networking.

1.7. Thesis structure

Chapter 2 describes my research methodology and design, and explains how my research project came about. A number of methods were used to support my enquiry. Two literature reviews were employed to examine theoretical and ontological issues relating to entrepreneurship and networking, and participation by Aboriginal Australians in these practices. The main method of primary data collection for this thesis was semi-structured, in-depth interviews, which allowed me to investigate the business and networking practices of Aboriginal entrepreneurs. I also kept a field journal to record information that could augment my interview data and engaged in participant observation by attending workshops held by one of my interviewees, and Noongar language and culture classes held at a cultural centre in metropolitan Perth, during which I took notes. This chapter also explains how academic rigour was maintained throughout my research, and in particular, how the use of a reflexive practice allowed me to address the ethical, theoretical, and ontological issues mentioned above. Finally, I explain how the primary data I collected was analysed.

Chapter 3 is the first literature review. It begins by providing a short background to some of the constraints that were placed on Aboriginal entrepreneurship and economic development following the British occupation. A discussion of ontologies and their effect on entrepreneurial practice follows on from this, and then a brief history of the entrepreneur is provided. Contemporary theories of entrepreneurship and networking are then explained, before the literature on contemporary Indigenous entrepreneurship and networking is discussed, in order to highlight the similarities and differences between these fields. This literature review reveals how different ontologies have engendered different ways of both defining and engaging in entrepreneurship and networking, and how greater recognition is now beginning to be given to entrepreneurs whose ontologies have usually been marginalised in Western societies.

Chapter 4 is the second literature review. It focuses on economic practices in traditional and historical Aboriginal societies. The chapter begins by explaining the emergence of entrepreneurship in traditional Aboriginal societies, along with the crucial role of innovation (as described by Austrian economist Joseph Schumpeter, a leading figure amongst entrepreneurship theorists) in this practice. Further

theoretical links are drawn between entrepreneurship in traditional and contemporary settings, before the role of networks and trade in traditional Indigenous entrepreneurship is explained. This chapter makes the argument that entrepreneurship was practised by traditional and historical Aboriginal groups. Crucially, this argument is also made using primary data provided by Aboriginal entrepreneurs, through a reinterpretation of literature from a variety of fields including Australian archaeology and anthropology, and economics, and by applying an ‘entrepreneurship lens’ to various economic activities undertaken by these groups. These findings challenge negative stereotypes of Aboriginal peoples, such as a supposed inability to practice entrepreneurship successfully, and, the notion that entrepreneurship is somehow unsuited to Aboriginal cultures and lifestyles.

Chapter 5 begins by describing how Aboriginal ontologies remain relevant within urban areas and how these ontologies are renewed as Aboriginal Australians engage in entrepreneurship. The role of entrepreneurship in creating awareness of these ontologies is then explained, before certain cultural protocols governing where and how Aboriginal people can practice entrepreneurship are discussed. This chapter argues that entrepreneurship is being used by Aboriginal entrepreneurs to contest the marginalisation of Aboriginal Australians and their ontologies, and the perceived absence of these ontologies within cities. It then argues that this form of entrepreneurship has important implications for the upkeep of Aboriginal ontologies, allowing them to adapt and remain relevant, while non-Aboriginal ontologies may also evolve in the process. Education underpins this change, as Aboriginal entrepreneurs develop innovative approaches to meet the demand from individuals, groups, and organisations within the wider community who want to learn about, and engage with, the Aboriginal community. An argument is also made that the ontologies of Aboriginal entrepreneurs inform ethical business practice, by helping them to identify where it is appropriate to practice entrepreneurship, what their business objectives should encompass, and how they should interact with both the Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal community.

Chapter 6 explains how a variety of ontological themes shape the forms of entrepreneurship that Aboriginal Australians practise, and how entrepreneurial practice leads to ontological renewal. The role of cultural obligations, including

kinship obligations, in shaping Aboriginal entrepreneurship is discussed, as is the role of spiritual beliefs, and perspectives on both debt and time dependence. This chapter makes the argument that ontology shapes entrepreneurship and by engaging in entrepreneurial practices, ontological renewal occurs. Cultural obligations in particular have a significant influence on the products and services offered by Aboriginal entrepreneurs and the structure of their businesses. In effect, these obligations act as a moral compass which ensures that the attainment of financial profit, essential for business longevity, is tempered by an ever-present concern for the wellbeing of the Aboriginal community. At the same time, engaging in the business world can lead Aboriginal entrepreneurs to challenge certain aspects of their ontologies, and find ways to reaffirm the importance of others.

Chapter 7 discusses the importance of Aboriginal networks for successful entrepreneurship and reveals the influence that ontology has on the activation of network ties and the use and growth of different networks. The chapter focuses on the role that ‘strong ties’³ play in entrepreneurship, the importance of capacity building and succession planning for entrepreneurs, and the development of Aboriginal business networks and barriers to their formation. The chapter argues that Aboriginal networks, such as family networks and networks of Aboriginal friends and colleagues play a crucial role in the success of Aboriginal entrepreneurs, despite claims to the contrary. Importantly, the chapter also explains how Aboriginal entrepreneurs are reconciling the demands of their family and business networks. This information can be used as part of a ‘network strategy’, which highlights steps that aspiring or established entrepreneurs can take to effectively integrate their personal and business lives, and minimise some of the social and financial costs of being in business (Klyver and Foley 2012).

Chapter 8 explains the importance of networking with business support organisations and individuals for successful Aboriginal entrepreneurship. In particular, it focuses on the role that these organisations play in helping Aboriginal entrepreneurs to build business networks. It also highlights structural issues which limit how effective these support organisations are, before discussing the role that mentors and life-coaches play in successful Aboriginal entrepreneurship. The chapter

³ See Chapter 3.8 for definition.

argues that there are a number of problems relating to the development and growth of business networks, many of which are specific to Aboriginal entrepreneurs, such as working out of ‘Country’,⁴ and discusses how these problems may be overcome. The chapter also argues that while the assistance of business support organisations and individuals is essential for the development of business networks by Aboriginal entrepreneurs, the growth and maintenance of these networks can become problematic, and shortcomings in some business support programmes compound this problem. In addition, like Chapter 7, this chapter will highlight the influence that ontology has on the activation of network ties and the use and growth of networks, and important measures that entrepreneurs can adopt or adapt as part of a personalised network strategy.

Chapter 9 is the final chapter. It begins by restating the thesis argument and the steps taken to make it. My key findings in relation to the thesis argument and objectives are then provided, before I elaborate on the contribution that these findings make to academic knowledge. The chapter then details the theoretical and practical implications of my findings, before providing an overall conclusion and suggesting directions for future research.

⁴ ‘Country’ in the context of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders will be spelt with a capital ‘C’ to differentiate this term from ‘country area’ or ‘country’ in the sense of a nation such as Australia. Country incorporates a variety of relationships including those between and amongst the land, sky (sky Country), ocean and estuaries (saltwater Country), lakes and rivers (freshwater Country), and the people, animals and other entities both animate and inanimate found within (Rose 1996).

Chapter 2: Research methodology and design

Indigenous Peoples have the right to expect to be written clearly and affirmatively into research by appropriate methodologies. (Rigney 1999, 119)

2.1. Introduction

There are important theoretical issues relating to entrepreneurship and business networking, and participation by Aboriginal Australians in these practices. Until recently, entrepreneurship has remained embedded in social and cultural spaces far removed from those of Indigenous groups (Imas, Wilson and Weston 2012) such as Aboriginal Australians, which has led to a number of other issues. For example, “the funding for entrepreneurship research has economic growth or performance as a main focus” instead of other potential outcomes, such as more equitable communities and improved environmental processes (Berglund and Wigren 2012, 11). Additionally, long-established concepts and language used in entrepreneurial discourse have operated as a means of replicating and sustaining dominant ideologies (Sirolli 1999; Ogbor 2000), thereby excluding the ideologies of marginalised groups such as Indigenous peoples from any such discourse (Imas, Wilson and Weston 2012). However, these groups practise entrepreneurship in their own ways and can therefore contribute to theories of entrepreneurship (Foley 2006a; 2010b; 2012b; Gallagher and Lawrence 2012). Furthermore, theoretical models used as the basis for facilitating Indigenous participation in entrepreneurship have typically been built on data derived from Western economic contexts, with little consideration given to their applicability in other contexts (Peredo and McLean 2010).

There are also important ethical issues which must be considered when undertaking research with Indigenous participants (National Health and Medical Research Council 2014). The ‘power relationship’ between researchers and participants has traditionally favoured the researcher and the institutions that they represent (O’Reilly 2005; Gale 2008). For Aboriginal groups in particular, this power imbalance has long been a source of contention due to the exploitation and subjugation of ‘respondents’ that characterised this relationship for many years (Sabbioni 1998; Dudgeon et al. 2010), while research findings in this context have often brought little

in the way of benefits for those who have been the focus of such research (Porsanger 2004; Foley 2006a; National Health and Medical Research Council 2014). A ‘reflexive turn’ during the last decade has meant that researchers can no longer overlook questions regarding the effect that their ontological perspectives (Harrison 2012; Howitt et al. 2013) and methodological approach has on the research process (Nielsen and Wilson 2012). Questions concerning the effect that a researcher’s work has on those being ‘studied’, how ‘ethically sound’ their work is, and reciprocity, or whether or not this work has any benefit for those who contribute to and are the focus of the research process must also be addressed (Booth, Colomb and Williams 1995; Nielsen and Wilson 2012).

Subsequently, my thesis was placed within the broad paradigm of qualitative research (Crotty 1998). By doing so, the thesis could address a data gap using a methodology that highlights the perspectives and practices of participants, allowing them to challenge existing theories and present alternative ideas. My research was operationalised through a qualitative methodology (Kitchin 2014) due to an ethical requirement to appreciate the ontologies of Aboriginal entrepreneurs and counteract some of the “Western epistemological, economic, political and cultural representations” that in many cases continue to work against the interests of Indigenous groups (Banerjee and Tedmanson 2010, 148). Therefore, my research fits within a broad social-constructivist epistemology (Banks 1993; Hirtle 1996) and employs a set of qualitative research methods. These are semi-structured interviews, participant observation, and a field journal.

While quantitative methodologies dominate entrepreneurial research (Jack 2010), these approaches fail to capture the essence of entrepreneurship in terms of the challenges, successes, and other occurrences that influence an entrepreneur’s behaviour on a day to day basis, particularly in Indigenous settings (Dana and Dana 2005). Thus, a qualitative research approach is essential for understanding what happens at this ‘entrepreneurial coal-face’, so to speak. For example, in his study of community-based entrepreneurship amongst Sámi reindeer herders in Norway, Dana (2008, 82) utilises naturalistic inquiry via immersion in the ‘entrepreneurial environment’ to better understand “entrepreneurship and its social context [and]...the catalysts to various activities.” In addition, quantitative research can have a number

of unintended consequences which compromise the validity and value of data (Dana and Dana 2005). For example, by predetermining variables to be measured in a survey, a researcher is imposing their values upon the respondent. Furthermore, respondents may provide what they consider to be ‘socially desirable responses’ to survey questions (Dana and Dana 2005). Thus, in order to support my thesis argument and fulfil my research objectives to the best of my ability, a qualitative methodology was necessary; allowing me to collect data which might challenge hegemonic discourses on entrepreneurship (Jacobs 1996).

2.2. Ensuring academic rigour through reflexive practice

While there is a range of qualitative research methods, that have been developed across various disciplines from differing academic traditions, and which are applied in a number of ways, one common aspect is their strong focus on reflexivity (O’Reilly 2005). Reflexivity means the researcher constantly considers the implications of their position and the effect they have on the research process; in particular, the influence that they have on the data they collect (Dowling 2010). Thus, a reflexive research practice involves representing experience and opinions from the perspective of those being researched, describing the culture from which this experience originates, and recognising that all experience is drawn along by the course of history (O’Reilly 2005). Ethical issues are a further consideration (Booth, Colomb and Williams 1995; Nielsen and Wilson 2012). Researchers often hold a position of power, but by being reflexive they can change their research approach when necessary (Dowling 2010). Debate among researchers over their ontological and epistemological positioning has allowed for the emergence of a reflexive practice so research can be undertaken in a thoughtful and informed manner and researchers can be “more critical of their own actions, perspectives and responsibilities” (O’Reilly 2005, 59). Awareness of the reciprocal influence of the researcher and participants on the research process and findings is an essential element in guaranteeing rigour in qualitative research (Jootun, McGhee and Marland 2009).

Yet, reflexivity cannot be achieved if there is no deliberate attempt to think outside of the unquestioned expectations, beliefs and norms of society (Ogbor 2000).

According to Casson (2003), many of those who study entrepreneurship do so not out of intellectual interest, but because they admire entrepreneurs due to their success and wealth. I too was motivated by admiration, although the ‘success’ and ‘wealth’ of the ‘entrepreneurs’ I came to admire would not necessarily be recognised as such under prevailing (ontological) representations of the entrepreneur (Banerjee and Tedmanson 2010). To be reflexive, I had to interrogate and challenge the basic assumptions and practices of the paradigm that encompasses conventional models of entrepreneurship (Gilbert 2014). Researchers often build upon existing knowledge through criticism of a paradigm’s underlying theories and as a result, paradigms change (Gilbert 2014). Consequently, I came to challenge the ethnocentrically defined ‘truth’, that has seen entrepreneurship characterised as “a phenomenon belonging to a particular societal group” (Ogbor 2000, 627) at a particular era in time (Max-Neef 1992; Foley 2006a; 2012b).

The use of multiple data collection methods also allowed for cross-checking of information, or triangulation, which is an essential check on the assumptions of researchers, and therefore enhances research rigour (Stake 1995). Triangulation also adds to the credibility of research because it is centred on convergence (Baxter and Eyles 1997). If a number of sources present comparable findings, then credibility is greatly enhanced and in turn, academic rigour is strengthened (Baxter and Eyles 1997). However, even by using several completely different methods of data collection, rigour is not automatically guaranteed (Stake 1995). Aside from the suitability of the methodology, rigour requires the satisfaction of a number of other criteria including the “validity, reliability and objectivity” of research findings (Baxter and Eyles 1997, 506). Accordingly, rigour also relates to standards of academic integrity such as honesty and responsibility which requires the researcher to be self-reflective (Ogbor 2000). The researcher must therefore “declare their interests and agenda” (Ogbor 2000, 628), as this helps indicate whether or not academic work is believable and therefore worthy of attention (Baxter and Eyles 1997). The ways in which these elements of rigour were incorporated into my thesis will be demonstrated next, as I elaborate on the development of my thesis topic and objectives, the recruitment process and criteria for selection, grounds for varying these criteria, and the research methods I employed.

2.3. Developing the project

The research topic and objectives for this thesis were developed following discussions with two non-Aboriginal tourism consultants who have worked for WAITOC in varying capacities over a number of years. In early 2014, WAITOC decided to implement a 'Product Development Project' for the Perth and south-west region of Western Australia, whereby Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal tourism operators would network with each other and with aspiring Aboriginal tourism operators, and key stakeholders such as tourism industry groups, state and local government representatives and community groups. This networking process was intended to take place at a series of workshops and meetings where the key objectives were to discuss the realities of working in the tourism industry, and the development of 'experience clusters' of Indigenous tourism experiences that could help increase visitor numbers, their length of stay, and expenditure (Robert, non-Aboriginal tourism consultant, personal communication April 04, 2014).

Because I intended to work with aspiring and established Aboriginal tourism entrepreneurs as part of my research, I had to submit a high-level ethics approval application¹ to Curtin University's Human Research Ethics Committee, which included a letter of support from WAITOC (Appendix 6). I received this letter on October 20, 2014, but by this time, the brief for the Product Development Project had changed considerably. There had been difficulties finding an advertising medium that would reach a suitable number of potential Aboriginal tourism operators in the south-west region with a limited budget that also had to cover all management costs (Robert, non-Aboriginal tourism consultant, personal communication July 14, 2014). Furthermore, the small number of people who showed a definite interest in entering the tourism industry did not warrant the running of workshops (Robert, non-Aboriginal tourism consultant, personal communication July 29, 2014). Instead, I met several established Aboriginal tourism operators with Robert who was visiting a couple of businesses for a 'catch-up', and

¹ That is, the level of scrutiny for projects considered to present risks to participants. An ethical practice in this context involves causing as little harm as possible to participants and remaining cognisant of the effect you have on both them, and the data they provide (O'Reilly 2005).

after an introductory email was sent out to a number of WAITOC members on my behalf (November 15, 2014), I was able to secure several interviews.

2.4. Recruitment Criteria

While my interview sample was originally intended to consist of WAITOC members only, it soon became apparent that I would have to vary these criteria slightly. In order to collect a suitable amount of data for a PhD thesis, and to strengthen the rigour of my work, I had to make contact with tourism operators outside of WAITOC, and then entrepreneurs outside of the tourism industry altogether. Fortunately, my initial interviews not only ‘snowballed’ (Foley 2008)² on to interviews with other WAITOC members, but also led to interviews with Aboriginal entrepreneurs outside of WAITOC who are involved in a range of business activities, including cultural education and/or experiences, arts and crafts, performance and dance, clothing and small gift retail, fashion design, office supplies, and Indigenous consultancy. Finally, before I conducted my first interview, the content of my interview schedule was reviewed by Robert who has extensive experience working with members of the Aboriginal community in Western Australia. Robert checked the suitability and appropriateness of my questions,³ and through this approach I set out to develop positive, “respectful [and] ethical research relationships” with interviewees (National Health and Medical Research Council 2014, 64).

2.5. Research methods

2.5.1. Literature reviews

Two literature reviews were undertaken to provide relevant information for the thesis. This involved desktop research and physical library searches to locate journal articles, books, policy documents, and other material which would help describe events, practices, and experiences both prior to and following the British occupation

² ‘Snowballing’ occurs when “introductions are gained from initial sources and continually built upon” (Foley 2008, 219).

³ It should be acknowledged that no outside party had power of veto or final say over the interview schedule, which was developed in consultation with my two thesis supervisors, and was ultimately my choice and responsibility.

of Australia that related to my thesis. This allowed me to gain a deeper insight into Aboriginal ontologies, entrepreneurship, and networking in both past and present settings, and provided background information relevant to my research objectives. However, the purpose of the literature reviews went beyond this, as an analysis of literature from fields such as anthropology, archaeology, and economics through an entrepreneurship lens was a crucial method of challenging dominant narratives on entrepreneurship and networking and associated theories. By critically analysing and contrasting this literature, the entrepreneurial nature of economic activity in traditional and historic Aboriginal societies, and the crucial role that networks played in supporting such activity, was revealed.

2.5.2. Interviews

Interview design

Semi-structured, in-depth interviews were the main method of data collection for this thesis. These interviews revealed important historical information as people recounted stories from their past and the past of others (Dzisi 2008), and they allowed me to investigate subjective elements such as people's feelings and views and "interpret these from the interviewee's perspective" (O'Reilly 2005, 114). This approach also meant that I could explore more abstract interpretations of entrepreneurship (Imas, Wilson and Weston 2012). For example, one question I asked the Aboriginal entrepreneurs was whether they thought their elders and/or ancestors were entrepreneurial (Appendix 3). Semi-structured interviews also help create "an informal setting and atmosphere" which makes it easier for interviewees to relax (Tinsley and Lynch 2001, 376), and while there were a few instances where interviewees' tone and body language at the beginning of interviews (Bell 2005) indicated that they were nervous, after a few questions they had relaxed. Furthermore, Baxter and Eyles (1997, 508) state that "similarities between interviewers and interviewees may...foster or stifle interview conversation", and I believe that being an Indigenous person myself, albeit from a different settler state, not only helped put the Aboriginal entrepreneurs I spoke to at ease, but it provided a point of interest in many cases that helped to generate conversation.

Semi-structured interviews also generate data that other methods are unable to provide (Baxter and Eyles 1997), and they can bring to light often conflicting

descriptions and opinions of individuals or groups that help to “counter the claims of those who presume to have discovered the public opinion” (Dunn 2010, 102). In addition, every person has different life experiences and may have a different understanding of their community’s history (Unemoto 2001). Hence, I paid attention to every story I was told, rather than assume I did not need to hear some stories because I had read something similar or heard something similar from another person (Dunn 2010). Finally, the use of semi-structured interviews also demonstrates “respect for and empowers the people who provide the data” (Dunn 2010, 102), which was particularly important for this thesis. “A cornerstone of an ethical research relationship with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peoples”, is respect for the diversity of their cultures, histories and experiences (National Health and Medical Research Council 2014, 62).

Furthermore, as O’Reilly (2005, 145) states, a reflexive approach to interviews requires the researcher to consider the interrelationship with the person being interviewed, and in particular, the questions that are asked, as these will “affect how people see you.” For these reasons, the first question I asked interviewees was ‘can you tell me a little bit about your family and where you are from’ (Appendix 3). This question also served to ease people into the interview process (Tinsley and Lynch 2001). Likewise, the rest of the questions in my interview schedule were open-ended which allowed the interviewees to respond freely, whereas closed-questions impose the researcher’s “own framework of ideas” on interviewees, thus placing limitations on their potential answers (O’Reilly 2005, 120). Therefore, my questions were not only designed to tackle theoretical issues, but to accommodate the needs of participants (Yin 1994; Dunn 2010).

Recruitment, settings, and ethical considerations

A total of twenty three people were interviewed; twelve females and eleven males (see Appendix 1 for brief profiles of each interviewee and Appendix 2 for the interview sample). As mentioned earlier, I was introduced to my initial interviewees through WAITOC and additional interviews snowballed from there. This form of recruitment was appropriate due to the small number of Aboriginal entrepreneurs in the south-west region of Western Australia and the strong networks between them. The interview group included the two tourism consultants mentioned earlier and

another non-Aboriginal person who is heavily involved in the Western Australian Aboriginal tourism sector. The other participants were Aboriginal entrepreneurs. Fourteen of these entrepreneurs identified as belonging to one or more of the fourteen language groups of the Noongar people from the south-west region of Western Australia, while the remaining six entrepreneurs identified as members of other Aboriginal language groups (see Appendix 2). Seventeen interviews were conducted face to face, three were conducted over the phone, and three were via email. As with the face to face interviews, I also looked into appropriate steps for conducting phone and email interviews (Dunn 2010). Of the face-to-face interviews, nine were held at the interviewee's place of business, seven were held at a café or public location, and one was held at the interviewee's home. The first face to face interview took place on November 03, 2014 and the final one was held on June 15, 2015.

As entrepreneurs, the majority of interviewees participate in a number of activities, but I have designated each a specific 'occupation' based on the core activity of their business is. Six have been categorised as 'Indigenous consultants'. These consultants work predominantly with groups such as private organisations, government departments, and councils. They help educate these clients on matters such as Aboriginal culture, customs, and practices (often in both an historical and contemporary context), while providing other services such as conducting 'Welcome to Country' ceremonies. Two of the interviewees have been termed 'Indigenous education providers' and provide the same type of service as the consultants, but engage mainly with schools, universities, tourist groups, and the wider community. Of the remaining twelve entrepreneurs, seven work in the field of art, tourism and/or performance, two operate retail-based businesses, and three are listed as having 'various business interests'. The reason for this is revealed in their profiles (Appendix 1). Twenty two of the interviewees reside in the Perth metropolitan area, and one (Maria, Indigenous consultant) lives in the Pilbara region of Western Australia.

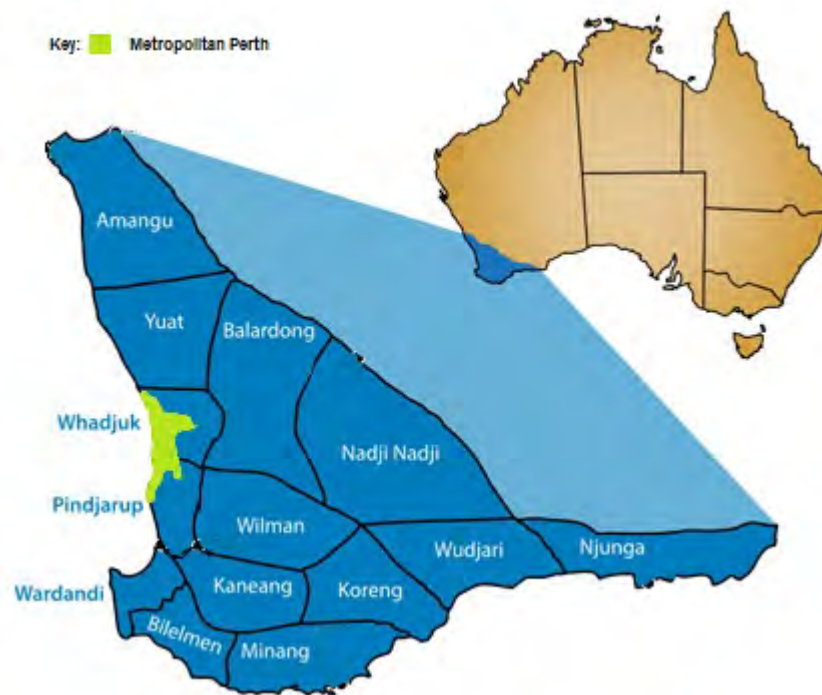


Figure 1: Map of the fourteen Noongar language groups from the south-west region of Western Australia and the location of metropolitan Perth. Noongar boodja (Country) “was not significantly encroached by Europeans until the 1830s”, while some Noongar people continued to live a traditional lifestyle until the early twentieth century (Robertson et al. 2016, 43). The Whadjuk Noongar people are the original inhabitants of most of the Perth metropolitan area (Harben and Collard 2009). **Source:** Map adapted from Whadjuk Trail Network (2017).

The majority of businesses are 100 percent Aboriginal-owned (see Appendix 1 for exceptions), and all of the names assigned to interviewees are pseudonyms except for Andrew (Taylor), who is the owner of the ‘Brothaboy’ clothing label. Andrew asked for his real name to be used. While he has always valued his anonymity, Andrew states that people are increasingly saying to him: “unfortunately, you’re going to have to come forward and say who you are and where you’re from.” The average length of each interview (excluding those via email) was just over fifty minutes. The semi-structured format and open-ended questions that were used provided some direction for these interviews (Yin 1994; Dunn 2010), while allowing the conversation to flow naturally (Tinsley and Lynch 2001). All participants read an information sheet prior to their interview which not only detailed its purpose, but

made it clear that they retained control over any information they provided, and could withdraw from the project at any time (Appendix 4). They then signed a consent form which gave me approval to use the information I collected during interviews for academic purposes (Appendix 5). All interviews were recorded with the permission of interviewees, following assurances that their anonymity would be maintained. Audio recording allowed me to remain focused on the interviewee and play the role of a “critical listener”, rather than continuously have to take notes (Dunn 2010, 119).

Interview and member checking

Every person I interviewed was emailed a copy of their interview transcript, and a number were sent examples of my writing from thesis chapters that contained information from their transcripts. This allowed them to check for “accuracy and palatability”, and “provide alternative language or interpretation” if necessary (Stake 1995, 115) by inserting notes if any changes were necessary. This would ensure that my findings were a sound and honest interpretation of what I had been told (Stake 1995; Archibald 2008). I also discussed relevant transcripts and data chapters in person with three of the interviewees to give them an opportunity to agree or disagree with how I had presented their information and the conclusions I had come to. Each of them was comfortable with what I had written. Qualitative validity is often compromised by the meaning of an interviewee’s message being misinterpreted, and member-checking through the presentation of draft thesis chapters is recommended as a way of clarifying these interpretations (Baxter and Eyles 1997; Archibald 2008). While interviewees “do not have privileged access to the truth, they do have privileged access to their own opinions and meanings”, and member-checking helps ensure an accurate portrayal of these opinions and meanings is presented (Baxter and Eyles 1997, 515), and reinforces academic rigour (Yin 1994). Furthermore, in order to abide by the ethical requirements of my research, interviewees must be shown how the information they have provided has been used (Kearns 2010).

Direct quotes

The inclusion of direct quotes as part of a qualitative research approach allows interviewees to express meanings in their own words, rather than letting the

researcher speak for them (Winchester 2000; Archibald 2008). While there is no specific guide to indicate the amount and length of quotations that should be used, the reason why “particular voices are heard and others silenced” in the presentation of quotes needs to be discussed (Baxter and Eyles 1997, 508). The quotes I included were selected to represent the views of both men and women and the range of industries these entrepreneurs work in. Another factor was their relevance to the issues and themes identified in the literature reviews and data analysis stages. However, researchers from a variety of disciplines and backgrounds are aware that verbatim transcripts can be a source of embarrassment for interviewees, as they expose “the false starts to their sentences, repetition, and the 'ers' and 'umms' and 'you knows’” that people frequently use, often without realising it (Dunn 2010, 123). For this reason, instances of such speech have been edited for grammatical purposes, but only where such editing does not compromise the speaker’s intention. The integrity of an interviewee’s message following such omissions can also be verified through member-checking (Baxter and Eyles 1997; Archibald 2008).

2.5.3. Field journal

As part of my reflexive interviewing technique, a field journal recording interviewees’ demeanour and body language, along with my thoughts, reflections, and experiences of the interviews and interactions was compiled. This complemented the actual interview data by providing further descriptive information (Kearns 2010). Writing notes and taking mental notes are an important part of qualitative research; what you see, hear, and think all have “implications for your overall research puzzle” (O’Reilly 2005, 99). In addition, I recognised how important it was to remain mindful of the ethical implications of my work, and this was done by taking notes to record further “reflexive observations” (Dowling 2010, 30). For example, I took note of people who appeared guarded during interviews and what I did to get them to relax and open up more (Dunn 2010). This might involve letting them “wander off point”, allowing them to see that I was particularly interested in something they were discussing, or changing the subject (O’Reilly 2005, 117).

2.5.4. Participant observation

While undertaking research for this thesis I attended three workshops held by Mary (Indigenous education provider). As part of her business activities, Mary contracts her services to a council in Perth and runs these workshops at a local community centre. The first was attended by roughly a dozen people, most of whom were non-Aboriginal women (at the start of the workshop, Mary asked people where they were from). This workshop focused on Noongar history in the Perth area, including the ongoing effects of Australia's stolen generations⁴ and the politics that created them. The second workshop involved a walking tour in a local bush reserve, which was attended by close to thirty people. Again, this group was made up of mainly non-Aboriginal people, including six men and six children and the rest adult women. During this workshop/tour, Mary discussed the ongoing Noongar relationship to Country, the traditional uses of various plant and animal species, and the Noongar 'six seasons' that guided traditional patterns of living. The third workshop was attended by eight adults and three children, and Mary talked about general Aboriginal history both prior to and following the British occupation, before going on to dispell some of the myths and mistruths that have built up around the Aboriginal community. However, the main focus of this workshop was the influence of 'totems' on people's lives, both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal.⁵ There were two young Noongar women who assisted Mary during the first two workshops (one at each). Their main reason for attending these workshops was to watch and learn from Mary so that one day they might continue her work.

I also attended two one hour craft workshops (held at an Aboriginal cultural centre in Perth) that are part of an Aboriginal enterprise. I made a pair of tapping sticks at each of these workshops, implements that were traditionally used by Aboriginal men

⁴ The stolen generations are those Aboriginal Australians who were taken from their families as children and fostered out to non-Aboriginal families, or made wards of the state before being forced into domestic service in many instances, so contact with their communities and culture could be extinguished (Healey 2001; Simon Forrest, personal communication August 24, 2016).

⁵ Mary explained that a totem is a plant, animal or other entity that a person has a kinship relationship with, and that people are often unaware of this relationship. She also stated that you can have more than one totem and you must "look for your own", which requires people to have an open mind and awareness of their surroundings.

to provide a beat or sound-effects (such as the noise of an animal), during song, dance or story-telling, or to carry messages. In addition, I attended four Noongar language classes that were held at the same cultural centre. These classes were run by an Indigenous consultant (whom I did not interview) and there I learnt a few key Noongar words and a little more about the history of Noongar people. Participants were mainly non-Aboriginal people and the classes ranged in size from a few people to more than a dozen, most of whom were women.

Finally, I attended three ‘On Country’ tours led by Curtin University’s Elder in Residence, Associate Professor Simon Forrest. The first tour involved visiting sites of significance around Metropolitan Perth relating to Noongar leader and resistance fighter Yagan.⁶ The second tour involved visiting places that were important for telling the story of Governor James Stirling’s ambush and massacre of Binjareb Noongar men, women and children on October 28, 1834.⁷ The final tour I went on visited a number of sites, most of which are associated with the Moore River Native Settlement and the New Norcia Mission approximately one hour north of Perth. These are two places where members of the stolen generations were sent to live. My reasons for participating in these tours and workshops/classes was to acknowledge and show respect for Noongar people, both past and present, and to improve my understanding of their cultural context, the importance of which has been highlighted by Dunn (2010).

2.6. Data analysis

Qualitative data analysis attempts to use the primary data gathered by the researcher to draw out and expand on “meaning and understanding” (Kitchin 2014, 119). To support this objective, I took an inductive approach to my research whereby the data I gathered was used to interrogate existing theory (O’Reilly 2005; Gilbert 2014). I considered a deductive approach (common to quantitative research) which uses

⁶ Yagan was born in around 1795 and he was killed in July 1833. Yet, Yagan continues to inspire members of the Noongar community, particularly those who continue the fight for Noongar rights and recognition (Simon Forrest, personal communication August 24, 2016).

⁷ More commonly referred to as “the ‘battle’ of Pinjarra” (Simon Forrest, personal communication September 15, 2016).

existing theory to develop a hypothesis before data is collected to test it (Mayring 2000) to be unsuitable for my research, as new understandings that challenge or complicate prevailing theories could not be developed (Kitchin 2014). I wanted to begin my research having a completely open mind and “as few preconceptions as possible”, and allow understandings which could challenge the dominant discourse around entrepreneurship and networking “to emerge from the data” (O’Reilly 2005, 26).

2.6.1. Data transcription

Notes were recorded on my interview schedule during each interview and then expanded upon while transcribing interviews, before being written up in my field journal. The majority of interviews were fully transcribed on the same day that they took place so the discussions and interactions were still fresh in my mind and I would be less likely to misinterpret what had been said (Dunn 2010). The remainder were transcribed no later than three days after the interview, and then each interview transcript was assigned a code to maintain confidentiality (Dunn 2010). I also took notes during the workshops I attended and then wrote them into a coherent narrative in my field journal once I got home. Some of the field notes are quoted from or used to provide context or additional information in the presentation of my interview data (Simpson and Landsman 2014).

2.6.2. Determining themes

Latent content analysis was particularly important for this thesis and involved searching interview transcripts and field notes for themes which were often exposed by the use of key words (Dunn 2010). An inductive approach requires the researcher to become familiar with literature related to their field of study and relevant theories, and “then to proceed in a manner which is informed but open to surprises” (O’Reilly 2005, 27). So, while key words such as ‘network’ and ‘entrepreneur’ that were central to my research objectives immediately drew my attention during the data analysis process, I was also alert to other words and terms that indicated an important new theme, or that might relate to existing themes (O’Reilly 2005). Data analysis was carried out manually (without the use of computer software), with each data set (interview and accompanying field notes) read multiple times over the course of writing this thesis to ensure that nothing of importance was overlooked

(Dunn 2010). Data analysis can also incorporate intersubjectivity in that results can not only change your understanding of issues and that of participants (Yin 1994; Winchester 2000), but findings can be compared with other research efforts and this provided another opportunity for triangulation, strengthening the reliability of my work (Mayring 2000). Some of the key themes that emerged from this analysis were:

- The influence of cultural obligations and their effect on entrepreneurial practice
- The importance of elders and their role/s within entrepreneurial ventures
- Perspectives on debt and time and how they can impact business success
- Views on gender roles, discrimination, and their effect on the entrepreneur
- The influence of spiritual beliefs on both business structure and practice

2.7. Conclusion

This chapter has outlined my methodology and methods, paying particular attention to some key theoretical and ethical issues that I had to take into consideration before I commenced the interview process. Marginalised groups such as Aboriginal Australians have not been involved in the development of dominant discourse surrounding entrepreneurship, the entrepreneur, and associated networking activities. Furthermore, in many instances they have gained few, if any, benefits from research outcomes. Therefore, in order to achieve my aim of acknowledging and showing respect for Aboriginal peoples and cultures, it was essential that I understand and recognise their perspectives on entrepreneurial practice and networking. Critical reflexivity was also essential; by constantly considering my interpretation of the information I collected and analysed, I could ensure that the perspectives of Aboriginal entrepreneurs were used to counter dominant discourse where necessary. This led me to choose a qualitative research approach as part of a broad social-constructivist theoretical position, and then utilise a set of qualitative research methods – specifically, two literature reviews; semi-structured, in-depth interviews; participant observation; and, a field journal. This particular set of methods would allow me to meet my research objectives, respect the needs of participants, and ensure the rigour of my work.

Chapter 3: Ontology, entrepreneurship and networking: a review of relevant literature

Always be questioning the taken for granted ideas, theories, methods and facts that constitute the ‘orthodoxy’ of the entrepreneurship field. (Tedmanson et al. 2012, 537)

3.1. Introduction

The profit-seeking individualism that is often associated with entrepreneurial practices, and the tendency toward asset and capital sharing that is common within Indigenous societies, underpin an argument that entrepreneurship is incompatible with Indigenous cultures, social networks, and ontologies (Holmquist 2003; Lindgren and Packendorff 2003; Walker and Buckler 2009; Peredo and McLean 2010; Foley 2012b). Also, while having an entrepreneurial family member improves a person’s chances of becoming an entrepreneur themselves (Klyver, Hindle and Meyer 2008; Frederick and Kuratko 2010; Bwisa and Nafukho 2012), prior business ownership is uncommon within Aboriginal families and this presents another obstacle to self-employment (Australian Taxation Office 2009). There is also a lack within many Aboriginal families of the economic capital which is usually needed to get businesses up and running (Browne-Yung et al. 2013), and recent figures show that non-Aboriginal people “are 3 times more likely to own and run their own business” than Aboriginal people are (Morley 2014, 4). For such reasons, Pearson and Helms (2013, 45) state that agreement on how to facilitate “sustainable entrepreneurial employment” amongst contemporary Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander groups has not been reached.

In addition, Frederick and Foley (2006, 7) state that “cultural deprivation with social hopelessness” is prevalent within these groups, and so to find and harness “an enterprising spirit” among them is a difficult undertaking. Furthermore, the social networks of Aboriginal Australian entrepreneurs have been portrayed by some researchers as of little use, or as an impediment to business activities (Klyver and Foley 2012; Lahn 2012). For example, Foley and Hunter (2008) posit that broad social and business networks have not developed amongst Aboriginal Australian groups, leaving them isolated within a dominant settler society culture. The

development of these networks also requires Aboriginal entrepreneurs to immerse themselves in a business environment and engage in networking activity with the non-Aboriginal community, and it has been highlighted that many in the wider Aboriginal community frown upon this kind of interaction (Foley and Hunter 2008). As Schaper (2007) suggests, there has often been discord between the traditional values of Indigenous groups, and the principles of contemporary entrepreneurship.

Aboriginal entrepreneurs may also attempt to conceal their Indigeneity¹ in order to be racially accepted by the wider business community (Klyver and Foley 2012; Browne-Yung et al. 2013); racial prejudice and stereotyping by some non-Aboriginal people has hindered Aboriginal participation in the economy (Ord and Mazzarol 2007; Browne-Yung et al. 2013). In some cases, Indigeneity has been cited as an obstacle to economic development, “with several policy makers advocating that culture should be kept separate from business and that Indigenous people need to embrace the ‘whitefella’ model of work” to achieve business success (Banerjee and Tedmanson 2010, 155). Therefore, the broader context within which entrepreneurship and networking occur must be taken into account to understand these practices (Parkhe, Wasserman and Ralston 2006). Culture is a significant aspect of this context (Harper 2003; Fuller and Gleeson 2007; Hindle 2010), and so a number of authors have discussed the influence that an entrepreneur’s culture has on their business and networking practices (see for example, Dana 2007; Peredo and McLean 2010; Klyver and Foley 2012; Foley 2012a). Yet, this broader context cannot be reduced to culture alone. For example, while an entrepreneur may identify as an Indigenous person and be subject to certain expectations within their specific cultural group, they have also been shaped by numerous other influences, such as the effects of European colonisation (Schaper 2007).

Thus, to understand this broader context more clearly, and to provide both an historical and theoretical framework for my research question, this chapter will progress through a number of stages. It starts with a brief overview of policies, structural forces, and historical shifts that have influenced Aboriginal entrepreneurship since the British occupation. This will be followed by a discussion

¹ In its simplest form, Indigeneity is defined as ‘being Indigenous’, while Indigenism refers to the “philosophies and politics of indigenous identification” (Forte 2010, 2).

of ontology, an area of philosophical study that influences the development of all theory, but which “has not (yet) been received with an extensive discussion in mainstream entrepreneurship research” (Berglund and Wigren 2012, 12). Ontology may be understood as the study of ‘being’, a term that can be thought of in two broad senses: “something that *is*, or exists [or] what it is to be or to exist” (Lawson 2014, 19, emphasis in original). Therefore, ontology is relevant to this thesis as it defines a person’s outlook regarding the nature of existence.² Consequently, ontology determines how people engage in different aspects of their lives (Gilbert 2014), including their entrepreneurial and networking practices, and how people theorise about these practices. Hence, a subsequent section will include a more detailed explanation of ontology, which will be followed by a brief description of the sets of beliefs referred to as the ‘Dreaming’. This will help frame the discussion of ontology in the context of Aboriginal Australians. A short history of ‘the entrepreneur’ follows on from this, and discusses the types of people who have practised this role in different times and places to demonstrate that entrepreneurship is a phenomenon that has always existed outside the boundaries of the market economy, and remains so.³

The chapter then provides an overview of contemporary entrepreneurial literature, which highlights how many theorists now reject some of the long-held beliefs about entrepreneurship and are seeking to be more inclusive of those disadvantaged individuals and groups who are increasingly identifying as entrepreneurs, yet have until recently been ignored by mainstream theories. I will then discuss contemporary uses of ‘network’, including ideas about how networks extend beyond humans to include ‘things’ and other living entities, the importance of the various ‘ties’ which bind people and resources within networks, and the role that networks play in entrepreneurship. After this I will discuss the field of contemporary Indigenous entrepreneurship, which includes research on Aboriginal Australian entrepreneurs,

² Ontological enquiry has also been extended to other living organisms, objects, and technology (Gilbert 2014; Andina 2016). For example, the term Ontology is used in the field of computer and information science to signify a formal ‘computing language’ (Lawson 2014).

³ ‘Market’ as used throughout this thesis usually refers to a self-regulating economy directed by the forces of supply and demand (Polanyi 1957; Peredo and McLean 2010), as opposed to a ‘marketplace’ for example, where people meet to buy and sell goods (Hebert and Link 1982).

describing the key elements which differentiate this field from that of mainstream entrepreneurial practice, and explain the reasons why further research into Indigenous forms of entrepreneurship is required. Finally, the chapter examines the use of business networks and networking by contemporary Indigenous people, including Aboriginal Australians. Some of the difficulties that these individuals face in establishing and developing business networks will be explained, as will some of the unique characteristics which differentiate these networks from mainstream business networks.

3.2. State policies, structural forces and historical shifts: a short background to Aboriginal entrepreneurship following the British occupation

A multitude of economic, social, and political constraints placed over Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders following the British occupation have influenced their entrepreneurial and networking practices (Foley 2006a). These constraints originated from international law created by European colonial powers during the eighteenth century that allowed for new territory to be taken through conquest, cession or occupation (Hunter 1993). Occupation required land to be *terra nullius* (belonging to no one), an ambiguous concept in that it can mean “land belonging to *no-one*, or land *belonging* to no-one” (Hunter 1993, 490, emphasis in original). As the Indigenous peoples of Australia had no *recognised* systems of agriculture, property, or government (my emphasis), the doctrine of *terra nullius* was applied to the continent by the British government in 1788 (Hunter 1993). Armed conflict between British subjects and Indigenous groups over land and resources began almost immediately, and combined with the introduction of numerous foreign diseases, Indigenous populations were decimated (Sabbioni 1998; Collard 2000; Pascoe 2010). The “industrial-scale seizure of resources” was then bolstered by the swift introduction of ‘colonial technologies’ (Matunga 2013, 7), such as urban and rural planning policies, private property laws, and land surveying and mapping techniques (Jacobs 1996). Aboriginal Protection Boards were also created and were responsible for the establishment of reserves where remnant populations of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders were sent to live (often forcibly) (Jacobs 1996; Maynard 2014).

These groups were further categorised and controlled under discriminatory laws such as the *Aboriginal Protection Act, 1869* (Victoria), the *Aboriginals Protection and Restriction of the Sale of Opium Act, 1897* (Queensland), and the *Aborigines Act, 1905* (Western Australia) (Bessarab 2000). Yet, despite such restrictions, some Aboriginal people were able to engage in entrepreneurial activity. For example, Russell (2014) discusses enterprise and entrepreneurship in the context of Aboriginal seamen from the 1840s until the 1860s. These men exerted “their individual autonomy and agency” by embarking for a life at sea where they could be free from colonial restrictions, and seek opportunities for financial profit as sealers and whalers (Russell 2014, 97).⁴ From 1860 until 1886 at the government station of Coranderrk near Melbourne, the production and sale of “baskets, hats, mats and opossum rugs” by Aboriginal women to tourists provided the main source of year-round income for residents (Barwick 1970, 32).⁵ Toward the end of the nineteenth century, Aboriginal fringe-dwellers in the coastal town of Tewantin in Queensland would sometimes sell fish and stripped bark to local residents (Cato 1982), and Aboriginal men from La Perouse mission in Botany Bay would make money by “catching fish and letting their boats to visitors” (Thornton 1883, 3). Many Aboriginal groups living on reserves at this time also operated farms or undertook other forms of European economic enterprise (Broome 1982).

During the same period in Sydney, a market emerged for Aboriginal women’s shellwork such as baskets and trinket boxes, and in less than 20 years, shellwork was an important part of the Aboriginal art market in a number of Australia’s metropolitan centres (Nugent 2012). Women from La Perouse mission initially sold shellwork in public and door-to-door in Sydney’s suburbs, and by the first years of the twentieth century were selling to visitors and tourists to the mission (Nugent 2012). By the 1940’s, shell-work manufacture and sale had become a family affair,

⁴ Some desert areas also lay outside the direct supervision of colonial officials, and a natural entrepreneurial ability was utilised in these settings too. Here, Aboriginal groups sold dingo scalps to European ‘doggers’ during the early years of the twentieth century but were often cheated out of a fair price, so some went into business for themselves by selling the scalps directly to official agents for the price paid to Europeans (Broome 1982).

⁵ Such entrepreneurial flare is not surprising considering Aboriginal women prior to the British occupation were essentially independent of men economically and “their place was not only by the camp fire, but in the wider economic world” (Berndt 1970, 47).

with “Aboriginal men, women, [and] children working together” in what Nugent (2012, 223) identifies as the beginning “of individual Aboriginal family-owned souvenir businesses.” However, Ardler (1988) places the emergence of such businesses at an earlier date, describing how her grandmother started producing shellwork and her grandfather made boomerangs after they moved to La Perouse sometime during 1917-1918. Ardler (1988, 39) goes on to state that “when he was not working [grandfather]...had to take the shellwork and Boomerangs to the Loop to sell”, and eventually her parents and aunty established their own little shellwork and boomerang business, selling their work to a number of customers including the retailer David Jones.

Importantly, “the souvenir production process provided a context for some oral traditions to continue and for some new ones to be made” (Nugent 2005, 84). Thus, family and business networks were crucial to the success of Aboriginal entrepreneurship, and these ventures allowed people to maintain certain cultural traditions such as gender-based roles, while “building social cohesion within a broader Indigenous community” (Kleinert 2010, 179). As Broome (1982, 74) states, the evidence indicates that Aboriginal peoples “were trying to survive and retain the best of both worlds” by upholding as much of their culture and identity as possible, “rather than endeavouring to become just like Europeans.” A further example is provided by Kleinert (2010, 179), who describes how Noongar artists “Alma Toomath and Revel Cooper...who had grown up on the Carrolup mission in southwest Western Australia”, were employed by Wiradjuri (central New South Wales) man Bill Onus in the mid-1950’s. They produced work for his tourist outlet Aboriginal Enterprises (Melbourne), which also imported and sold artefacts from Aboriginal groups in Arnhem Land (Kleinert 2010).

A major shift in the economic, social, and political autonomy of Aboriginal Australians came during 1972, when self-determination replaced assimilation⁶ as federal policy, leading to the return of large blocks of land to Aboriginal groups

⁶ Although used in an unofficial capacity from 1910, the first Commonwealth-State conference on ‘native welfare’ in 1937 officially adopted ‘assimilation’ as a national policy, and this decision was upheld at the third conference in 1951 (Healey 2001). The expected outcome of this policy was that all people of Aboriginal descent would eventually live like white Australians and all traces of Aboriginal culture would be eliminated (Leask and Philpot 2012).

under legislation such as the *Aboriginal Land Rights (Northern Territory) Act 1976* (Flood 2006).⁷ Then, in 1992, Australia's High Court rejected the doctrine of *terra nullius* after Eddie Koiki Mabo, a Torres Strait Islander, challenged its legality (Bessarab 2000). This led to additional land rights legislation including the *Native Title Act 1993*, which facilitated the return of more land to Aboriginal groups who made successful claims under the act (Buultjens, Gale and White 2010). Such land was used by some groups as the basis for Aboriginal tourism enterprises, amongst other purposes (Buultjens, Gale and White 2010).⁸ Thus, while brief, this historical context reveals how important entrepreneurial activity has been for Aboriginal peoples since the British occupation. It also shows that Aboriginal entrepreneurs often worked in tourism-related occupations during the colonial period, as this was one of the few areas where they could express their agency, and maintain certain cultural practices. Furthermore, when colonialism is viewed as a persistent social structure, rather than a period in the past (Jacobs 1996; Kerr and Cox 2016), it helps to explain why many Aboriginal entrepreneurs continue to work in the tourism industry. Importantly, it also demonstrates the continuity of Aboriginal entrepreneurship as it evolved through the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, although the extent of this continuity will be revealed in the following chapter.

3.3. Ontology and its influence on entrepreneurship and networking

According to Smajls (2008), the development of 'European Ontology' as a field of enquiry has occurred over the last two and a half thousand years, originating from the work of celebrated Greek philosophers Parmenides and Aristotle. 'Ontology' is derived from the Greek 'onto', meaning 'being', and 'logos', which is usually

⁷ This policy shift followed the referendum of 1967 that granted all Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders Australian citizenship, the right to vote (Pascoe 2010), and the right to be included in the national census. When the Australian constitution was adopted in 1901, it was decided that Aboriginal peoples would not be included in the census count (Attwood et al. 1997) in an official capacity.

⁸ The final report from the Royal Commission into Aboriginal Deaths in Custody (1991) recommended that Aboriginal groups be notified and their interests determined where any major tourism proposal could affect areas of significance to them. Subsequently, tourism was identified as an area of economic development that might be suited to Aboriginal groups.

translated as ‘science’,⁹ hence, the traditional meaning of Ontology is “the science or study of being” (Lawson 2014, 19).¹⁰ The word ‘being’ is commonly used in two senses, referring to “something that *is*, or exists” (an ‘existent’), or “what it is to be or exist.” The study of “what *is*, or what exists”, and the nature of these existents has been termed ‘scientific Ontology’, while “the study of how existents exist” is known as ‘philosophical Ontology’ (Lawson 2014, 19, emphasis in original). Smajs (2008, 18) makes this distinction in another way, stating that:

For our purposes it is sufficient to claim, in accord with Aristotle, that existence is that which has being (that is the unity of substance and existence), and being is that which encompasses the unity of all differentiated beings and whose meaning comes closer to such related terms such as reality and order.

Lawson (2014, 21), states that a long-established goal of Ontology has been to investigate “the possibility of a system of classification that is exhaustive in the sense that everything (we know about) can be interpreted as a particular instance” - that is, the possibility of representing reality in its entirety at any given moment. Yet, he also believes that it can be appropriate to define sub-branches of Ontology; to divide reality into separate domains¹¹ based on the “shared modes of existence of a set of existents”, and has concluded that “the domain of phenomena reasonably demarcated as social reality or the social realm” (or social life) is one such sub-branch (Lawson 2014, 21). The social realm encompasses all phenomena and existents whose formation and continuing existence depend upon people and their interactions (Pratten 2014a; Andina 2016). Thus, “the study of what is, or what exists, in the social realm, including the nature of specific social existents” has been termed ‘social-scientific Ontology’, and “the study of how social phenomena exist, their modes of existence, connections between social existents, and so on” has been termed ‘social-philosophical Ontology’ (Lawson 2014, 30).¹² Already, some of the

⁹ ‘Logos’ is also defined as the ‘word of God’, in that “everything exists insofar as it is *said* by God: it is God who brings things into being by taking them away from the darkness of not being...the word is a performative utterance” (Andina 2016, 45, emphasis in original).

¹⁰ The Bailey’s Dictionary of 1721 contains the first description of Ontology in the English language, where it is defined as “an account of being in the abstract” (Lawson 2014, 47).

¹¹ A sub-branch of Ontology is also referred to as ‘domain-specific’ or ‘regional’ Ontology (Lawson 2014).

¹² A convention adopted by Lawson (2014, 20) is to refer to the results of such study as an Ontology, that is, Ontology is “both a form of study and its results.”

complexities involved in Ontological discourse, thought, and theorisation (O'Reilly 2005; Gilbert 2014; Andina 2016) are highlighted. In addition, Poli and Seibt (2010, vi) assert that the historical depth of Ontological study and theorising “does not permit ingenuous simplifications” of this concept.

Adding to this complexity is the fact that individuals and specific groups can have their own distinct ontology (Pavel 1981; Benadusi, Lutri and Sturm 2016). That is, while ‘Ontology’ (beginning in the uppercase) refers to a field of scientific enquiry (Pratten 2014b), this term is also used by numerous authors to describe people’s different, and often contested “beliefs about what exists” (Hubbard et al. 2002, 5), what is ‘real’, the nature of ‘reality’, or ‘being’ in the world (O'Reilly 2005; Gale 2008; Gilbert 2014), and what constitutes the “spiritual and material world” (Harrison 2012, 205). Therefore, I will use the term ‘ontology’ (beginning in the lower case) when discussing such beliefs, and ‘ontologies’ as the plural form. I will also use ‘ontology’ as a category that describes more generalised worldviews, beliefs, perspectives, values, practices, and obligations pertaining to a specific group, for example, a ‘Noongar ontology’ or a ‘non-Aboriginal ontology’. Furthermore, not all ontologies can be adequately defined using European explanations of this concept (Pavel 1981; Archibald 2008; Benadusi, Lutri and Sturm 2016). As Howitt et al. (2013, 331) state, “Eurocentric ontologies are inadequate for encompassing alternative ontological perspectives.” For example, within Australia, the dominance of Eurocentric ontologies is especially pronounced in cities, where “property rights, governance, and (non-Aboriginal) law” reinforce the view that Aboriginal ontologies are relics of the pre-colonial era, and completely out of place (Porter 2013, 283). Hence, as Watson (2010, 269) has observed, “Indigenous people simply cannot be Indigenous in the city.” However, this dominance is strongly contested (Porter 2014), and recently, Indigenous ontologies have been presented “as serious alternatives to Western philosophies in understanding the nature of ‘being in the world’”, and as a means of critically addressing some of the social, environmental and economic problems that these dominant philosophies have failed to address (Harrison 2012, 213). As DeLugan (2010, 152) states:

Indigenous values criticize the values of Western modernity and global capitalism, in particular individualism, materialism, and a prevalent discrepant sense of humanity, that separate humans not only from each other but also from all creation. Individual and group distinctions are recognized, yet concomitantly placed in the larger framework of relatedness.

Thus, Bearance and Holmes (2015, 143) argue that it is appropriate for researchers to develop their own “personal embodiment” of Ontology that encompasses “a practical understanding of the concept” as well. For example, both Harrison (2012) and Howitt et al. (2013) use the term ‘worldview’ as a means of explaining Indigenous ontologies. As Harrison (2012, 207) states, while the “worldviews” and perceptions of reality amongst Aboriginal Australians are by no means homogeneous, “there are certain fundamental ways of thinking about ‘being in the world’” that are common throughout Aboriginal Australia; something he terms ‘Indigenous ontological perspectivism’. Similarly, Coulthard (2014, 169) explains that Indigenous traditions, values, and practices which have evolved over many thousands of years have helped to shape “another modality of being, a different way of relating to and with the world”, and continue to do so. Rigney (1999, 113) similarly states that “Indigenous Peoples think and interpret the world and its realities in different ways from non-Indigenous Peoples because of their experiences, histories, cultures, and values.”

Importantly, Proulx (2010, 39) argues (in both the Australian and Canadian contexts) that there is often a misperception that “ways of being in the world” are fundamentally altered when “new spaces for...changing forms of expressing and living aboriginality [sic]” are opened up, such as following the transition of Indigenous people from traditional homelands to urban areas. However, although “new forms of being in the world” do emerge in these spaces “traditional values are still valorised” (Proulx 2010, 54). For example, “obligations to country” (Harrison 2012, 210) and values such as “respect for the land and for elders” continue to be “an intimate feature of the worldview” of many Indigenous groups (Loring 1996, 2), such as “the Inuit community of Canada’s north” (Kao, Kao and Kao 2002, 117). As Coulthard (2014, 169) states, “ancestral obligations to protect the land [are]...core to who we are as Indigenous peoples.” Familial obligations to Country as well as “bonds of kinship with particular plant and animal species” which may be thought of as ‘social’ relations, are particularly important aspects of Aboriginal Australian ontologies (Harrison 2012, 211). Yet, such values are not as integral to capitalist societies where “ontological...categories or concepts like individuality [and]...free enterprise” play more important roles in defining the ‘real’ world and subsequently marginalise other ways of viewing reality or being in the world, particularly those of Indigenous groups (Scheurich and Young 1997, 8). Here then, we not only see how

cultural difference can lead to the formation of different ontologies, and significant diversity both within and between them, but various categories or concepts (Scheurich and Young 1997; Churchill 2011; Andina 2016; Benadusi, Lutri and Sturm 2016) such as ‘values’, ‘obligations’, and ‘kinship’ may be used to help explain these ontologies.

Therefore, as my research is predominately based on primary data collected from Aboriginal Australian entrepreneurs, I will also use (interrelated) categories such as ‘worldviews’ (Pavel 1981; Loring 1996; Howitt et al. 2013), ‘beliefs’ (Hubbard et al 2002), ‘perspectives’ (Harrison 2012; Howitt et al. 2013), ‘values’ (Rigney 1999; Proulx 2010), ‘practices’, and ‘obligations’ (Harrison 2012; Coulthard 2014) to discuss/describe ontology and ontologies, rather than focussing on the notion of ‘being’ which characterises Ontology (Smajs 2008). More specifically, in subsequent chapters, I will examine how ontological themes that emerged from my primary data including spiritual beliefs, cultural/kinship obligations, interviewees’ perspectives on who has the right to engage in business and where they may do so, and their views on debt and the relevance of time, influence entrepreneurship and networking. I will also examine how, by engaging in entrepreneurship and networking, the ongoing reproduction of Aboriginal ontologies occurs. This approach will allow me to ground my research (Bearance and Holmes 2015), move away from the European philosophical and scientific roots of Ontological discourse (Pratten 2014a; Andina 2016; Benadusi, Lutri and Sturm 2016), and focus on Aboriginal ontologies which describe ‘ways of being’ very differently (Harrison 2012).

3.4. Aboriginal ontologies and the Dreaming

Aboriginal ontologies are related to, and informed by, but different from the ‘Dreaming’. The Dreaming is an elusive concept (Stanner 1953), sometimes described as a period of creation in the distant past (Rose 1996; Bednarik 2006), or as a religious belief, the essence of which is the unity of the land and everything upon and around it (Broome 1982). Explanations of the Dreaming often describe how Aboriginal peoples originated from the land or sea through the actions of female and male ancestral beings, and this remains an important belief for many Aboriginal

Australians (Broome 1982; Dudgeon, Garvey and Pickett 2000; Pascoe 2010).¹³ The ‘Dreamtime’ is a term first alluded to by the Australian anthropologist and ethnologist Frank Gillen (Bennett 2010),¹⁴ who discusses “the dream-times” in his memoir from 1896, based on lengthy explanations by members of the Arunta people from the Northern Territory “for the origin of fire” which their ancestors had acquired in the ‘distant past’ (Wolfe 1991, 200). The Arunta term for this period was ‘ūlchurringa’, and Gillen went on to explain that this meant ‘dream-times’ (Wolfe 1991).

Over time, the Dreaming was adopted “as a pan-Australian marker of a generalised Aboriginal culture”,¹⁵ particularly in the context of esoteric beliefs (Bennett 2010, 190). However, despite the fact that the term ‘Dreaming’ only emerged following interactions between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people (Bennett 2010), explanations of and understandings that form the Dreaming predate this contact. In fact, most interpretations of the Dreaming are derived from knowledge systems that have existed for many millennia (Dudgeon, Garvey and Pickett 2000), and include various accounts concerning the nature of reality and the material and spiritual worlds (Rose 1996; Bednarik 2006; Bennett 2010). As such, the Dreaming is a useful referent for explaining Aboriginal ontologies. Just as individuals have their own ontology, (Aboriginal) individuals may also have their own Dreaming, which encompasses understandings of, and relationships with, one another and the wider world, along with their rights and responsibilities in different settings (Rose 1996), which in turn will influence their attitudes toward entrepreneurship and networking. Certain aspects of these Dreamings may also be part of a broader Dreaming that exists at a group level (Harrison 2012). For example, a key concept within all Dreamings is “the interconnection of culture and the natural world” (Harrison 2012, 208). This also highlights how Dreamings challenge Eurocentric ontologies which

¹³ Therefore, it is inappropriate to use words such as ‘myth’, ‘folklore’, ‘fable’, or ‘legend’ to discuss the Dreamings as this trivialises them and makes the Dreamings appear as untrue, or as fairy-tales (Flinders University 2012).

¹⁴ The term ‘Dreaming’ implies continuity and is considered a more appropriate term than ‘Dreamtime’ which suggests a period in the past that no longer exists (Flinders University 2012).

¹⁵ The appearance of a generalised Aboriginal culture has also been “consciously created through the binding energy of kinship obligations and familial networks” (Pearson and Daff 2012, 190).

categorise everything (Smajs 2008) and highlight dualisms such as ‘nature and culture’, ‘mind and matter’, and ‘human and non-human’ (Harrison 2012).

Thus, the Dreaming/s may also be considered in terms of a network or, as Harrison (2012, 213) states, a “connectivity ontology”, although divisions such as ‘social network’ and ‘economic network’ are not made. Similar ontologies may also be found amongst other Indigenous groups. For example, Coulthard (2014, 63) explains that within an Indigenous Canadian worldview, a person may be located as “an inseparable part of an expansive system of interdependent relations covering the land and animals, past and future generations, as well as other people and communities.” Yet, to liken such a significant, complex, and often misunderstood concept as the Dreaming/s (Bennett 2010) to the relatively recent¹⁶ and less complicated concept of Ontology could be considered presumptuous. So too, could the classification of several themes which emerged from my primary data as Ontological, when in fact, these themes are central to understandings of the Dreaming/s (Harrison 2012). However, as Yunipingu (1996, 5) states:

What do Aboriginal People mean when we say ‘Dreaming’? It is just a word that we learned to use for the ears of White people. Maybe it is a simple word to communicate – maybe we use it seriously, or maybe we just use it for the sake of communication. So it goes on. I will leave it up to you to decide what you use it for.

Therefore, to achieve the main goal of this thesis which is to examine ontology and its relationship to entrepreneurship and networking, for the sake of continuity, and to avoid confusion, further discussion of these themes will mostly be made in the context of ‘ontology’ and ‘ontologies’. Interestingly, Yunipingu’s (1996) statement also highlights the relationality of ontologies, that is, they only exist coherently in opposition to one another, and so although there are boundaries between ontologies, these are fluid (Pavel 1981; Churchill 2011).

3.5. A brief history of the entrepreneur and the role of networks

In 1755, “the first economic theory of entrepreneurship” became available to the public in the book *Essai sur la Nature du Commerce en Général* by Richard Cantillon (Hebert and Link 1982, 16). In it, Cantillon highlighted the role of the

¹⁶ Many Dreaming accounts of ‘reality’ predate those first conceptualised (a mere) 2,500 years ago in the field of enquiry now known as Ontology.

entrepreneur in economic development, which is to bear risk, or uncertainty (Landstrom 2005). According to Lumsdaine and Binks (2007, 12), the entrepreneurs described by Cantillon “are not necessarily innovative”, but their work is carried out “under conditions of uncertainty” which makes them risk-takers. For example, Cantillon (2010 [1755], 75) included “traders by sea and land”, individuals who toil “of their own labour” but lack “capital to establish themselves”, and even “the beggars and the robbers” amongst the ranks of entrepreneurs.¹⁷ Yet, Landstrom (1999, 9) states that the term ‘entrepreneur’ can be found in the French language as early as the twelfth century, and of three meanings attributed to the word in a dictionary from the year 1437 titled *Dictionnaire de la Langue Francaise*, “the most general meaning denote[s] a person who is active and gets things done.”¹⁸ According to Hoselitz (1951), during the twelfth century in Europe, the entrepreneur was a man (usually a cleric) who supervised construction of major architectural projects. These projects included “castles and fortifications, public buildings, abbeys and cathedrals”, and the cleric performed roles such as “architect, builder, and manager”, as well as hiring workers and purchasing construction materials (Hoselitz 1951, 237). Thus, a cleric might also be considered an early iteration of the modern project manager.

Casson and Casson (2014, 1) state that during the final few centuries of the middle ages until the year 1500, “the church, merchants and members of the royal court” all participated in activities that displayed “the entrepreneurial characteristics of innovation, risk-taking and judgement.”¹⁹ Monarchs were considered to be particularly entrepreneurial as they could exploit their position as owners of vast

¹⁷ Numerous individuals who lived prior to the publication of Cantillon’s book may also be considered entrepreneurs under his theory. They include the gifted artisans, “clever financiers and traders”, and street peddlers of ancient Babylon (Clason 2002, 143); the “entrepreneurial merchants” of ancient Greece and Rome (Smith 2004, 78); and, the government officials in medieval China whose earnings stemmed from widespread corruption (Baumol 1990; 2010).

¹⁸ During the fifteenth century in England, the equivalent of ‘entrepreneur’ was ‘adventurer’, derived from ‘merchant adventurer’, although the “most common English equivalent” eventually became ‘undertaker’, denoting one who undertook work on a contract basis for the government (Hoselitz 1951, 238).

¹⁹ According to Murray (2010, 88), the word ‘entrepreneur’ first appeared during the late middle ages and “was used to describe a battlefield commander.”

tracts of land and the resources contained within, as well as the domestic and international networks of trade that they controlled to derive various benefits. In fact, during the thirteenth century, Edward the First was not only renowned for his skill in battle, he was also “a notable entrepreneur” (Casson and Casson 2014, 7). According to Hebert and Link (1982, 8), apart from royalty, the entrepreneur “was most likely to be found in early Western history among the ranks of merchants or the military.” Like the entrepreneurs of the royal court (Casson and Casson 2014), the mercenary armies which plagued France and Italy during the fourteenth century were also driven by a profit motive, engaging in war as “a primary source of economic gain” (Baumol 1990, 10). Wars were often begun for economic reasons during the Middle-Ages²⁰ and military leaders “bore considerable risk and stood to gain substantial economic benefits” (Hebert and Link 1982, 8) based on their strategic decisions;²¹ hence the entrepreneurial metaphors ‘captain of industry’ (Schumpeter 1968), ‘business battlefield’ (Murray 2010), and perhaps, ‘business arena’. Thus, it could be argued that the emergence of the entrepreneur can be traced to at least the start of the Neolithic revolution, when regimented military forces were first appearing (Blainey 1995). In addition, war inspired “frequent and profound innovation”, with the introduction of the stirrup (which revolutionised cavalry tactics), bow weapons, and eventually gunpowder-based weapons as early examples of innovations that were adopted by the military (Baumol 1990, 10).

This brief history of ‘the entrepreneur’ demonstrates that not only have definitions of entrepreneurship and the entrepreneur varied through time and across disciplines

²⁰ Hoselitz (1951, 235) notes that the sixteenth century French author Jean Lemaire de Belges “calls Hector and other Trojan warriors entrepreneurs.” Again, the bearing of risk as a key function of the entrepreneur (Cantillon 2010) is highlighted, as de Belges’s contemporaries describe these mythological figures as “hardy, usurping, and intent to risk their lives and fortunes” (Hoselitz 1951, 235). Similarly, Lindgren and Packendorff (2003, 96) call Hector’s enemy Odysseus an entrepreneur due to his daring, his boldness, and because he is a man, “who challenges his environment and is challenged by it.”

²¹ Based on this definition, the “war leaders” who arose to command Aboriginal groups such as the Noongar, the Eora, the Wiradjuri and the Kalkadoon in defence of their Countries during the British occupation of Australia (Grassby and Hill 1988, 36) could also be called entrepreneurs. The risk these men faced was defeat, the loss of their lives and the destruction of their communities; the economic rewards they stood to gain were the retention of traditional lands, networks and livelihoods.

(Hoselitz 1951; Casson and Casson 2014), but the patterns of behaviour, motives, and objectives of entrepreneurs have varied greatly between people, industries, nations and geographical regions (Hebert and Link 1982; Schramm 2010). Furthermore, characteristics and functions that are said to define the entrepreneur and entrepreneurship such as risk-taking (Murray 2010; Bwisa and Nafukho 2012), innovation (Baumol 1990; 2010), and judgment relating to resource use and labour expenditure (Godley and Casson 2010), have all been evident in people who lived long before the word 'entrepreneur' came into use. It is also important to highlight how networks comprised of both people and resources (Latour 1996) underpinned entrepreneurial activity and the success of entrepreneurs in the past (Godley and Casson 2010; Casson and Casson 2014). The following section will look at more contemporary interpretations and perspectives of entrepreneurship, particularly some of the more inclusive definitions of entrepreneurship that have appeared in recent years, explain why this shift has occurred, and discuss the direction that entrepreneurship research is expected to take.

3.6. Contemporary theories of entrepreneurship

Entrepreneurial theories and public opinion for most of the twentieth century have emphasised entrepreneurship as a form of new venture creation or commercial undertaking, with the entrepreneur considered to be the person (usually a white, middle-class male) who starts this business by exploiting an innovative idea (Holmquist 2003; Walker and Buckler 2009). In fact, this interpretation of the entrepreneurial phenomenon is now so rooted in Western culture that it constitutes an "institutional pattern" (Holmquist 2003, 81). This dominant view of entrepreneurship as constructed "by a scattered elite of politicians, academics and active businessmen", places monetary gain and individual achievement above all other rewards that entrepreneurship has to offer (Lindgren and Packendorff 2003, 92). This in turn has strengthened existing power structures (Ogbor 2000) and fostered "processes of exclusion"; stifling "entrepreneurship as a social process" that can benefit marginalised communities (Berglund and Wigren 2012, 10). For example, it has been implied that some forms of economic action such as collective entrepreneurship are "problematic", or they have been given scant attention (Tedmanson et al. 2012, 532). Thus, a tendency to equate entrepreneurship with

business start-ups by men means that many entrepreneurial acts have been excluded from the knowledge base that entrepreneurial discourse and theory are drawn from (Lindgren and Packendorff 2003). Entrepreneurship is a broad and diverse phenomenon that reaches through society in ways we do not yet fully understand, and by reifying the entrepreneur as a certain type of person; we will continue to fail to fully understand this phenomenon (Steyaert 1997; Holmquist 2003; Imas, Wilson and Weston 2012).

Females, minority groups and the working-class, as well as other forms of the phenomenon such as collective entrepreneurship (for example, families) and entrepreneurship outside the market arena, have traditionally received little attention from researchers because of an overriding concern with enterprise creation (Sirilli 1999), while temporary entrepreneurship has been overlooked due to a belief in long-term business survival (Holmquist 2003). Thus, there is a growing awareness that theories of entrepreneurship must be reworked to accommodate the diversity in the field, as shown by the range of differences between entrepreneurs and the types of endeavour they are involved with (Sirilli 1999; Shinnar, Giacomini and Janssen 2012). For example, Frederick and Kuratko (2010, 6) propose two broad categories of entrepreneur: the ‘business entrepreneur’ who is motivated by financial reward, seeking “growth and profits within the business world”, and the ‘social entrepreneur’,²² who is motivated by a desire to develop innovative ways of solving social problems that the market or public sector cannot, or have not solved. In addition, these authors offer a more inclusive definition of entrepreneurship which can be used to describe a range of people in a variety of settings and in different time periods:

Entrepreneurship is more than the mere creation of a business or social enterprise. Although that is certainly an important facet, it’s not the complete picture. The characteristics of seeking opportunities, taking risks beyond security and having the tenacity to push an idea through to reality combine into a special perspective that permeates entrepreneurs. (Frederick and Kuratko 2010, 6)

Previous efforts toward crafting a theory of entrepreneurship involved evaluating the significance and frequency of the various actions an entrepreneur carries out, or

²² Social entrepreneurship is defined by Bornstein and Davis (2010, 1) as “a process by which citizens build or transform institutions to advance solutions to social problems such as poverty, illness, illiteracy, environmental destruction, human rights abuses and corruption.”

could be expected to carry out, and then excluding those actions that occurred accidentally, or because of the specific circumstances of the individual, the location, the business, or other factors (Hoselitz 1951). Those actions that remained were believed to represent typical entrepreneurial behaviour (Hoselitz 1951). Other research has focussed on the special qualities or behavioural traits of people that lead to business creation (Tedmanson et al. 2012), such as “the intensity of the motivation of the entrepreneur” which Bull and Willard (1993, 187) believe to be particularly important. Yet, important issues surrounding “identity, phenomenology, ideology and relations of power”, as well as “the contradictions, paradoxes, ambiguities and tensions at the heart of ‘entrepreneurship’” have not been brought into the open (Tedmanson et al. 2012, 532). This further highlights why there is still no commonly accepted definition of entrepreneurship or the entrepreneur (Harper 2003; Peredo and McLean 2010; Casson and Casson 2014), almost seventy years on from the observations made by Hoselitz (1951). Yet, Steyaert and Hjorth (2003, 4) believe that “there are many entrepreneurships” rather than a “unified field”, adding that this has always been the case and should remain so.

Contemporary definitions of entrepreneurship that are broad and inclusive such as those offered by Frederick and Kuratko (2010, 6) and Casson and Casson (2014, 2) can encompass the many forms of entrepreneurship, as they do not limit explanations of this phenomenon to the function and/or characteristics of the entrepreneur. Holmquist (2003) also believes that the exclusionary nature of traditional research on the entrepreneur has restricted the opportunity to truly understand entrepreneurship, and although such research has expanded our understanding of entrepreneurship and generated some valuable insights, a new approach is needed (Imas, Wilson and Weston 2012) which can round out investigation of this “complex and multilayered phenomenon” (Steyaert 1997, 24). Such an approach requires researchers to concentrate less on the entrepreneur, and focus more on the entrepreneurial phenomenon and the intangible ‘profits’ that ensue (Steyaert and Hjorth 2003; Peredo and McLean 2010). Furthermore, Ogbor (2000) believes that the actual words we use to discuss entrepreneurship impact the way we think about this phenomenon. As Imas, Wilson and Weston (2012, 569) state, just by “writing in English...analysis, descriptions and reflections” regarding the entrepreneur will all be heavily influenced by Western knowledge production. In addition, Ogbor (2000,

607) states that the language long used to portray the entrepreneur highlights masculinity and special abilities, and this has facilitated a number of myths including one which personifies the entrepreneur as a “white male hero”, thereby favouring dominant groups in society.

For example, the languages and ontologies of people who live far from the developed world on the fringes of society are markedly different from those who live in Western societies where conventional understandings of entrepreneurship have been developed (Imas, Wilson and Weston 2012). Many researchers have paid little attention to the restrictions that these marginalised groups face and the ways they overcome them, “heroically, efficiently and...entrepreneurially” (Imas, Wilson and Weston 2012, 566). Hence, the primary research on entrepreneurship that forms an integral part of this thesis was undertaken with people who have usually been excluded from such study. Their stories and experiences were recorded with the intention that they can be used by other similarly marginalised people and groups to develop their own entrepreneurial identities (Lindgren and Packendorff 2003) and in the process, contradict longstanding Western accounts of the entrepreneur. The following section will examine the relationship between entrepreneurship and networking, the importance of the ‘ties’ between people in these networks, and some of the benefits that the entrepreneur may derive from these relationships, before concluding with a look at some of the problems that network membership can entail.

3.7. Contemporary theories of networks and networking

A network may be defined as a group of interconnected nodes and the connections between them, while the definition of a node depends on the type of network it belongs to (Castells 2010). For example, a node within a political network can be a parliamentary committee, while a node within an agricultural network can be a field that crops are grown in (Castells 2010), highlighting that nodes may be human or non-human (Harrison 2012). Social networks have been described as the “actual set of all links of all kinds among a set of individuals”, including those “of kinship, friendship and neighbourliness” (Mitchell 1973, 22), as well as formal relationships (Klyver and Foley 2012). Thus, “networks are complex: take many forms; are fluid, flexible...dynamic, constantly changing and evolving” (Jack 2010, 134), and network

research is now undertaken in a range of disciplines including business and management, tourism, and entrepreneurship (Zehrer and Raich 2010). Johannisson (1995, 217) describes “the origins of networking as human interaction in social anthropology”, and Mitchell (1973) has conceptualised the content of social networks in three distinct, but interrelated ways:

1. *Communication content (information)* – Network members are related to each other through the transfer of various kinds of information or knowledge.
2. *Exchange content* – The relationship between network members is derived from “sets of transactions” including economic transactions and these may have consequences for actors beyond the actual act of exchange, such as the creation of reciprocal obligations.
3. *Normative content* – Network members are related to each other through some social aspect such as being family members, or friends (Mitchell 1973, 25).

Actor-network theory is an approach to social science that was developed in order to explain science and technology in terms of the practices of networking (Latour 1996). Within this theory, nodes are termed ‘actors’ or ‘actants’ because of their ability to create meaning and bring about change to the networks that they help form (Latour 1996). The actor should be thought of as “a conduit for change”, which draws attention “from what objects ‘symbolise’” to their affective qualities instead (Harrison 2012, 32). Actors may be human or non-human (such as animals, objects, or technology) and in order for actor-networks to endure, actors must maintain stable relations with one another (Murdoch 1998). As Hubbard et al. (2002, 73) state, “the world is the constantly shifting product of networks of actants.”

The term ‘network society’ has also been conceptualised as a way of explaining the modern age in terms of networks and networking activity (Castells 2010). As “flows of people, goods, information, culture and so on...move around the globe at ever-increasing speeds”, they consolidate into various networks which shape the network society (Murdoch 2006, 171). The nodes within this social structure can be located at either a local or global level, and are not inhibited by restrictions such as geographic distance or organisational structures because of dramatic advances in communications, computing, and transportation technologies (Parkhe, Wasserman

and Ralston 2006) that allow them to operate in ‘real-time’ (Castells 2010). There is a virtually instantaneous movement and exchange of information between these nodes, but connection to the network society occurs unevenly, based on the value a node holds, such as political power, financial wealth, or as a source of innovation. This has created disparities in terms of social, economic, and technological equality (Castells 2010).

Importantly, as approaches to understanding networks, both actor-network theory and the network society draw attention to content that Mitchell (1973) does not discuss, such as ‘space’, ‘place’ (Castells 2010), ‘things’, and other non-human entities (Latour 1996) that help comprise, and are often essential to understanding networks. However, while this content is relevant to my research, I will not engage with these approaches in subsequent chapters as my analysis of networks is made in the context of social relations and the practice of entrepreneurship. As such, I do not engage with the distinct language and terms, or forms of analysis that help distinguish actor-network theory and the network society from other approaches to understanding networks.

3.8. Business and entrepreneurial networks, network ties and social capital

A business network may be described as the various relationships that exist between and amongst a business entity and its customers, suppliers, banks, government institutions, other companies, and so on (Todeva 2006). However, because there is a range of business types, there is also a range of business networks, including entrepreneurial networks (Todeva 2006). An entrepreneurial network can be described as “the sum total of relationships” that an entrepreneur participates in and which provides them with significant resources for their activities (Dodd and Patra 2002, 117). These relationships include membership of business organisations, supplier and customer contacts, and social ties such as immediate and extended family and other entrepreneurs (Dodd and Patra 2002; Bwisa and Nafukho 2012); reflecting the three forms of network content conceived by Mitchell (1973). Similarly, Todeva’s (2006) description of entrepreneurial networks highlights the

relationships between and amongst the entrepreneur and their customers, suppliers, and other businesses.²³

Thus, entrepreneurship is embedded in complex networks of ongoing social relationships, and is supported or restricted by the various ‘ties’ between “aspiring entrepreneurs, resources and opportunities” (Aldrich and Zimmer 1986, 8). ‘Weak ties’ are “loose relationships between individuals” (Davidsson and Honig 2003, 308); characterised by a wide variety of people and a smaller number of “less intimate exchanges”, such as membership of a trade organisation (Zehrer and Raich 2010, 1694). ‘Strong ties’ are close relationships such as those found within an entrepreneur’s circle of family or friends (Davidsson and Honig 2003), as well as those formed with people who share “similar attitudes, values or social status” (Zehrer and Raich 2010, 1694). A parent providing free assistance to a daughter or son who is an entrepreneur is an example of a strong tie (Davidsson and Honig 2003), and demonstrates how networks can “improve entrepreneurial effectiveness by providing access to resources and competitive advantage without capital investment” (Slotte-Kock and Coviello 2010, 33), along with secure and ongoing access to resources (Davidsson and Honig 2003). It also demonstrates the interaction “between business and social dimensions of ties and networks” (Jack 2010, 131).

Another strong tie is that between an aspiring entrepreneur and a friend who is already an entrepreneur, as they can provide access to various resources such as business start-up advice and lists of business contacts that may otherwise be difficult to procure (Klyver, Hindle and Meyer 2008). Accordingly, entrepreneurs depend more on strong ties than weak ties to start a business (Johannisson 1995), although weak ties are a source of more novel contacts (Zehrer and Raich 2010) and sometimes scarce information (Dodgson 2011). Weak ties can also extend an entrepreneur’s network; bringing individuals or organisations together by presenting an interface for such interactions to take place (Davidsson and Honig 2003), such as meetings held by a trade organisation. Subsequently, membership of such groups can be a source of information that would otherwise be expensive or unavailable to

²³ Because of these similarities between ‘business networks’ and ‘entrepreneurial networks’, and the fact that most of the entrepreneurs I interviewed referred to their business networks rather than their entrepreneurial networks, I use these terms interchangeably throughout this thesis.

outsiders (Davidsson and Honig 2003). Further resources that networks can provide include instruction and guidance that enable entrepreneurs to perform better (Hindle 2010), such as how to identify potential business opportunities and risks at an early stage (Naudé and Havenga 2007). They also provide access to distribution channels and infrastructure (Greve and Salaff 2003; Bwisa and Nafukho 2012). For such reasons, Kariv et al. (2009, 246) call the various networking activities that entrepreneurs engage in “an investment in human and social capital” which may be exploited in the future.

Human capital²⁴ may be defined as the knowledge, skills and experience a person or group possess, and may be measured by such means as educational level, tertiary and professional qualifications, and business know-how (Kariv et al. 2009). Social capital is generally considered to be the benefits that people may derive through their various connections with others (Bourdieu 1997; Klyver, Hindle and Meyer 2008; Light and Dana 2013). Networks or the ties between and amongst people are the basic structures of social capital, while norms including trust, reciprocity and cooperation help shape its cultural aspect (Bourdieu 1997; Mauss 2002 [1925]; Maru and Davies 2011). Social capital may be categorised into three types and ideally, people should possess all three in equal amounts so as “to maximise their access to the potential benefits of a range of diverse networks” (Lahn 2012, 297).

1. *Bonding social capital* denotes the strong ties between closely related people such as immediate family, and close friends and neighbours (Lahn 2012).
2. *Bridging social capital* refers to the ties between heterogeneous groups who may be differentiated in a number of ways such as age, income, or ethnicity. These relationships can lead to the development of weak ties which may allow people in one network to gain access to resources in another (Browne-Yung et al. 2013).
3. *Linking social capital* consists of relationships between people in unrelated situations such as individuals in different communities (Lahn 2012), and also across institutionalised power structures such as between a government agency and a community organisation (Browne-Yung et al. 2013). While bridging and linking networks are similar, the latter involves vertical

²⁴ Bourdieu (1997) uses the term ‘cultural capital’ instead of ‘human capital’.

social/power relations which can be a particularly important source of resources (Maru and Davies 2011).

Thus, there is a causal relationship between the success of an entrepreneur's business and the scope of their network (Aldrich and Zimmer 1986), and networks have now "been embraced as an instrument for investigating the creation and development of new ventures" (Slotte-Kock and Coviello 2010, 33). However, Light and Dana (2013) point out that the conditions needed to support business activity are not always present within an aspiring entrepreneur's networks, while Anderson, Dodd, and Jack (2010, 123) state that "networking is not a complete solution" and some aspects of it could actually restrict growth. For example, male domination within business networks often inhibits the advancement of female entrepreneurs (Chell and Baines 2000). Also, the return of favours within business networks may be more costly than the benefit derived (Anderson, Dodd and Jack 2010). Furthermore, cultural differences among entrepreneurs may lead to distinctive network characteristics (Dodd and Patra 2002), which may be uncondusive to business success (Klyver and Foley 2012).

For example, many Aboriginal Australian entrepreneurs must remain mindful of a broad range of family ties and obligations when conducting business (Foley 2006a; 2010a; 2012a). Wood and Davidson (2011, 321) state that such obligations can be problematic for the Aboriginal entrepreneur, as there can be an expectation that they will be able to help "with any bureaucratic or financial requirement" of family members. Todd (2012, 7) believes that the power relations within family networks can also pose problems for aspiring Indigenous Canadian entrepreneurs, as can "the effects of gender relations in families." As Jack (2010, 133) states, networks may not only deprive an entrepreneur of resources, they can be "damaging, destructive, constraining and actually detrimental to entrepreneurial activity." Aboriginal entrepreneurship and networking will be elaborated on in the following two sections, as part of a broader discussion of Indigenous entrepreneurship and networking.

3.9. Contemporary Indigenous entrepreneurship

Anderson et al. (2004, 634) define entrepreneurship as "the identification of unmet or undersatisfied needs and related opportunities, and the creation of enterprises,

products, and services in response to these opportunities.” Those who seize on such opportunities are known as ‘opportunity entrepreneurs’, while those who are forced into entrepreneurial activity, for example, due to a lack of jobs, are known as ‘necessity entrepreneurs’ (Frederick and Foley 2006). Necessity is a driving force for many Indigenous people who become entrepreneurs (Peredo and Mclean 2010; Bwisa and Nafukho 2012; Gouvea 2014). Globally, Indigenous groups display vast diversity, but in colonial settings they are nearly all characterised by poor socioeconomic outcomes in relation to the non-Indigenous population (Peredo et al. 2004; Foley 2006b). In addition, these groups have poor literacy rates, experience unacceptable health outcomes, and are more vulnerable to economic downturn and acculturation, compelling many countries to acknowledge the plight of their Indigenous populace (Gouvea 2014). Entrepreneurship is viewed by many Indigenous people as a means of overcoming such problems (Foley 2006b; Peredo and McLean 2010).

Hindle and Moroz (2010, 372) have defined entrepreneurship in the context of Indigenous peoples as “activity focused on new venture creation or...economic opportunity or both” in order to reduce disadvantage “through culturally viable and...acceptable wealth creation.” Such forms of self-determination are considered to be in the national interest of countries with significant Indigenous populations (Hindle and Moroz 2010; Gouvea 2014), and the broader agenda of self-determination is another key element that sets Indigenous entrepreneurship apart from mainstream entrepreneurship (Peredo et al. 2004). Indigenous entrepreneurs also retain strong links to ancestral lands in many cases, and the natural resources contained within (Todd 2012), and like non-Indigenous entrepreneurs, they can operate in the private, public or non-profit domains, may generate economic and social benefits at the individual through to the community level, and often reside in urban areas (Hindle and Lansdowne 2005; Foley 2006b; Kleinert 2010; Collins et al. 2016). Foley (2006a, 251) states that Aboriginal Australian groups living in urban areas “have adapted traditional values” to conform to such environments; calling them “traditional contemporary urban values.” He believes that this form of adaption is a means of “cultural and economic survival”, and for the urban Aboriginal entrepreneur this means “adopting and/or adapting to mainstream business methods”

to achieve business success. However, these entrepreneurs do not believe themselves to be any less Indigenous (Foley 2006a).

Furneaux and Brown (2008, 134) state that “entrepreneurial activity is essential” for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander groups to gain economic independence, while Peredo et al. (2004, 3) believe that entrepreneurial activity rests “at the heart of indigenous economic development” across the globe. However, while a substantial amount of research has been conducted on ‘ethnic entrepreneurs’ (Todd 2012) and ‘minority entrepreneurship’ involving groups such as African-Americans and Hispanic peoples, the field of Indigenous entrepreneurship remains underdeveloped (Frederick and Foley 2006; Walker and Buckler 2009). In particular, there is a lack of information about the urban Indigenous entrepreneur and this group have arguably been neglected in government commentary and financial assistance packages (Foley 2006a). Yet, they do exist, and like Indigenous entrepreneurs in non-urban settings, many strive to honour community obligations (Frederick and Foley 2006). In urban areas for example, “indigenous entrepreneurs are more likely to hire indigenous people” unlike non-Indigenous entrepreneurs (Hindle and Moroz 2010, 373).

Unfortunately, policies designed to encourage Indigenous business participation have usually been drawn from an entrepreneurial model containing specific “economic and cultural assumptions” based on “standard Western market economies”, and these have often been of little benefit within the context of Indigenous communities (Peredo and McLean 2010, 593). Because of this, it has been argued that “the [conventional] concept of entrepreneurship cannot be adopted directly” for use in Indigenous contexts (Peredo and McLean 2010, 608). The entrepreneur has been reified as a profit-seeking individual whose success is judged in relation to financial gain (Holmquist 2003; Lindgren and Packendorff 2003; Walker and Buckler 2009), while the ‘collectivity trait’ common to many Indigenous groups is seen as an impediment to entrepreneurial activity (Hindle and Lansdowne 2005). This supposed dichotomy between entrepreneurship and Indigenous culture has been termed the “individuality versus collectivity paradox” (Hindle and Lansdowne 2005, 137).

Similarly, Dana (2007, 5) states that in many cases, Indigenous cultures cannot be reconciled with key conventions of mainstream entrepreneurial theories, as social

organisation is centred on kinship ties and Indigenous entrepreneurial activity usually includes “non-economic explanatory variables.” Also, some Aboriginal people are said to view entrepreneurship as “un-Aboriginal” because of its focus on the creation of financial profit which inevitably leads to “greedy capitalism”; something that is at odds with “the cultural fabric of Aboriginal life” (Foley 2010c, 85). Yet, such a generalisation adds weight to the argument that theories of entrepreneurship should be reworked to incorporate a deeper historical context (Casson 2003; Parkhe, Wasserman and Ralston 2006) and a broader conceptualisation of entrepreneurial activity (Holmquist 2003). Furthermore, alternative approaches to facilitating entrepreneurship that may be of real benefit to Indigenous groups have not been explored (Peredo and McLean 2010). The following section will highlight how networks and networking are been utilised by Indigenous entrepreneurs to achieve business success, some of the problems that may arise from networking with the non-Indigenous community, and why further research in this area is necessary.

3.10. Contemporary Indigenous networks and networking

According to Anderson, Dana, and Dana (2006, 49), successful Indigenous entrepreneurship requires the identification of business opportunities, the gathering of resources and the development of organisations, “often as part of a network”, with other Indigenous and/or non-Indigenous firms. Yet, Klyver and Foley (2012, 569) state that “the majority of Australian Indigenous people have very low social and human capital available to apply to entrepreneurship within their own personal networks.” Lahn (2012, 297) believes one reason for this is that in some cases, an emphasis on “maintaining relations within extended kin networks” may prevent wider social and business networks from been developed to the same extent. These networks are fundamental to entrepreneurial success (Dodd and Patra 2002; Foley 2006a; 2010b). Entrepreneurial members of Indigenous communities can also be taken advantage of by less well-off members who seek to benefit from their success (Pearson and Helms 2012), forcing them to create ties with networks outside of their communities and in particular, business networks within the dominant culture (Foley 2006a). However, in some cases kinship networks might be an asset for Indigenous

entrepreneurs. As Putnam (2000) suggests, the reciprocity that is embodied within such networks (social capital) can be conducive to innovation and mutual learning.

Another barrier to the development of Indigenous business networks are government initiatives used to facilitate their growth. For example, policies and programmes used to support Aboriginal Australian businesses have been unsuitable in many cases, thereby inhibiting their development (Pearson and Helms 2012; 2013). There is also a lack of previous business ownership within most Aboriginal families (Australian Taxation Office 2009), a situation identified by Hunter (2013) as directly tied to historical restrictions placed on economic activity by Aboriginal groups. According to Klyver, Hindle and Meyer (2008, 332), people “embedded in networks containing entrepreneurs” will be more likely to engage in entrepreneurial activity. Thus, business networking by Aboriginal Australian entrepreneurs has often been undertaken with non-Aboriginal people, and in particular, business mentors who help them to establish their business networks (Klyver and Foley 2012). “The facilitation...of business networks” through activities such as mentoring is a source of “consistent and effective support” for new entrepreneurs (Davidsson and Honig 2003, 325). However, while business success demands proficiency in “networking across cultural and/or racial barriers”, this is developed through long-term exposure to the mainstream business environment, and acculturation into this setting by Aboriginal Australian entrepreneurs often leads to feelings of isolation, and rejection by the wider Aboriginal community (Klyver and Foley 2012, 568).

For example, Foley (2006a, 252) states that some Aboriginal entrepreneurs may not have as much time to dedicate to their community roles once they start a business, although success in the business arena can improve their ability “to support a wider family network in areas that include improved housing, education, health, employment participation and job skill training, and role model/mentoring.” Jóhannesson (2012, 184) also believes that cultural obligations may lead to difficulties for those who wish to take on the role of entrepreneur, but he goes on to state that due to the diversity and ongoing “renewal of cultural practice...culture is not a static property.” Because of this, contemporary forms of entrepreneurship and business networking should gain greater acceptance over time in cultures where such activity is not widespread (Jóhannesson 2012). Entrepreneurs also seek to reduce any

perceived risk their business may have for prospective ‘resource holders’ (employees and investors) through various forms of interaction with respected individuals and businesses (Hoang and Antoncic 2003). These network linkages can potentially result in “beneficial resource exchanges” and bolster positive perceptions of a business amongst resource holders (Hoang and Antoncic 2003, 166).

For example, racist attitudes that exist in business settings (de Bruin and Matairea 2003; Pearson and Daff 2012) can be countered through network membership which provides Aboriginal entrepreneurs with a degree of “credibility and positive image” (Klyver and Foley 2012, 568). This is a form of symbolic capital²⁵ which not only lifts perceptions of the entrepreneur; but can be seen in the boost to self-esteem that an entrepreneur experiences from people’s acknowledgement of their worth (Bourdieu 1997). Symbolic capital can also contribute to “the creation of economically and socially successful bicultural identities” (Willmott 2014, 97). Similarly, Hoang and Antoncic (2003, 166) state that networks can provide “reputational or signalling content”, which is elaborated upon by Klyver, Hindle, and Meyer (2008) who say that social acceptance and a positive reputation are resources that may be attained through ongoing membership of social networks. Furthermore, expansion into new markets is often enhanced by the knowledge (human/cultural capital) and reputation (symbolic capital) of these network partners (Anderson, Dodd and Jack 2010; Foley 2010b). While membership of social networks has been highlighted as an important source of these capitals (Bourdieu 1997; Jack 2010; Klyver and Foley 2012); the role that kinship networks play in generating such capital has received little attention.

Parkhe, Wasserman and Ralston (2006, 567) state that network research must be placed “in its broader context, temporally and topically.” Culture is a key element of this context (Dana 2007; Hindle 2010; Peredo and McLean 2010), and so Klyver, Hindle and Meyer (2008) have applied the work of Lonner (1980)²⁶ to describe the effect of culture on networks and networking. They use the concept of ‘*variform*

²⁵ Recognition is “the essence of symbolic capital” (Pellandini-Simanyi 2014, 660).

²⁶ Lonner (1980) conceptualised a number of ‘universal’ relationships including the *simple universal*, a relationship that is constant throughout the world and is unaffected by culture; the *variform universal*, which refers to a relationship that is constant across countries but is moderated by culture; and, the *functional universal*, where relationships within different groups are the same.

universality' which explains that the culture an entrepreneur belongs to and the industry in which they operate can moderate networking activity. Klyver, Hindle and Meyer (2008, 333) also use the opposing concept of '*mono-dimensionality*' (sometimes referred to as 'universality' or 'simple universal'), which explains that networking structures and processes are "essentially the same in every country" and that the cultural context and industry an entrepreneur belongs to has no bearing on networking activity. Adjacent to these two positions is the notion of '*functional universality*', which recognises that there are differences "in networking practice across cultures", but similar patterns may be found amongst specific groups of cultures (Klyver, Hindle and Meyer 2008, 344). Thus, Peredo and McLean (2010, 614) state that we must increase our knowledge of entrepreneurship "in ways that allow for different cultural embodiments."

In particular, the effect of different aspects of culture, such as personal and kinship networks, on entrepreneurial networks (Klyver, Hindle and Meyer 2008; Foley 2010b), and more specifically, the cultural influences of "subgroups belonging to various sub-cultures" needs to be examined more closely (Klyver and Foley 2012, 584). For example, the influence of people such as elders is particularly strong within kinship networks, yet their influence and the contribution they can make to entrepreneurial success has not been explored in any great detail, nor has the role that they can play within contemporary business networks (Fuller and Gleeson 2007; Matunga 2013). A dearth of such information has led to difficulties in analysing and understanding Indigenous entrepreneurship and further research in this area is needed to provide "a richer, more detailed understanding" of the networking activities of Indigenous entrepreneurs (Schaper 2007, 533). Furthermore, Klyver and Foley (2012, 585) state that it is essential for minority entrepreneurs to take into account the "social and personal" costs of becoming an entrepreneur, and so the development of a "network strategy" that clearly shows them ways to integrate their personal and business lives is needed. Chapters 5 through 8 will highlight some of the different ways that Aboriginal entrepreneurs are negotiating these social and personal costs, and this information can be used by both aspiring and established Aboriginal entrepreneurs to develop a personalised network strategy.

3.11. Conclusion

It has been suggested that there is a dichotomy between entrepreneurship and business networking, and Indigenous groups. This supposed opposition, highlighted in various theories of entrepreneurship and in certain academic discourse may be attributed to ontological difference. Various elements give rise to ontologies including people's beliefs, history, and culture and consequently, ontologies determine how people lead their lives, including how they engage in entrepreneurship and networking, and how people theorise these practices. Dominant ontologies, such as those in Western capitalist societies, where there is a strong focus on individual wealth and capital accumulation have come to define entrepreneurship and networking both in theory and practice, while Indigenous ontologies, and the group-focused economic and social practices that they underpin, have long been considered irrelevant to any such definitions. In turn, this has generated numerous and often conflicting perspectives of entrepreneurship and networking. For example, many Aboriginal people consider entrepreneurship and business networking to be at odds with Aboriginal culture and ways of life, while many non-Aboriginal people see little value in the personal (including kinship) networks of Aboriginal people for entrepreneurial practice.

However, in recent years, more inclusive definitions have started to displace and unsettle dominant explanations and understandings of entrepreneurship and networking. Acknowledging the validity of different ontologies in defining these practices lends further support to the idea that contemporary theoretical approaches should include a deeper analysis of entrepreneurship and networking in traditional and historic settings. This also highlights that longstanding theories of entrepreneurship must be reworked so that they are more inclusive of both individuals and groups who have previously been excluded from mainstream definitions of this practice, including Indigenous groups such as Aboriginal Australians. Therefore, in the following chapter I will argue that the ancestors of contemporary Aboriginal Australians were entrepreneurial. I will make this argument by critically analysing literature from the fields of archaeology, anthropology, and economics through an 'entrepreneurial lens', and by contrasting my analysis with primary data collected from Aboriginal entrepreneurs. I will also

support this argument by explaining the influence of ontology in the theorisation of entrepreneurship and how dominant ontological perspectives have prevented certain aspects of the entrepreneurial phenomenon from being recognised as such. Thus, rather than viewing entrepreneurship as a practice that is at odds with Aboriginal culture and ways of life, or as an endeavour that the personal networks of Aboriginal Australians, such as kinship networks, cannot support, entrepreneurship should be seen as a practice that Aboriginal groups have always engaged in, and should continue to do so.

Chapter 4: Aboriginal Ancestors and ontologies: building a 'grander narrative' of entrepreneurship

In my experience, I think Aboriginal people are not natural entrepreneurs; I think they're natural story-tellers, they're natural entertainers, but they're not natural entrepreneurs.

(Robert, non-Aboriginal tourism consultant)

In the Garinagala language of Australian Aborigines, they use *egargal* or 'story-teller' to mean entrepreneurs. (Frederick and Kuratko 2010, 7, emphasis in original)

4.1. Introduction

As highlighted in the preceding literature review, entrepreneurship has been reified in Western societies as an individual practice focused on generating financial profit (Imas, Wilson and Weston 2012), and such a practice is considered by some to be at odds with Indigenous ways of life (Frederick and Foley 2006). Yet, innovation, an essential aspect of entrepreneurship (Hoselitz 1951; Schumpeter 1968; Van de Ven 1995; Baumol 2010; Croitoru 2012) was common within traditional Indigenous societies, as were individual characteristics, skills and abilities peculiar to entrepreneurs, and many of the motivating forces which have always driven entrepreneurial practice (Blainey 1976; Bowdler 1976; Foley 2006a; Galbraith, Rodriguez and Stiles 2006; Cachon 2012; Gallagher and Lawrence 2012; Gouvea 2014). In this chapter I will argue that entrepreneurship, as theorised through Western scholarship, was practised and highly valued by Aboriginal Australian groups in the distant past. This argument is not based on some romanticised view of economic activity (Imas, Wilson and Weston 2012) in traditional Aboriginal societies, but will be based on a detailed examination of archaeological, anthropological and historical literature; an interpretation of both the work of preeminent twentieth century economist Joseph A. Schumpeter (1968)¹ and more contemporary theorists in the areas of economics and entrepreneurship; and importantly, through analysis of primary data collected from contemporary

¹ This reference refers to the eighth printing of what Schumpeter considered to be his seminal work - *The Theory of Economic Development: An Inquiry into Profits, Capital, Credit, Interest, and the Business Cycle* - published in 1911 in German and first translated into English in 1934 by Redvers Opie (Croitoru 2012) who endeavoured to make the translation as accurate as possible (Opie 1968).

Aboriginal entrepreneurs. By interrogating these different sources of information, it will also become apparent that different ontologies continue to engender different definitions of what constitutes entrepreneurship, and who may be considered an entrepreneur.

For example, Ogbor (2000) argues that the ‘entrepreneurial language’ used by dominant groups has been used to reify an image of the entrepreneur as a white, masculine, hero. Recently though, more inclusive definitions of entrepreneurship have been posited, with academics focusing on the diversity of entrepreneurial practices and practitioners (Frederick and Kuratko 2010; Casson and Casson 2014), particularly within disadvantaged communities (Furieux and Brown 2008; Jojola 2008; Hindle and Moroz 2010; Imas, Wilson and Weston 2012). As Martin and Wilson (2016, 262) state, there are “different ontological assumptions regarding the nature of the social world”, and these assumptions shift. Therefore, acknowledgement of ontological difference sheds light on why more inclusive definitions are emerging, and why, despite extensive research, academics have been unable to agree on a complete theory of entrepreneurship (see for example, Hoselitz 1951; Baumol 1993; Harper 2003; Hindle and Moroz 2010; Tedmanson et al. 2012; Casson and Casson 2014). Likewise, Imas, Wilson and Weston (2012, 567) highlight the importance of exploring “entrepreneurial narratives that...reflect other realities”, which supports Steyaert and Hjorth’s (2003, 4) claim that “there are many entrepreneurships.” Thus, Imas, Wilson and Weston (2012, 569) present narratives of the marginalised and poor from the world’s developing countries “as a form of resistance to the grand narrative and its often hidden ideologically driven account of what reality is (or should be) like.”

While claims have previously been made regarding the presence of entrepreneurial activity in traditional Indigenous societies (Galbraith, Rodriguez and Stiles 2006; Gallagher and Lawrence 2012; Gouvea 2014), and more specifically, in traditional Aboriginal (Australian) societies (Cachon 2012; Foley 2006a; 2012b), such literature is relatively scarce. These societies are overlooked by dominant narratives of the entrepreneur which privilege “the object of the economy and the notion of the Western saviour and hero [and their]...capacity to generate economic wealth and business success” through the exploitation of market opportunities for innovation

(Imas, Wilson and Weston 2012, 566). Furthermore, such claims have emerged from more recent and inclusive interpretations of the entrepreneurial phenomenon (Foley 2010c; Cachon 2012; Gallagher and Lawrence 2012). By contrast, my claim that traditional Aboriginal societies engaged in entrepreneurial activity will also be made by examining this activity through the lens of the most important (and dominant) twentieth century theory of entrepreneurship, that of Austrian economist Joseph Schumpeter (Casson 2003; Dodgson 2011; Croitoru 2012). In addition, I will discuss how Schumpeter's ontological outlook restricted his understanding of the entrepreneurial phenomenon. This will allow me to "challenge pre-conceived notions of who and what is the entrepreneur" (Imas, Wilson and Weston 2012, 565), clarify the defining role that ontology plays in the theorisation and practice of entrepreneurship, and contribute to a more critical assessment of entrepreneurial theories. The importance of such research is alluded to by Berglund and Wigren (2012, 12), who state that entrepreneurship is now "regarded as a discipline" amongst academics, but "even though it is an interdisciplinary field, it is not a research field which has been influenced by a multitude of research paradigms." They go on to state that research in this field has been:

Influenced by a strong scientific approach where robust methods are advocated in order to say something about – and probably also with a will to improve - society from some aspect. The line of thought within social science emphasizing change and a more critical stance towards prevailing orders...does not seem to belong in entrepreneurship research. (Berglund and Wigren 2012, 12)

Finally, previous claims that entrepreneurship was practised in traditional Aboriginal societies have often highlighted the presence of trade amongst Aboriginal groups (Foley 2010c; 2012b; Cachon 2012), and trade between Aboriginal groups in Northern Australia and overseas visitors such as Macassans from Indonesia as evidence of such activity (Pearson and Helms 2013). The presence of such trade is an important piece of evidence that I also draw on in arguing that entrepreneurship was practised in traditional Aboriginal societies. However, I will also privilege the voices of (contemporary) Aboriginal entrepreneurs in my argument which have, until very recently, rarely been heard in historical and archaeological narratives of Australia (Nugent 2005), or in economic discourse and theory (Kidd 2012). These perspectives will challenge conventional interpretations of Aboriginal economic and social practices and reinforce the argument that entrepreneurship was practised in

traditional Aboriginal societies, while further highlighting how theories of entrepreneurship should be developed outside of the restrictive market-based paradigm that economists have constructed (Max-Neef 1990; Gibson-Graham 2014). These perspectives may also help counter negative stereotypes of Aboriginal Australians that are held by some in the wider community (Klyver and Foley 2012), and perceptions that entrepreneurship is somehow at odds with Aboriginal culture (Foley 2006a).

4.2. Beyond scarcity – the evolution of Aboriginal entrepreneurship

According to Heilbroner (1972, 17 emphasis in original), “the economic problem itself – that is, the need to struggle for existence – derives ultimately from the *scarcity* of nature.” Thus, entrepreneurial activity at the level of subsistence may be seen as a response/solution to the problem of scarcity.² The ancestors of contemporary Aboriginal peoples, who first settled the continent now referred to as Australia, were unfamiliar with its various environments and resources (Blainey 1976). There is no evidence that these early explorers came with the necessary ecological knowledge, hunting and food gathering skills, and refined tools and weapons to immediately and efficiently make use of the resources that they discovered (Blainey 1976). Entrepreneurial activity at this stage of settlement may be seen in the invention of innovative tools and weapons which were essential “for the survival of human groups in new hostile environments” (Cachon 2012, 10) and implements that allowed these groups to harvest the resources in these environments (Jones 1977) and provide other fundamental needs of life such as shelter and fire (Baumgartner et al. 2006). Thus, the entrepreneurial practices of these explorers were driven by the scarcity of nature and helped ensure people’s survival.

Eventually though, these explorers settled within well-defined areas, established communities, and formed ongoing relationships and obligations to the environment, the entities within, and one another, all of which was underpinned by a complex set of interconnected kinship networks (Rose 1996), referred to by Blainey (1976, 103)

² In the same way, ‘necessity entrepreneurs’ are forced into entrepreneurial activity as a way of overcoming difficulties in their lives (Frederick and Foley 2006; Peredo and McLean 2010), but this term has not been applied to members of traditional or historic Aboriginal Australian groups.

as “the web of contacts.” As a wide variety of social and economic practices became institutionalised (Bowdler 1976; Hiscock 2008), subsequent entrepreneurial activity was no longer motivated solely by the scarcity of nature. For example, at Lake Coondah in Victoria, a major innovation came in the form of a series of stone waterways with built-in traps which were used to catch fish and eels during floods (Coutts, Frank and Hughes 1978). The use of such infrastructure not only met subsistence needs, it enhanced resource “production and productivity” which then led to food surpluses, allowing for a reduction in time spent gathering other resources (Hiscock 2008, 184). The time saved on procuring food was then dedicated to other activities including ceremonial events (Bender 1981) and the extension of political alliances at large inter-group gatherings (Hiscock 2008), while surplus food became a valuable item of trade (Foley 2006a).

The notion that entrepreneurship was practised by these groups and evolved over time in response to environmental and social forces was supported by Tina (Indigenous consultant), who also believes that many of these practices remain relevant. When I asked her ‘would you call your ancestors and/or elders entrepreneurial’, she went on to answer:

Yes I would...because they lived a life...that determined our very existence...so they had all the skills and knowledge for us to survive. The system that they created and carried on was passed down...so the foods we ate, and keeping things in order with the families and the tribes. This system led to Aboriginal people living a harmonious and respectful life, and...75,000 years of the oldest living culture in the world. (Tina, Indigenous consultant)

The way that Tina describes entrepreneurship as practised by her ancestors, allows us to think of this phenomenon in a much different way than the ‘grand narrative’ allows (Ogbor 2000). She highlights how self-sufficiency, the ability to organise and allocate resources (including people) efficiently and effectively, and the dissemination of such knowledge may be considered definitive elements of entrepreneurship, while scarcity can be seen as the underlying driver of this phenomenon, as at the heart of her response is her ancestors’ ability to survive and ensure the survival of their peers and descendants as the root of traditional Aboriginal entrepreneurship.

Casson and Casson (2014, 2) make a similar observation, stating that:

Economic theory suggests that entrepreneurship is best understood as a general human capability which contributes to survival and success. If entrepreneurship is a basic human

capability then it should manifest itself in different times and places and not just in one place at one particular time. This suggests that entrepreneurship should be examined from a long-term perspective. It should also be examined across countries and in different industries.

While the intensity of entrepreneurial activity may fluctuate over time, and vary across societies, it will be present at all times in all societies to some degree.

These two statements align with one another in a number of ways. They highlight people's capability to survive and find success as a crucial aspect of entrepreneurship; propose that entrepreneurship manifests in different times and places; and, suggest that a long-term perspective is needed to examine entrepreneurship. Furthermore, Casson and Casson's (2014, 2) claim of the temporal and geographical breadth of entrepreneurial activity, and their assertion that entrepreneurship "should also be examined across countries and in different industries", adds further weight to the importance of interrogating entrepreneurship as a practice that was enacted in traditional Aboriginal societies. The 'industries' that underpinned these societies could not have been more different from contemporary ones, and the "intensity of entrepreneurial activity" (Casson and Casson 2014, 2) within these societies would have varied markedly over time and between groups. In the following section I elaborate on the idea that entrepreneurship was practised in traditional Aboriginal societies by using Schumpeter's (1968) theory of entrepreneurship as a lens through which innovative acts that Aboriginal peoples engaged in prior to the British occupation can be examined. The crucial role of networks in supporting these entrepreneurial practices will also become apparent.

4.3. The role of innovation - entrepreneurship as theorised by Schumpeter

Joseph Schumpeter developed what is widely thought of as the most influential twentieth century theory of entrepreneurship (Casson 2003), and his "theoretical approach...remains one of the main foundations for contemporary analysis" in the discipline of entrepreneurship; inspiring the work of economists to this day (Croitoru 2012, 146). For Schumpeter (1968, 76), the entrepreneur's principal function is the 'carrying out of new combinations' which are essentially, innovative acts. Schumpeter did not discount abilities such as coordinating resources and risk-taking from his theory, which were emphasised by earlier scholars, but he believed that "without the capacity to innovate", these abilities were not enough for a person to be deemed 'entrepreneurial' (Landstrom 1999, 10). Innovative acts bring about

discontinuity and are a function that, as Bull and Willard (1993, 183) state, are “embodied” in a substantial number of definitions of the entrepreneur put forward over “the last 50 years.” According to Schumpeter (1968, 91), “theoretically as well as historically”, the carrying out of new combinations specifically entails “breaking up old, and creating new tradition” within the economic structure - a process known as ‘creative destruction’. This is clarified by Okpara (2007, 6), who states that:

Innovation creates new demand and entrepreneurs bring the innovations to the market. This destroys the existing markets and creates new ones, which will in turn be destroyed by even newer products or services.

Schumpeter (1968, 66) goes on to explain that new combinations can occur in five areas:

1. introducing a new good, or type of good;
2. introducing a new production method;
3. opening a new market;
4. exploiting “a new source of supply of raw materials or half-manufactured goods” from either an existing source or an untapped one; and,
5. carrying out the reorganisation of any industry.

Dodgson (2011, 1121) summarises these five areas as:

1. product innovation;
2. production innovation;
3. market innovation;
4. supply innovation; and,
5. organisational innovation.

According to Smith (2004, 73), “economists and economic historians from Karl Marx to Douglass North have applied powerful models to pre-capitalist economies, but they rarely consider archaeological data”, and for the majority of economists, Rome or maybe Greece is as ‘ancient’ as they will consider studying. Yet, based on Schumpeter’s (1968) ‘new combinations’; an example of entrepreneurship in traditional Aboriginal society can be identified in the archaeological record. Millstones have been found in Australia that date back (at least) as far as 15,000 years, and a specialised type for grinding seed (Smith 1986) was used on the inland plains of north-west Queensland (Blainey 1976). Starting life as heavy slabs of

stone, these millstones were carried from their source 300-400 miles away, moving slowly “as part of a chain of transactions” (Blainey 1976, 206). Highly valued due to the sheer effort involved in their production and acquisition, they would often be passed down from one generation to the next, and were rejuvenated through periodic maintenance (Smith 1986). Other specialised grinding tools such as ‘mortars’ and ‘pestles’ and hand-sized tools now known as mullers were developed “from a generalised grindstone technology”, and were used for grinding seed and other purposes such as preparing pituri,³ extracting marrow, or pulping fruit (Smith 1986, 37). Trade in items such as millstones formed a “vital part of commerce” as it gave groups in other regions access to technology they lacked (Blainey 1976, 207). A seasonal abundance of seed meant large gatherings could be held for ceremonies, and seed was also stored when plentiful so communities could be sustained during lean periods (Hiscock 2008).⁴

Although it may be difficult to recognise the individual entrepreneur driven by self-interest and the desire to improve their status in this example, the amount of esteem and respect (Casson 2003; Godley and Casson 2010) people received by helping to establish important components of their economy such as millstones would have been substantial (Lourandos 1983). The various ways that Schumpeter’s (1968) entrepreneur can be seen to ‘carry out new combinations’ in the production and trade of these millstones is as follows:

- *product innovation* – the invention of millstones and/or specialised implements such as the mortar and pestle to grind seed (Smith 1986);⁵
- *production innovation* – introducing new methods for creating millstones and more specialised grinding implements (Smith 1986);

³ Pituri is a shrub; its leaves can be processed into a form of ‘chewing tobacco’ which aids in pain relief (Blainey 1976).

⁴ Johns (2011, 29) incorrectly asserts that it was “the whiteman [who]...bequeathed stored food” upon Aboriginal peoples.

⁵ While invention is not of itself an entrepreneurial act (Schumpeter 1968; Harper 2003), the adoption and incorporation into everyday life (Okpara 2007) of the millstone and the subsequent change that resulted is what sets it apart as an innovation.

- *market innovation* – trading millstones and other grinding tools with groups who lacked the raw materials to produce these implements themselves (Blainey 1976);
- *supply innovation* – finding a new quarry to provide raw material for millstones and/or smaller grinding implements, or using stone from an existing quarry, previously used for other implements (Smith 1986);⁶ and,
- *organisational innovation* – the introduction of the millstone and smaller grinding implements led to substantial socioeconomic changes, including modifications to resource-gathering practices and the associated tasks people carried out (Hiscock 2008). For example, a seasonal abundance of seed led to more ceremonial activity which in turn would have facilitated the “extension of political alliances and exchange networks” (Hiscock 2008, 184).

There were countless other innovations across time which embodied the carrying out of new combinations, and went on to forever alter the way that people lived. For example, according to Jones (1977, 197), the ‘tool-kit’ used by Aboriginal groups on mainland Australia prior to the British occupation was added onto over many thousands of years, “probably by a process of adoption and invention”, enabling the survival of these groups. A variety of items including “spearthrowers, boomerangs...edge ground axes, mounted adzes, multi-pronged and barbed fish [and] game spears, fish hooks”, bags, baskets, bowls, canoes, capes, mats, nets, paddles, shields, and traps, to name a few, were all refined over time (product innovation), as were their methods of construction (production innovation) and the uses associated with these items (Jones 1977, 197). Archaeological evidence also indicates adjustments to “landscape use, modifications to the foods procured [and] reorganisation of technologies” by traditional Aboriginal groups (Hiscock 2008, 162); changes that can all be considered innovations under one or more of the areas described by Schumpeter (1968).

⁶ Dodgson (2011, 1139) describes the purchase of clay by the eighteenth century English potter and industrialist Josiah Wedgwood from quarries in “America in a deal struck with the Cherokee nation, from Canton in China, and the new colony in Australia” as a ‘supply innovation’ under Schumpeter’s (1968) theory.

However, Schumpeter's education in economics naturally led him to analyse entrepreneurship within the context of "markets, sales and economic returns" (Lindgren and Packendorff 2003, 91), and so he "regarded waves of innovation and the 'creative destruction' they brought about as a basic phenomenon of capitalist economic development" (Casson 2003, 225). Yet, viewing innovation and the ensuing creative destruction as central to the development of capitalist economies *only*, is what Lawson (2014) would term an 'ontological presupposition', and:

[Drawing attention to such an assumption] allows the identification of inconsistencies and other potential inadequacies in scientific and other forms of reasoning. This is possible just where the ontological presuppositions of different aspects of specific theories or practices remain unexamined by their scientific creators and so are not compared either to each other or to any explicitly expressed worldviews. (Lawson 2014, 23)

Indeed, Schumpeter's (1968) work does not refer to the 'waves of innovation' that occurred in traditional Aboriginal societies and which led to the adoption of new products, methods of production, and patterns of consumption. Nevertheless, these waves did occur, contradicting Schumpeter's view of entrepreneurship as a phenomenon limited to capitalist societies. Furthermore, as Kao, Kao and Kao (2002, 43) state:

Entrepreneurship is neither all about money-making, nor merely the domain of starting up a venture and owning a small business. It is a gift of nature seeded in the birth of every human being, and a vehicle to economic freedom. Under this definition, the earliest toolmakers practised entrepreneurship long before we had the concept of money.

Thus, by setting Schumpeter's ontological presupposition aside, his work becomes applicable to realms where it might otherwise appear irrelevant. Yet, it must be highlighted that Schumpeter did recognise that waves of innovation could occur in a wide range of forms at different times and places. In fact, Schumpeter wanted to provide an investigative framework to interpret this "varied historical experience" of innovation, rather than creating "a narrow theory" that all historical experience had to conform to (Casson 2003, 225). Moreover, Schumpeter was adamant that economic theorists should work more closely with economic historians in order to further their understanding of the entrepreneurial phenomenon (Ogbor 2000). Importantly though, in the context of traditional Indigenous societies, any such collaboration would have to account for the social embeddedness of the economy (Polanyi 1944; 1957; Mauss 2002) due to its influence on entrepreneurial practices.

4.4. The influence of social embeddedness on entrepreneurial practices

Historical and anthropological research has found that “man’s economy, as a rule, is submerged in his social relationships” (Polanyi 1944, 7), although the degree of embeddedness varies both between societies and across time (Heilbroner 1972; Mauss 2002; Peredo and McLean 2010). Nevertheless, all economic activity encompasses social relationships and vice versa and so, “when Aboriginal commerce is dissected it no longer appears so different from modern commerce” (Blainey 1975, 212). Although most entrepreneurial acts are the product of numerous individuals interacting within social networks, rather than the result of one person’s work (Lindgren and Packendorff 2003), there is a predisposition to credit individual entrepreneurs with an innovation, and in some instances such a bias is supported (Van de Ven 1995). Yet, your ‘own ideas’ do not just appear; they are derived by interacting with other people⁷ (regardless of their distance from you) in formal and/or informal ways, including an ‘audience’; those who are swayed by the entrepreneurial act and bring it to life by changing the way that they live and consume (Lindgren and Packendorff 2003). Indeed, throughout the world, economic activity and commerce is “interwoven with, and ‘embedded’ in social and cultural aspects of society”, creating distinctive types of entrepreneurship (Cahn 2008, 1). The influence of ‘embeddedness’ and its effect on entrepreneurship is highlighted by Kylie (Indigenous consultant), who views the dynamics of her ancestors’ entrepreneurial practices through the relationship between the individual and group, stating that:

Entrepreneur is a loanword from French meaning ‘to undertake’. It can be deduced that in ancient times when a person is called ‘an entrepreneur’, that person is...someone who undertakes some responsibility and pursues a goal with self-motivation [but]...if you look at traditional life there’s an individual element to it, as well as being part of a collective group... Aboriginal people are very much bound by the collective group, as group relationships determine survival, but [it is] as an individual you contribute to the collective. (Kylie, Indigenous consultant)

Kylie elaborated on this claim during her interview by referring to a copy of *Resource Sheet document No. 30* (Morley 2014), part of the Federal Government’s ‘Closing the Gap’ Clearinghouse policy. She drew my attention to its discussion of Indigenous enterprise and social enterprise, and stated that:

⁷ Latour (1996) points out that this interaction occurs with ‘things’ as well.

A lot of our ancestors would have been social enterprise because you would have been working with other tribes to negotiate food or cultural practices, and that was going to benefit the whole community; not necessarily one person...When you look at some of our ancestors up north it was very much in trade, and was with other cultures...Indonesians – trading trochus shell...the fact is that the British weren't the first to come here...there were neighbours that were accessing and trading as well. (Kylie, Indigenous consultant)

Indeed, as Harben and Collard (2009, 17, my emphasis) state, prior to the British occupation, Aboriginal Australian cultures “were based on self-sufficiency...and *communal governance* of natural resources.”

Nevertheless, while the embeddedness of economic activity in the social fabric of traditional Indigenous societies is widely accepted (Polanyi 1944; Heilbroner 1972; Mauss 2002; Harben and Collard 2009; Peredo and McLean 2010), economic theories assign no importance to such activity as it is undertaken “at subsistence and domestic levels” (Max-Neef 1992, 34). Therefore, identifying entrepreneurship in traditional Aboriginal Australian societies through the use of conventional entrepreneurial theories could be considered unfeasible. Yet, as Peredo and Mclean (2010, 614) state, it is important to seek out “entrepreneurial interventions that may not fit standard economic theory but do embody an extended understanding of entrepreneurship.” However, interpreting economic activity in these societies through Western theories of entrepreneurship might also be seen as a ‘new act of colonisation’ (Archibald 2008). To prevent such an act from occurring through her research, academic Jo-ann Archibald (2008, 16) of the Sowahlie First Nation has stated that she must “read and hear the voices of First Nations/Indigenous peoples and find the theories embedded in their stories.” Similarly, I support my theoretical assertions about the entrepreneurial practices of traditional and historic Aboriginal groups with information provided to me by contemporary Aboriginal entrepreneurs. The following section highlights further connections that a number of these entrepreneurs made between their ancestors’ economic and social practices, and entrepreneurial practice.

4.5. Entrepreneurship in traditional Aboriginal societies: drawing further theoretical links

According to Steyaert and Hjorth (2003, 6), research in the field of entrepreneurship “needs to invest in innovative ideas and approaches while one is learning to harvest efforts from the past...and to dare to make more unusual connections.” Such connections were made by a number of the entrepreneurs I interviewed. For example, John (self-employed artist) believes that the ‘rules of business’ he follows to succeed as an entrepreneur are the modern equivalent of the “control...rules and laws” that traditional Aboriginal groups abided by to survive and succeed in life. John went on to state that “as crazy as it sounds...it’s bringing that old way of life through.” Similarly, when I asked George (artist and gallery owner) if he thought his ancestors or elders were entrepreneurial, he stated:

I think they were in some ways...trading different things, organising events...all the law business and kids with rites of passage...it would have been pretty much full-on...consulting with other groups on festivals and marriages, and all sorts of things. (George, artist and gallery owner)

George highlights his ancestors’ negotiation, organisation, (traditional law) business, and consultation skills, as essential aspects of traditional Aboriginal entrepreneurship, and indeed, these are the types of skill that any successful contemporary entrepreneur requires. However, Hazel (various business interests) provides a contrary response; viewing her ancestors’ social structures and rules as an obstacle to entrepreneurial activity. She states that: “I don't think our ancestors were entrepreneurial because they adhered to a fairly rigid social system and laws. The emphasis of life was not about consumerism or acquiring things.” Yet, Hazel goes on to state:

More recent elders have certainly been entrepreneurial and that coincided with white settlement. From the first time the newcomers expressed an interest in tools and weapons, Aboriginal people have obliged, by making them to trade or sell and decorating according to European desires. For example, carving, burning or painting animals on boomerangs etcetera. We did trade in the pre settlement days but it was not a daily activity, rather, it was an event that coincided with a gathering for many purposes in a time and place that had a food source which could support a large influx of visitors. (Hazel, various business interests)

Hazel also states that she has always been “business savvy”, and has a number of formal qualifications, including a Graduate Diploma in Business. Thus, her understanding of entrepreneurship has been strongly influenced by Western

economic perspectives such as the ‘grand narrative’ (Ogbor 2000; Imas, Wilson and Weston 2012), which has reified entrepreneurship as an individual, profit-seeking activity that occurs predominately in capitalist societies. However, Hazel still acknowledges the entrepreneurial spirit of her ancestors, recognising how they took advantage of the limited economic opportunities presented by the British occupation.

According to Dodgson (2011, 1124), when it comes to entrepreneurial activity, “many ideas presumed to be contemporary can be shown to have lengthy antecedents.” Therefore, attempting to identify the entrepreneur in traditional Aboriginal societies via modern economic theories is not unreasonable, especially when more recent work on Indigenous entrepreneurship is taken into account. For example, in her examination of the ‘radical entrepreneur’,⁸ Willmott (2014) has drawn on the work of nineteenth century French political economist Jean-Baptiste Say. Say was the first person to highlight the entrepreneur’s ability to successfully combine productive factors such as labour and raw materials (Say 1964 [1821]), before Schumpeter went on to emphasise “the power of new combinations” (Dodgson 2011, 1119).⁹ Willmott (2014, 95) examines ‘radical entrepreneurialism’ in terms of an entrepreneur’s “rootedness” in Indigenous culture and society, their possession of entrepreneurial characteristics, and their ability to draw on their cultural roots while undertaking business-related activities. This form of entrepreneurial practice is demonstrated by Alice (Indigenous consultant), who says that she has studied successful entrepreneurs in order to develop the skills she needs to succeed in business, but also believes that she has learnt entrepreneurial skills from her ancestors. She goes on to state that:

Yagan was exceptional. He was critical to the survival of the colonials...before everything went pear-shaped. His knowledge and helping them network; giving them the ideas and knowledge and perspectives of Country, it’s just classic entrepreneurial behaviour really.

The same as Bennelong from the Eora Nation over in Sydney...the amount of colonials that

⁸ Willmott (2014, 98) examines Indigenous entrepreneurship in terms of the ‘radical entrepreneur’, who incorporates “defining characteristics” of the entrepreneur such as “opportunity seeking, risk taking, and innovation”, along with aspects of cultural capital, social entrepreneurship, and ethnic economies.

⁹ Unlike Schumpeter though, Say did not specify that the combination of productive factors by the entrepreneur had to result in something new, thus, the element of innovation is missing (Lumsdaine and Binks 2007).

would have perished, if it wasn't for the local mob that helped them out...and that's what a good entrepreneur does. They help people navigate the areas that they're not familiar with and give them good coping and survival skills...such as how to establish networks. So, if anything...our ancestors can tell us a lot about business. (Alice, Indigenous consultant)

Alice also states that “the entrepreneurial spirit is embedded with us. It's probably something that we haven't explored as much as other avenues, but it's one that is definitely an option.” There are not that many Aboriginal entrepreneurs, and so many Aboriginal people work in ‘normal’ jobs where there is a sense of security, but being an entrepreneur has been “entrenched in our ways forever” (Alice, Indigenous consultant). As Steyaert and Katz (2004, 190) state, any sustainable view of entrepreneurship must consider this phenomenon “in terms of a type of action that can occur nearly anywhere, at nearly anytime by nearly anyone.” This ‘action’ is reflected in the numerous other examples of innovation from traditional Aboriginal societies that brought about economic discontinuity (Bowdler 1976; Jones 1977), and through the ongoing refinement of different products, their methods of production, the development of new sources of supply, and the extension of trade networks, a trajectory of entrepreneurial innovation continued for thousands of years (Broome 1982; Flood 2006; Hiscock 2008; Foley 2010c).

4.6. Innovation and overcoming resistance to change

Schumpeter (1968, 87) believed that reforming the pattern of production through ‘new combinations’ is a function that often entails great difficulty, as aside from disturbing the routine that people are accustomed to, depending on social conditions, there are various levels of resistance that the entrepreneur may face, including “social ostracism...physical prevention or...direct attack.” As Okpara (2007, 5) states:

Most people resist change, so a key part of innovating is convincing other people that your idea is a good one – by enlisting their help, and, in doing so, by helping them see the usefulness of the idea.

According to Schumpeter (1968, 86), such resistance is greater “in primitive stages of culture.” So, to have the confidence to break with tradition and rise above people's resistance requires abilities that very few people possess and which characterise “the entrepreneurial type as well as the entrepreneurial function” (Schumpeter 1962, 132). Yet, despite this supposed resistance, Blainey (1976, 119)

highlights how these ‘breaks with tradition’ were sometimes embraced by members of traditional Aboriginal groups, stating that:

By the standards of the twentieth century, when novelty is an obsession, aboriginals resisted change but they appear to have been sympathetic to those innovations which seemed useful and which could be accommodated within their traditional way of living...In the Cape York Peninsula in 1879 and 1880 the explorer Robert Logan Jack saw...aboriginal women carrying old jam tins and saw men using implements and weapons which they had shaped from bits of telegraph wire, the iron bolts of a ship or the discarded iron tyres of a digger’s cart.

Thus, the notion that traditional Aboriginal groups were innately opposed to innovative acts which could make life easier, or enhance their ability to collect resources, just does not hold up (Blainey 1976).

In their comparison of contemporary Aboriginal and Māori entrepreneurs, Frederick and Foley (2006, 11) have suggested that Māori “have excelled at establishing an entrepreneurial culture” because historically they have shown an inclination for enterprise and the adoption of new technologies and forms of business. They go on to state that “culturally, Aboriginal Australians do not seem to have the enterprising legacy that would propel them to become entrepreneurs today” (Frederick and Foley 2006, 12). More recently though, Foley (2010c, 86) has highlighted that there was an undercurrent of enterprise and innovation within traditional Aboriginal societies:

Economic development and activity by Aboriginal people has always been subject to opportunity recognition of potential products, their qualities, market forces of supply and demand, plus effective marketing and transportation of product. Above all, it also necessitated access to resources. This included permanent water supplies...complex foods, shelter, timber and human resources. When these conditions are set in place, Aboriginal people have often changed their normal patterns of social behaviour...The combination of available natural resources and opportunity recognition by Aboriginal leaders thus helped to determine whether a society continued to be predominantly based on hunter-gathering or became more entrepreneurial. (Foley 2010c, 86)

Again though, the innovative acts that occurred in traditional Aboriginal societies do not bring to mind the entrepreneur, and the practice of entrepreneurship, as reified through dominant discourse (Ogbor 2000). However, for Schumpeter, the entrepreneur is one who brings disequilibrium to the economy, and so he was always seeking to “reconcile innovation with general equilibrium to explain economic evolution. In essence, he was interested in innovatory discontinuities that upset equilibrium” (Pol 2007, 2). Thus, Schumpeter (1962, 132) argued that both

impressive and modest instances of innovation could revolutionise production patterns and have a “disequilibrating impact” on the economy. According to Schumpeter (1962, 132), from the early production stages of the railroad, the car, and electrical power, “colonial ventures afford spectacular instances of a large genus”¹⁰ and countless smaller ones, such as “making a success of a particular kind of sausage or toothbrush.” So, while Australia remembers colonial settlers such as the “devisers of ploughs and harvesting machinery” who increased the land’s ability to provide food, “simple innovations made by unknown aboriginals” had most likely fed more people over the course of time, but such achievements have gone unrecognised (Blainey 1976, 118). Furthermore, like the tendency to credit an individual entrepreneur with an innovation, without reference to any of the broader audience who influenced it (Lindgren and Packendorff 2003), Blainey (1976, 118, my emphasis) suggests that:

It was the essence of Aboriginal culture to give all credit to remote ancestors, and so it would not have honoured contemporaries who added to the food resources. Probably no *lasting* honour was given to the inventor of a more efficient fish trap, the finder of a new method of sharpening stone axes, or an inventive stalker of emus or wombats.

In addition, this lack of recognition is compounded by fallacious statements such as “the whiteman was the vehicle for innovation [in Australia], innovation from which Aborigines have benefited mightily” (Johns 2011, 44). Similarly, in her journal article *Invention and Innovation in Australia: The Historian's Lens*, Moyal (1987, 93) discusses in the context of British, European, American, and Canadian (male) migrants:

the quite remarkable amount of ad hoc invention, introduction and adaptation of technologies, and entrepreneurial activities that went on in all the Australian colonies since the first pieces of machinery were dumped at Botany Bay, and that led to the sustenance of the settlers and later to the development of diverse local industries that made the growing population of Australia self-sufficient in the commodities of life...including the important business of coming to grips with a wholly new environment in an unknown country, with new and little understood products, indigeneous [sic] timber, coal deposits for making gas, with fibres, the commercial use of flora, and with building small but successful industries in widely dispersed areas of Australia.

Yet, no mention is made by Moyal (1987, 93) of the innovative acts “that led to the sustenance” of Aboriginal Australian settlers, their “coming to grips” with new

¹⁰ That is, entrepreneurship.

environments and resources, or how they attained self-sufficiency and eventually built “small but successful industries in widely dispersed areas of Australia.” This could be referred to as an ‘ontological oversight’.

More recent developments in conceptualising entrepreneurship lend further support to the idea that entrepreneurial activity as defined by Schumpeter (1968) can be identified in traditional Aboriginal societies. For example, Holmquist (2003, 79) believes that entrepreneurship, as characterised by the ‘carrying out of new combinations’ and the breaking up of old tradition, occurs “in non-business settings” too, and such forms of entrepreneurship “have always existed.” Also, Casson (2003, 200) states that the “functional definition of entrepreneurship”, whereby the entrepreneur makes judgmental decisions concerning the use of resources “is essentially institution-free” and may be carried out “in all societies by people whose judgment differs from the norm.” Such judgement was highlighted by Cathy (Indigenous consultant) when I asked her if she would call her ancestors or elders entrepreneurial, and like Kylie, Cathy also emphasised the social embeddedness of entrepreneurship, while making a number of connections between the social and economic activities of her ancestors, and aspects of the entrepreneurial phenomenon:

When I think about it, just coming from the area I do, they definitely were. They were able to look at the resources around them...with a shared vision, which in a lot of audiences is your organisational vision, and they were able to take the resources they had, and either through trade or barter...they had to negotiate their way through life. Whether it was popping into another person’s Country trading ochre for skins, or fish or shell for another kind of meat; trading stories...all that kind of stuff is intellectual property, so absolutely I see them as entrepreneurs. (Cathy, Indigenous consultant)

Here, Cathy makes an interesting parallel between traditional Aboriginal groups and entrepreneurial organisations, by highlighting that the assessment of resources and development of strategies to utilise them in the most productive manner is an activity common to both. Another connection to the entrepreneurial phenomenon is made when she compares the knowledge and stories that her ancestors possessed to intellectual property; a valuable asset for any entrepreneurial venture. Furthermore, like Tina, Cathy also highlights her ancestors’ ability to organise and allocate scarce resources in order to ensure group survival as a definitive element of entrepreneurship in traditional Aboriginal societies, while revealing the crucial role

of trade and its underlying networks as key elements of these survival strategies. These networks will be elaborated on in the following section.

4.7. Networks, trade and entrepreneurship in traditional Indigenous societies

40,000 years has been suggested as the length of settlement by Aboriginal groups on the land mass now called 'Australia' (Berndt and Berndt 1983).¹¹ Foley (2010c, 85) believes that some of these groups have engaged in "enterprise and entrepreneurial activity" for "over 8,000 years." These were not isolated pockets of entrepreneurial activity either, with trade and other related activities undertaken by Aboriginal groups throughout Australia (Foley 2006a). Various forms of enterprise were established in the deep past (Berndt and Berndt 1983) and involved much more than "'stone age' bartering" (Foley 2010c, 86). For example, certain resources such as ochre and stone quarries "were owned by particular families who controlled the trade; at Mt William axe quarry in Victoria the rate of exchange was three pieces of axe-stone for one cured possum-skin rug" (Flood 2006, 163). Foley (2010c, 90) provides another noteworthy example, stating that:

The Gai-mariagal [people] of the coastal area of Sydney processed white ochre, containerised it into standard-size Abalone shells and traded them across the Blue Mountains until the ochre was used and the shell became a valuable trade item. (Foley 2010c, 90)

Trade networks eventually stretched throughout the continent, with goods frequently carried as far as 800 kilometres (Broome 1982). Various forms of technology were traded, including tools such as the boomerang,¹² also called a kylie or kurl by

¹¹ A number of other settlement periods have been suggested including 50,000 years (Broome 1982; Blainey 1995; Hiscock 2008), 60,000 years (Sabbioni 1998; Webb and Warren 2005; Bednarik 2006), 70,000 years (Collard 2000), 80,000 years (Colbung 1988), 120,000 years (Sabbioni 1998), 150,000 years (ATSIC 1999), and 175,000 years (Sabbioni 1998). Yet, many "Aboriginal peoples reject this scientific approach to their origins [and] consider the Dreaming to be their originating story" (Sabbioni 1998, xx).

¹² "The word 'boomerang' derives from the name 'bumarin' given to the return weapon by a particular tribe in New South Wales" (Musgrove 1974, 188). Like the millstone, the boomerang can be examined under the lens of Schumpeter's (1968) theory and shown to be an entrepreneurial innovation. Yet, Frederick and Kuratko (2010, 8, emphasis in original) state that "in today's lingo we probably would say that a primitive hunter-gatherer with a new weapon [such as a boomerang] was seeking *niche advantage in the wild marketplace*." Despite the significant economic change that would have ensued from the invention and incorporation into everyday life of such weapons,

Noongar language groups (Hazel, various business interests), and the spear thrower which were often absent from, or markedly different across regions (Hiscock 2008). Food was also traded along with other items (Broome 1982; White 2012) such as pituri (Blainey 1976). In fact, pituri was the basis of “a roaring trade” with the most prized variety of the shrub harvested in south-western Queensland and then traded as far north as the Gulf of Carpentaria, and to Port Augusta in South Australia (Flood 2006, 168).¹³ Trade was also undertaken with groups from overseas nations (Broome 1982; Blainey 1995). For example, historians are certain that trade between Macassans and Aboriginal groups such as the Yolngu people in Arnhem Land started around the year 1720 (Hiscock 2008), and the adoption of foreign goods by the Yolgnu contributed to a “hot-bed of innovation” (Flood 2006, 8).¹⁴ The ancestors of the Gumatj clan of the Yolgnu have been called “the first recorded Australian international entrepreneurs” (Pearson and Helms 2013, 53),¹⁵ highlighting the glaring inaccuracy in Johns’ (2011, 31) claim of the “basic insularity” of Aboriginal culture.

“Vast trading networks” were also established throughout the Torres Strait Islands (Flood 2006, 164) and eventually, New Guinea in the north became an established trading partner with the Islands’ peoples (Wilson 1988). In Canada, some Indigenous entrepreneurs believe their people are “inherently entrepreneurial” and that traditional economic activity such as long-distance trading that depended on the seafaring skills of specific individuals was a form of entrepreneurship (Gallagher and Lawrence 2012, 397). The historical depth of this activity has been elaborated on by Cachon (2012, 5) who states that there is “evidence of ancient entrepreneurial activities such as manufacturing and trade... present in the Great Lakes and North-Eastern regions of Canada and the U.S.” from as far back as 10,000 years ago. Such

Frederick and Kuratko (2010) do not refer to such acts as entrepreneurial innovations, as they lie outside of the ‘grand narrative’ (Ogbor 2000) that informs their understanding of the entrepreneurial phenomenon.

¹³ Flood (2006) uses the alternative spelling of ‘pitcheri’ for this shrub.

¹⁴ Trade also existed between the Yolgnu and Japanese fisherman and pearlmen during the 1930’s (Murray 2004).

¹⁵ Trade between the Yolgnu and Macassans came to an end in 1906 following the decision by Australia’s federal government to refuse entry by Macassan boats into Australian waters (Murray 2004), in keeping with the then ‘White Australia’ Policy (Flood 2006).

assertions are important, as they show that entrepreneurship can be “constructed as not a foreign concept appropriated after contact” but as economic activity that has a long history within Indigenous communities (Gallagher and Lawrence 2012, 406). Similarly, Gouvea (2014, 50) states that “Indigenous communities throughout the Americas have traded for thousands of years”, countering the notion that Indigenous groups lack the “psychological trait” required to practice entrepreneurship.

Flood (2006, 24) has argued that traditional Aboriginal society was culturally conservative and “there was great pressure against innovation”, highlighting how the artistic designs of artists from central Australia “did not change and were reproduced exactly as they always had been since the Dreaming.” Yet, this does not mean that Indigenous groups did not welcome change in other areas of their lives (Matunga 2013). For both traditional and historic Aboriginal Australian groups, trade encouraged an openness to new ideas that contrasted with the conservative attitudes they held in other areas (Berndt and Berndt 1983). Moreover, ‘tradition’ is a relative term that is often used to refer to an ‘Aboriginal past’, before its progression following contact with Europeans (Berndt 1970). The notion of ‘traditional’ Indigenous groups fit the theoretical approach of early academics as it seemed to be a period of “cultural stability and cultural difference, two preconditions for anthropological inquiry at the time” (Simpson and Landsman 2014, 71). However, such inquiry failed to describe how progressive these groups really were, as evidenced by their innovative and adaptive abilities that enabled them to survive, and indeed thrive, for millennia (Jojola 2013). So, while sometimes portrayed “as an unchanging people in an unchanging world” (Blainey 1995, 6) and “resistant to the shock of the new” (Nugent 2005, 14), “transformation rather than stability was the means by which these societies continued” (Hiscock 2008, 17).

Assertions of entrepreneurship having been practised in the past also counters non-Indigenous framing of traditional Indigenous economic activity as “community-based and devoid of entrepreneurs” (Gallagher and Lawrence 2012, 397). Indeed, Indigenous peoples have long engaged in entrepreneurial activity due to some of the same incentives that motivate contemporary entrepreneurs, such as “economic scarcity or abundance”, and because of the fundamental (entrepreneurial) desire to innovate and progress (Galbraith, Rodriguez and Stiles 2006, 11). Mauss (2002, 5)

highlights another notable parallel between economic activity in traditional and contemporary settings, stating that traditional Indigenous societies were not:

...devoid of economic markets [but their]...system of exchange is different from ours. In these societies we shall see the market as it existed before the institution of traders and before their main invention - money proper.

Similarly, traditional Indigenous societies were not devoid of entrepreneurship (Gallagher and Lawrence 2012), and offer us an insight into the entrepreneurial phenomenon before the emergence of capitalist economies and ontologies. This was highlighted by Steve (various business interests) when I asked him if he thought his ancestors or elders were entrepreneurial:

Yeah mate, without a shadow of a doubt. Our old people have always had the skills to evolve, adapt, and change...They've sometimes done that against great odds. Today, I think that same entrepreneurial spirit...has been instilled in my generation...to make the most of opportunities. (Steve, various business interests)

Further claims support the idea of entrepreneurial activity occurring in traditional societies. According to Hebert and Link (1982, 7), "the entrepreneurial function in society is probably as old as the institutions of barter and exchange", and Keelan and Woods (2006, 2) state that "entrepreneurs have existed since the beginning of time." Similarly, Casson and Casson (2014, 8) state that "the origins of entrepreneurship are lost in the mists of time." These claims do not seem so outlandish if we consider that entrepreneurship is in no way restricted to "economic institutions" alone (Drucker 1986, 37); nor does it describe a specific group of individuals, but is instead "an omnipresent aspect of human action" (Boettke and Coyne 2003, 68). When I asked Jason (Indigenous education provider) if he thought his elders or ancestors were entrepreneurial, he replied:

Oh definitely, I mean...when we talk of ancestors, or elders, or family members; the things they had to do to survive in a time when you really didn't have much in the way of rights...[how] they fought, and they got, and they created, it was amazing. A lot of old fellas managed to keep our culture alive...I had an uncle who lived in Two Rocks who would go down to the river and buy a massive shark from somebody down there, and we'd take it to a fish n' chip shop and sell it for three times the price. These fence sticks [pointing], we used to cut them in bundles of fifty...which cost us \$3.50...and we would take them to the farmers and sell them for \$5.00 a bundle...to hold up their tomato plants...or give them to the cray mob to make cray pots, because when you put them in water they can bend...so yeah, very entrepreneurial...it's what you had to do...they led the way. (Jason, Indigenous education provider)

Thus, while the origins of this “basic human capability” that is entrepreneurship may be “lost in the mists of time” (Casson and Casson 2014, 2), Jason and the other interviewees reveal how this capability has varied geographically, has evolved across time in response to economic, social, and environmental factors, and how it now resides in them. Jason’s response also blurs the lines between opportunity entrepreneurs and necessity entrepreneurs. Not only does he explain how his ancestors and elders survival necessitated their engagement in entrepreneurship, he also highlights how they were ever alert to opportunities that would allow them to do so. This connection has also been highlighted by Imas, Wilson and Weston (2012) in their discussion of the ‘cartonero entrepreneurs’ in modern-day Buenos Aires. Through their activities, the cartoneros¹⁶ “co-create the ‘opportunities’ that are invisible to others” and by doing so, their work cannot be categorised simply as ‘necessity’ entrepreneurship, which is “all too easily seen as the poor relation of ‘opportunity’ led entrepreneurship” (Imas, Wilson and Weston 2012, 572).

4.8. Conclusion

Innovation, a definitive element of entrepreneurship, frequently occurred within traditional Aboriginal societies. Furthermore, many characteristics found in contemporary entrepreneurs may also be seen in individuals from these societies both prior to, and following their assimilation into settler states, while many of the driving forces which continue to inspire entrepreneurial behaviour, also drove innovative acts in these societies. Yet, there is a dearth of literature discussing these connections, and claims that do highlight such ties have usually been based on more inclusive theories of entrepreneurship. To challenge the notion that entrepreneurship is a phenomenon that is at odds with Aboriginal ways of life, or that the innovative acts which people in traditional Aboriginal societies engaged in are not ‘real’ examples of entrepreneurship as reified through the ‘grand narrative’, I have analysed aspects of economic activity undertaken by Aboriginal Australian groups in relation to the work of leading theorists in the field of economics and entrepreneurship. In particular, I have focused on the theory of entrepreneurship conceptualised by famed Austrian economist Joseph Schumpeter; considered the

¹⁶ That is, “people who collect cardboard in the streets” (Imas, Wilson and Weston 2012, 571).

most influential theorist in this field from the twentieth century. By doing so, I have demonstrated a strong association between traditional Aboriginal societies and entrepreneurship, and have highlighted how entrepreneurial activity in these societies was dependent on a diverse range of networks, and led to significant changes in social structures, patterns of life, and ultimately, ontological renewal.

Crucially, these findings are also supported by primary data collected from Aboriginal entrepreneurs; data which contradicts the Eurocentric ontological perspectives that have shaped and dominated society's perception of 'the entrepreneur'. Rather than describing entrepreneurship using language which focuses on the masculinity and special abilities of an individual, and their ability to generate financial profit, they highlight a variety of other aspects which give rise to the entrepreneurial phenomenon. These include sustainable resource practices, collective consultation, and a shared vision, all of which contributed to harmonious and respectful communities - a desired outcome of entrepreneurial practice in Aboriginal societies at this time. This further highlights that theoretical approaches should include a deeper analysis of economic activity in a range of traditional and historic settings, which can then be used to interrogate and/or advance theories of entrepreneurship, and in the process, contribute to a 'grander narrative' of entrepreneurship. Thus, far from being a practice that is unsuited to Aboriginal ways of life; Aboriginal Australians have what could be termed an 'entrepreneurial genealogy'. Engagement in this practice has also been a source of both social and economic enrichment and ontological renewal, and continues to be so. This will be elaborated on in the following chapter.

Chapter 5: Building contemporary ontologies: the relevance of Aboriginal ontologies and their influence on the entrepreneur and business practice

The greatest thing in the world [about being an entrepreneur] is that I can continue to connect with my culture...and grow in that, and also make a quid from it and benefit my community.
(Alice, Indigenous consultant)

5.1. Introduction

As highlighted in Chapter 3, Aboriginal ontologies have often been perceived of as having little relevance for the non-Aboriginal community, particularly within cities and urban areas (Jacobs 1996; Peters and Andersen 2013; Porter 2014). Yet, my research reveals that these ontologies are being utilised as an important and productive point of contact amongst Aboriginal entrepreneurs and the wider community within metropolitan Perth. This chapter demonstrates that the upkeep of Aboriginal ontologies forms, and is formed within, an ongoing interaction with non-Aboriginal ontologies, and as more people seek to engage with Aboriginal ontologies, an increasing number of business opportunities are being generated. Equally though, Aboriginal entrepreneurs are contesting dominant modes of entrepreneurship that are embedded within contemporary Australian capitalist beliefs, perspectives and values through their own ontological negotiation and perspectives, and in the process are highlighting that the enrichment from entrepreneurship is not just economic. Consequently, engagement in entrepreneurship can have important implications for both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal ontologies, contributing to their renewal and/or growth, and empowering Aboriginal entrepreneurs to contest certain aspects of their ontologies and make their own way in the world.

In this chapter I examine different aspects of both ontologies and the outcomes of this interaction by exploring and comparing the perspectives of Aboriginal entrepreneurs and contrasting these perspectives against relevant literature. The chapter begins with a discussion of various barriers that have prevented wider recognition of Aboriginal ontologies within cities and urban areas, and how, through

their business practices, Aboriginal entrepreneurs are contesting this marginalisation. I then explain how Aboriginal entrepreneurship has important implications which extend beyond financial gain and cultural maintenance, as innovative business products and services are being developed by Aboriginal entrepreneurs to facilitate engagement with the non-Aboriginal community through cultural education. Unburdened from the colonial laws and attitudes that severely limited the scope of Aboriginal entrepreneurship throughout much of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (Jacobs 1996; Flood 2006), innovative forms of cultural education have become a crucial means of maintaining and strengthening Aboriginal culture, and imparting the relevance of Aboriginal ontologies to the non-Aboriginal community while providing an income stream. This type of engagement continues to occur in the tourism sector, but it is being designed to suit the needs of specific customers/groups in other areas, and is being facilitated by Indigenous consultants and Indigenous education providers.

Yet, in doing so, there are broad economic, social, and political constraints that Aboriginal entrepreneurs must contend with (Jacobs 1996; Porter 2013), and there are also barriers within Aboriginal social systems that they must negotiate (Foley 2006a; Harrison 2012). How Aboriginal entrepreneurs negotiate or resist these barriers will be elaborated on in this chapter and subsequent ones. In particular, I will focus on the ways in which Aboriginal entrepreneurs accommodate certain cultural obligations while operating their businesses (Morley 2014). These obligations are a fundamental aspect of Aboriginal ontologies, and as such, have serious implications for the character of Aboriginal entrepreneurship, including who may participate as an entrepreneur, and where and when they can conduct business. In effect, these obligations act as a moral compass, which also impose limitations that can push Aboriginal people towards particular areas of work, rather than others.

5.2. Aboriginal ontologies in Australian cities

According to James (2012, 250) “the colonial project for complete and legitimate take-over of the land in Australia” has failed. Now, some Aboriginal entrepreneurs are helping draw the attention of the wider community to the illegitimacy of colonial practices through cultural education. As Jason states:

We want people to realise that yes, we were taken from our Country, we weren't allowed to speak our language, and we weren't allowed to be in town at 6 o'clock...the city had an area where you could not go. (Jason, Indigenous education provider)

By highlighting such injustices, entrepreneurs like Jason are continuing the long fight against the marginalisation of Aboriginal peoples and their ontologies (Jacobs 1996; Peters and Andersen 2013), albeit in a subtle manner. These ontologies are also being revived as Aboriginal entrepreneurs reveal to the wider community the historical and contemporary connections (Porter 2014) that form their ongoing relationship with both the city and the wider world. This relationship is elaborated on in the following statement which provides an insight into the (Dreaming) ontology of Richard:

Within the holistic framework of Aboriginal culture there is one big circle, and you must know every point because everybody's a teacher in their own right. So, if you learn about animals and plants in one area you are an ecologist. You then learn about their connection to another area and you are a geographer. You then learn about their place in the cosmos and you are an astrologer. Learning different dialects and languages you are a linguist, as when you go through different Countries you have to change your language. Everything is within everything...everything is joined...everybody is born and related to something in the environment. (Richard, various business interests)

While this ontology may only seem relevant to the Aboriginal community, it is also relevant to the wider Australian community. As a form of “connectivity ontology” (Harrison 2012, 213) it highlights the importance of healthy community and environmental relationships, and such relationships are central to vibrant, inclusive cities (Jacobs 1996). Also, as Howitt and Lunkapis (2010, 110) state, “Indigenous peoples' customary laws and informal economies and cultures have persistent footprints in urban, peri-urban and rural environments”; defying ongoing assumptions that Indigenous ontologies are irrelevant to urban settings.

A further example of how Aboriginal ontologies have evolved and continue to resonate within metropolitan Perth comes from the Swan Valley district. Commonly associated with wine production and tourism, the Swan Valley is also steeped in numerous layers of Noongar history and economic practices that are not common knowledge. This is explained by George who states that:

My history in this area goes back a long way. I was a kid when I used to come down here picking grapes...because Noongar people have been employed in the grape industry since the year dot; since the British came here. We helped clear all this land out here for the wine

growers and helped plant the grapes. We've been involved in the grape industry for years and people don't know that. Aboriginal...families used to come down from country areas around January/February and pick the currant grapes they used to have here. (George, artist and gallery owner)

Neil adds to this discussion by stating that Noongar people were the main seasonal workers in the Swan Valley, and “each winery had a specific family that they worked with every year, but like the shearing, it's all gone by the wayside...they've got machines to do it now” (Neil, artist and gallery owner). Thus, not only is the Swan Valley a tourism cluster of wineries and wine tours, it is “a terrain of personal biography and community history” (Tsing 2005, xi), and similar layers of history can be found throughout metropolitan Perth and beyond. Furthermore, a deeper layer of history exists that demonstrates how strong Noongar ties to the Swan Valley really are, as Neil goes on to state that “the big family groups that used to live in this area years ago before the arrival of Europeans; there was a structure that took 40,000 years to get right.” This reveals how Noongar ontology and ways of life have been renewed over time, with new plant species (varieties of grape) incorporated into the movement of Noongar people, their resource gathering practices, and communal life following European settlement in the Swan Valley. Now, George and Neil have incorporated (Western) entrepreneurial practices into their lives, yet they remain proud Noongar men who help ensure that Noongar culture, history and economic practices endure in the Swan Valley. So, “although cultural innovations in cities are often not viewed as central to the production of contemporary Indigeneity” (Peters and Andersen 2013, 1), George and Neil prove otherwise.

5.3. Creating awareness of Aboriginal ontologies through cultural education

According to James (2012), recognition of Aboriginal history is essential for asserting the place of Aboriginal Australians within cities. However, sharing their history and culture with the non-Aboriginal community may not always be a straightforward process for Aboriginal people, as obstacles both internal and external to the Aboriginal community need to be overcome. As Jason states:

We're Aboriginal people and I think we have a problem of keeping things to ourselves when it comes to culture, because we're scared we're going to lose it, which is understandable, because you know, in the earlier days, a whitefella would listen to a Dreamtime story and say 'I like that story', write it down, put a little 'C' on it, and they own the copyright. A lot of

Aboriginal people are scared to share that knowledge. (Jason, Indigenous education provider)

In addition, Mary states that:

I don't think people have had the confidence to get out there and share our culture and there haven't been the opportunities to do so...They've put us under a carpet for a few years and tried to quieten us down. (Mary, Indigenous education provider)

As Groenfeldt (2003, 922) states, while Indigenous worldviews have been accepted “as themes within art forms”; mainstream society has been unwilling or perhaps unable to accept these views as meaningful explanations of life, and reality. Through her work as an entrepreneur though, Mary has discovered that things are really starting to change and “non-Aboriginal people are now pulling that carpet up” as they seek to engage with Noongar ontology in order to make greater sense of their own place within Australian society and landscapes. Mary elaborates on this by stating that aside from wanting a “cultural connection”, many non-Aboriginal people are actually searching for something much more elusive:

What they're searching for is their own identity and their own connection to this country.

And so through cultural tours, seeing things, smelling things, and so on; I think people really gain a real awareness. (Mary, Indigenous education provider)

By engaging in entrepreneurship, Mary is asserting her own identity in “a new and more effective way” (Groenfeldt 2003, 923), and challenging the notion of cities as “places where Indigenous people do not belong” (Porter 2013, 300). In the past, a lack of “ontological pluralism” has hindered meaningful interaction between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal groups (Coombes, Johnson and Howitt 2012a, 813). However, Aboriginal entrepreneurs are quietly facilitating this pluralism by developing products and services which allow them to share certain aspects of their ontologies with members of the non-Aboriginal community. This process is explained by Jason who states that:

I'm still basically learning as I go along; how far I can go, how far I can push it, how much I can teach, how to take something that might be very complex and simplify it so the audience can actually understand it. For example, we try to simplify Dreaming stories in such a way that they can understand, but also [explain] it's more than just a story; it tells us how to live with the land. (Jason, Indigenous education provider)

The commodification of culture for purposes such as tourism has often been viewed unfavourably (see for example, Shepherd 2002; Young 2008; Kleinert 2012; Nyseth and Pedersen 2014), with some considering it to be “evidence of acculturation and cultural decline” (Kleinert 2010, 171). Yet, for Jason and Mary, such

commodification is a form of market innovation that facilitates cultural maintenance and ontological renewal. Through her business, Mary teaches people, including other members of the Noongar community, about Noongar relationships with Country, its various resources, and their traditional uses. Here, commodification also offers a way for Aboriginal entrepreneurs to fulfil cultural obligations. As Mary stated at her totem workshop:

There's so many layers and levels of learning to truly understand who we are as Aboriginal people...Sharing our spiritual role and that information we hold close to us...we have an obligation to do that, to get that knowledge out to the community. (Mary, Indigenous education provider)

So, for example, Mary states that a certain plant may have “ten different uses” so when she is on Country (metropolitan Perth) with customers she will “explain our obligation and role in regard to that plant because it was a food source or medicine” that must be cared for. Thus, obligations to the environment are also helping to shape the experiences that Mary provides.

This type of engagement has been described as a “powerful procedure of discovery” (Ingold 2007, 3), and the awareness which emerges demonstrates how different “or perhaps even competing ontologies [can] coexist” (Martin 2015, 124). Likewise, “Aboriginal land management practices” have been identified as a means of contributing to urban sustainability (James 2012, 250), and there is now a greater willingness by government organisations to involve Aboriginal groups in initiatives relating to the environment (Behrendt 2006). Yet, it must be highlighted that the value of Aboriginal environmental knowledge extends beyond the contribution it can make to the sustainability of urban and non-urban environments, as by educating non-Aboriginal people about Noongar land management practices including the uses of, and obligations toward, different plant species, Mary is revealing, and contributing to the sustainability of, Noongar ontology in metropolitan Perth and subsequently, a more inclusive community.

5.4. The emergence of contemporary ontologies through cultural education

Another important outcome of the work that some Aboriginal entrepreneurs engage in is that they allow non-Aboriginal people to comprehend the historical context that has helped form contemporary Aboriginal ontologies, rather than reinforcing “the

pattern of historical recollection as understood by the dominant culture” (Brady 2000, 2). Entrepreneurs such as Jason and Mary are using “innovative...ways of resisting” (Brady 2000, 3) to ensure that explanations of their identity, culture, way of life, and other aspects of their ontologies are not reproduced from a non-Aboriginal perspective. They are also unsettling the “conspiracy of silence around the colonial truth” (Bhabha 2004, 175), while helping to dispel the lie “constructed through colonial ideologies” that Aboriginal Australians are “part of a distant past or remote present” (Kleinert 2010, 172). As Mary stated at her totem workshop:

we want to make sure as cultural educators that we get that information out...for a long time Noongar culture hasn't been recognised, so it's us pushing those boundaries and saying 'we're just as spiritual as the people up North, but we've been clouded because we're in the city where our voice hasn't been heard'. (Mary, Indigenous education provider)

Other forms of “ethnic resistance” (Rosaldo 1995, xv) such as Aboriginal land rights protests or the tent embassy in Canberra (Pieris 2012) draw attention to Aboriginal ontologies, but they can be too confrontational for many in the non-Aboriginal community (Jacobs 1996; Porter 2013). Therefore, these activities are unlikely to generate the same amount of empathy for, or understanding of, Aboriginal ontologies that a cultural tour with an Aboriginal entrepreneur will, for example. As Mary states: “we need to start sharing it, and sharing the positive stuff, and Aboriginal tourism can really help with this - not just the tragic stories, but our cultural knowledge” as well. Furthermore, not only did I observe Mary sharing this ‘positive stuff’ at her workshops, but her attitude, presentation style, and outlook on life in general were all really positive, and this made a lasting impression on me.

Mary also believes that as entrepreneurs, there is “a whole buffet of things Aboriginal people can get into”, because individuals and groups within the non-Aboriginal community are now actively seeking some form of positive interaction with Aboriginal people. She went on to state that:

They want to learn about this stuff. They want to get an understanding of who we are and how they can play a role in supporting our First Nations' people, because it's never been embraced, so it's not really their fault; it's just the way the system goes...it was such a traumatic experience and we've tried to cover it up with Band-Aids and hide it and...hush it up. But now, people are saying that happened; that's the truth. (Mary, Indigenous education provider)

In this way, Aboriginal entrepreneurship can facilitate more equitable forms of coexistence, whereby Aboriginal ontologies are not rendered obsolete, and the rights

and views of both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal groups which are expressed as “claims of space and place” stand side by side (Porter 2013, 291) as an “ontologically equitable collaboration” (Howitt et al. 2013, 331) within cities. To foster this process, Aboriginal entrepreneurs are actively seeking to engage with a broad range of clients, from government organisations through to recent immigrants.¹ What is emerging from this type of engagement in some instances is a contemporary Australian identity which acknowledges the value of the nation’s Aboriginal roots, rather than adhering to a way of life where Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal ontologies remain compartmentalised (Canclini 1995; Jacobs 1996; Cuthbert et al. 2002). The importance of this is highlighted by Tracey who states that:

Australia does have a history of violence in relation to its Aboriginal peoples...However, the events of the past cannot be blamed on anyone living today, but this hidden history does need to be brought to light, not only so it is not repeated, but so hopefully one day all Australians get to ‘own’ this history. This will enable everyone to move forward as one, rather than leave such injustices as a burden of knowledge for mainly Aboriginal people to carry. (Tracey, food and clothing retailer)

Similarly, Jason explains the importance of understanding Noongar history and its role in shaping contemporary Noongar ontologies:

People say why do we keep living in the past, I say whitefellas do the same...you celebrate ANZAC day, that’s something that happened in the past; why are you still celebrating every year? It’s because you’re paying respect to them; we do the same. (Jason, Indigenous education provider)

So, while a great deal of conflict between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people in the past can be viewed as a “product of ontological difference” (Coombes, Johnson and Howitt 2012a, 811), there is a growing awareness of the contribution that such difference can make to a more tolerant society. Accordingly, Aboriginal entrepreneurs such as Jason and Mary discuss and explain different aspects of Aboriginal ontologies to their customers. Yet, for people to truly appreciate these ontologies and how they have evolved, they also discuss various forms of violence

¹ Brady (2000, 3) states that “in the minds of the Indigenous”, their relationship with immigrants is founded on the notion that each one is just “another coloniser of the land.” Yet, Tracey (food and clothing retailer) believes that recent immigrants are more interested in learning about Aboriginal cultures and histories “than any other group.” This sets them apart from Brady’s (2000) ‘colonisers’, such as those immigrants who settled in Australia during the colonial era; the majority of whom saw no value in any aspect of Aboriginal ontologies (Hunter 1993; Flood 2006).

and marginalisation that Aboriginal peoples have been subject to since the outset of the British occupation.

5.5. Cultural education: moving beyond the tourism industry

While tourism continues to provide members of the Aboriginal community with an income stream and opportunities to educate tourists and visitors about their cultures (Altman 1992; Altman and Finlayson 2003; Nielsen and Wilson 2012; Higgins-Desbiolles, Trevorrow and Sparrow 2014), a market for cultural education has developed that extends well beyond the tourism industry, and many of these customers are not just looking for a cultural experience. As Mary states, there are "so many schools and TAFE institutes and unis that need help with cultural education and in particular, getting out of the classroom and onto Country." Consequently, cultural education has become an important component of her business and those of other Aboriginal entrepreneurs in Perth.

For example, Alice conducts 'Welcome to Country' ceremonies and runs cultural education programmes for schools; "just the basic stuff for kids, a bit of singing and art workshops", and she goes on to state that "there's a definite need for it...and a demand as well." Richard provides cultural education for universities as a means of improving peoples understanding of, and respect for, Noongar ontologies. This type of education also includes conducting Welcome to Country ceremonies, and bus-tours around metropolitan Perth during which Richard teaches students about Noongar Country and culture through what he calls "hands-on cultural education." Richard also works with large corporate agencies who are seeking some form of cultural education, taking them (and their clients) on tours around Perth "to give them an understanding of how the layout of the land is." Jason is involved in cultural education through a range of activities, such as visiting schools to teach children about Noongar culture, running school holiday programmes, and as a performer incorporating dance and yarning, and objects such as kylie to explain Noongar relationships to Country to tour bus groups, cruise ship visitors, and other customers. Thus, while Aboriginal entrepreneurs offer a range of products and services as a means of generating revenue, the benefits that they derive from their work are not just financial. By educating a range of groups within the wider community about

Aboriginal ontologies, and in particular, by imparting a positive perception of Aboriginal culture to children and young adults, they are initiating “a decolonization of the imagination” (Sachs 2010, ix). These entrepreneurs are showing people the value of Aboriginal ontologies, and that these ontologies can exist alongside of ontologies of economic progress and growth (Sachs 2010).

According to David (Aboriginal tourism coordinator), Aboriginal people who provide cultural education services must have the ability to share their knowledge without making those who listen develop a sense of guilt. For example, some Aboriginal people may have feelings of anger relating to injustices that have befallen them, their families, their community, and/or their ancestors. David says that there is nothing wrong with having these feelings, but if people are immobilised by that, they will not make effective teachers. He goes on to state that “it’s a balancing act to have a ‘bit of fire in your belly’ as well as having everyone leave your class feeling happy and not guilty or upset” by something that has been said. You must be able “to work in both worlds”, and there aren’t too many people who can do this (David, Aboriginal tourism coordinator). So, although Verduijn and Essers (2013, 613) claim that in many cases, “entrepreneurship...destabilizes societal and economic power relations”; an outcome of the process of creative destruction, some Aboriginal entrepreneurs are demonstrating that this is not necessarily a bad thing. They are practising an alternative form of entrepreneurship that allows them to address socioeconomic disadvantage and show the wider community the value of Aboriginal ontologies.

Gibson-Graham (2008; 2014), who builds on the work of Max-Neef (1991), describes this type of diverse economic practice as ‘performing an alternative economy’. Although these entrepreneurs have developed capitalist enterprises, their operation is tempered by various considerations (Gibson-Graham 2008; 2014) such as cultural maintenance, upholding kinship obligations, and responsibilities relating to the well-being of Country. As Tapsell and Woods (2008, 195) state, Indigenous entrepreneurship continues to be motivated by economic and social needs yet “cannot be adequately explained by either separately.” What does seem certain though, is that without the opportunities for engagement that these entrepreneurs create, not only will a majority of the non-Aboriginal community continue to see a

dichotomy between Aboriginal ontologies and the contemporary world, but they will remain oblivious to the importance of these ontologies and the contribution that they can make to a more inclusive Australian society.

5.6. Cultural education: contesting entrepreneurial stereotypes

It is through the work of Aboriginal entrepreneurs such as Mary, Alice and Richard that “new paths for social change” (Berglund and Wigren 2012, 11) are being developed. This is because the entrepreneurship that they practice is not centred on financial profit and the creation of fast-growing firms (Imas, Wilson, and Weston 2012; Verduijn and Essers 2013). Yet, Aboriginal entrepreneurs may be viewed as members of the “vibrant and functional Aboriginal communities” that exist within metropolitan areas, but which receive little recognition from the wider community (Behrendt 2006, 3). Subsequently, their efforts do not guarantee a substantive change to perceptions of Aboriginal people or their ontologies, now, or in the future. Furthermore, because they do not personify “the heroes of free enterprise”² that contemporary entrepreneurship is often associated with (Frederick and Kuratko 2010, 11), and the work practices of these entrepreneurs are not directly linked to something as tangible as securing proprietorial holdings in land for Aboriginal groups, their endeavours may not be seen as worthwhile as other efforts to reassert Aboriginal rights in cities (Jacobs 1996). However, as Coombes, Johnson and Howitt (2012b, 693) state, “it is Indigenous peoples’ negotiation” of postcolonial settings “which offers cause for optimism.”

By drawing attention to Aboriginal ontologies, entrepreneurs such as Richard, Jason, and Mary are challenging the “sense of order, progress and responsibility” within cities as established through non-Aboriginal ontologies; the notion of “Aboriginal remoteness” (Coombes, Johnson and Howitt 2012b, 693); and, the way in which people perceive entrepreneurship. Engagement with the wider community also allows these entrepreneurs to strengthen their own identity, which “is essential to the maintenance of cultural values” (Groenfeldt 2003, 925). Another important outcome of their work is that non-Aboriginal people can engage in cultural maintenance as

² Bwisa and Nafukho (2012) highlight that many entrepreneurial heroes are women; referring to them as ‘sheroes’.

well. For example, at her cultural education workshops, Mary encourages participants to organise events promoting Aboriginal culture during NAIDOC week³ or on ‘Sorry Day’.⁴ Mary concluded one of these workshops by telling participants: “that’s your challenge. You’re not going to leave this room and say nothing; you’re going to leave this room and tell everybody everything.” Thus, cultural maintenance is not only occurring through Aboriginal people producing goods for, and interacting with, the non-Aboriginal community; it is also occurring as some non-Aboriginal people take up the challenge to promote Aboriginal culture. Mary also stated during her interview that:

Six months later you might hear back from a customer and they go ‘wow! You transformed my life by showing me what that plant does’, as they’ve gone and had a conversation about Aboriginal knowledge and the environment with their grandparents who have been racist for so many years...they go on to educate others, and change their way of thinking. Things are becoming more positive. (Mary, Indigenous education provider)

Furthermore, cultural education is not the only area where this type of change may be initiated. For example, Graham (performance and dance) states that the ‘cultural strength’ his dance group displays has a positive effect not only on the performers, but on the audience as well: “changing the way people look at Aboriginal people.” Therefore, Aboriginal entrepreneurship may have a greater impact than other efforts aimed at drawing attention to the importance of Aboriginal difference and claims to metropolitan areas, such as the Aboriginal-themed architectural features (Pieris 2012) and parks and signage which are slowly being introduced to Australian cities (Oakley and Johnson 2012). In some cases, such efforts appear to be “acts of tokenism and appeasement” (Oakley and Johnson 2012, 351), whereas the efforts of entrepreneurs such as Richard, Jason, and Mary are aimed at bringing about a positive change in people’s attitudes toward Aboriginal difference and claims to the city. Therefore, in a variety of ways, they are actively contributing to the well-being of the Noongar community.

³ The National Aboriginal and Islander Day Observance Committee (NAIDOC) Week runs from the first Sunday in July until the following Sunday, and a variety of events are held during this time to celebrate Indigenous Australians and their cultures (Australian Government 2013).

⁴ Sorry Day is an annual event in Australia, held on the 26th of May. It has been observed since 1998 by those who wish to acknowledge and pay their respects to members of the Stolen Generations (Australian Government 2015).

However, this is not a straight-forward process. Mary highlights an issue that has challenged her since she first started her business:

“People that come on my tour have their own idea of what Aboriginal culture and people are about...A lot of German and English people have really bad perspectives...because it’s out there; it’s in the media...Coming on a cultural tour and talking more about the positive things that they’ve not seen or heard, and watching that unfold and then watching them unfold is actually a good way of getting past the negative perspectives. (Mary, Indigenous education provider)

Mary goes on to state that it “just made me a lot stronger in going; ‘how many more people think like that and how can we make this a positive experience rather than a negative one’?” As Jason states: “history is written by the winners”, but it is through cultural education programmes “that we can teach the other side of it” although this must be done “in such a way that I believe makes people feel comfortable, not guilty.” Jason goes on to state that while revealing such history may be confronting for some non-Aboriginal people:

How do you know where you’re going if you don’t know where you’ve been - plain and simple? You want to know why we act the way we do, or why we do certain things; learn our history and then you’ll go ‘okay, now I understand where you’re coming from’...When people realise this they go ‘no wonder a lot of you are a little bit agro’. Of course we’re angry, well some people are; I’m not. (Jason, Indigenous education provider)

Thus, by engaging in cultural education, not only are these entrepreneurs creating awareness of Aboriginal ontologies, they are also contesting various forms of marginalisation and mistruth. Furthermore, they are drawing attention to the fact that the real importance of entrepreneurship does not always lie in the creation of a business and financial profit, but instead, it lies in the (positive) social change that it engenders. In addition, cultural education is a service that can be incorporated into a variety of Aboriginal business ventures. Yet, there are certain cultural constraints relating to who may engage in Aboriginal entrepreneurship and the services that they can offer. How Aboriginal entrepreneurs negotiate or resist these constraints will be elaborated on in the remainder of the chapter.

5.7. Aboriginal ontologies and the right to engage as an entrepreneur:

Aboriginal business in the city

Just how serious the implications of cultural obligations and protocols can be for the character of Aboriginal entrepreneurship was highlighted by Richard. He declares

that not just any Aboriginal person can start up a business in metropolitan Perth, even if they are Noongar, and goes on to state that:

Despite the great...connection we have as Noongar, where you say you're from is where you're from, so in your culture you should stay there...That's why no Noongar group ever invaded another Noongar group's Country. Protocols were adhered to, but things are very different today...There's a lot of people who think the city is neutral ground, especially people from the north...It then becomes about how you stand your ground and keep what's yours...A lot of people sneak in under the radar, set up business, and then go. (Richard, various business interests)

Richard states that understanding these protocols as well as knowing “what you can and can't talk about” is essential to being a successful Aboriginal entrepreneur. “You look at other Noongar coming in from Country to set up small business”; they do it very quietly, but they should be following protocols and “letting elders know” that they are here. Richard goes on to state that:

Our mob is really territorial and so tourism should only happen here if you're Noongar and you have a traditional understanding of this Country. That's what tourists really want to see – not just authenticity on the level of learning about Aboriginal culture from Aboriginal people, but from Aboriginal people who are the Traditional Owners of that Country and who have those deeper connections. (Richard, various business interests)

However, Jason offers an alternative point of view, stating that “the fact that you're working out of Country shouldn't be an impediment so long as you've got permission and you know the stories.” He goes on to state that:

To be honest, a lot of visitors...don't care if you're Noongar or...Bunuba...They just want to meet an Aboriginal person, because they don't see all the divisions. Actually, one of the great things about having these non-locals is [visitors]...gain a level of insight into the differences amongst Aboriginal groups. (Jason, Indigenous education provider)

Interestingly, Steve (various business interests) believes that protocols and obligations which regulate how Aboriginal people conduct business on Noongar Country, should also apply to non-Aboriginal business interests. Steve states that while the resources industry has a legal obligation to Traditional Owners up north because their rights that have been recognised through Native Title, “down here there's a different mindset in terms of Native Title.” He goes on to state that:

I've always been a strong advocate for Noongar business. I've made all my customers and clients aware that it's hypocritical for them to have a policy to engage with Traditional Owners in remote Aboriginal communities because that's where their resources are located, and challenged them because their head offices are here in Perth which is Noongar Country. ‘Where is your commitment to the Traditional Owner groups down here’? So, I've always

kicked back and pushed them into a corner and said ‘this isn’t neutral territory. You’ve got an obligation; this is schizophrenia if you think you can operate one way up there and differently down here’. (Steve, various business interests)

However, Steve believes that he has always argued this point in a constructive and non-confrontational manner and goes on to state that: “I’ve had a lot of people listen...it’s a contentious issue and an ongoing debate.” So, for Aboriginal entrepreneurs wanting to practise entrepreneurship in the city, there are protocols governing the use of land and resources that they should abide by, but these appear to be somewhat flexible. In some cases, Aboriginal people who do not have well-established ties to metropolitan Perth may still engage in business either by asking for permission to do so, or by operating somewhat covertly. For resource companies though, these protocols appear to be respected only if there is a legal obligation to do so. The following section will explain how such protocols also influence Aboriginal entrepreneurship outside of the city.

5.8. Aboriginal business beyond the city: honouring the ‘cultural connection’

According to Elaine (non-Aboriginal tourism consultant), “in some country areas it’s really hard” for Aboriginal entrepreneurs to start a business if they are outsiders. Traditional Owners will say “‘you’re not from here, so how can you do Aboriginal cultural tourism on this Country’?” However, Elaine goes on to state that there are ways around this:

You talk generically about your culture and acknowledge that you’re not on your own Country and you can’t speak for this area, but you can say ‘back home this is what happens’, and some things would still be fairly generic. It’s the things that they don’t know and don’t feel comfortable asking about that will probably get them into trouble later if they want to continue their business. (Elaine, non-Aboriginal tourism consultant)

Cathy acknowledges the importance of cultural protocols and has created a business model that takes into account issues such as working outside of her Country:

We have a cultural charter that also defines our engagement principles, and how we manage projects. Number one; you know when you go to someone else’s Country you just don’t walk in there and act like you own the place. You have to make sure you’re invited. We don’t go anywhere that we’re not invited, and that takes time and that’s a bit of a gamble but for us that’s part of our integrity and the value that we hold as individuals and as a company. (Cathy, Indigenous consultant)

According to Cathy, adhering to this charter also means having to turn away potential customers, something that at first glance would not make sense to a person who does not understand the importance of respecting cultural protocols. She goes on to state that:

You do get challenged; a lot. You get presented with opportunities that could really shift your personal values...We say 'no' to work more often than we say 'yes', and that's a hard decision to make but at the end of the day it's about our integrity and the values that we hold. I guess that's at the core of what we do, because when you talk about creating social change it's really about taking and honouring all the things that make you an Aboriginal person; like your culture, your connection to Country, language, and all the difference along that spectrum. (Cathy, Indigenous consultant)

So, while Cathy and her business partners will say no to business opportunities if they are unable to abide by a tenet that is observed by all Aboriginal groups (receiving permission to enter and conduct business on the Country of another language group), this is not viewed as a limitation, but rather, as an opportunity to create an ethical approach to business and a point of difference with customers. Abiding by this rule contributes to the integrity of their business practice which may translate into an increased customer base in the long run. Therefore, strengthening the social fabric within Indigenous communities, income generation, and the upkeep of familial and kinship obligations (Kleinert 2010) remain important objectives of Aboriginal entrepreneurship. Yet, while the obligation of 'giving back to community' (Mauss 2002) may be compared to the philanthropy practised by wealthy entrepreneurs, or the desire to satisfy a community need which motivates social entrepreneurs (Tapsell and Woods 2008; Frederick and Kuratko 2010), there is one important difference. This obligation has been practised by Aboriginal peoples across countless generations as a means of ensuring the longevity of their communities (Broome 1982; Flood 2006) and as such, forms an integral part of their ontologies (Harrison 2012). Thus, the obligation to give back to community continues to shape the entrepreneurial practices of Aboriginal Australians, and in the process, entrepreneurship enables the renewal and growth of their ontologies. So, as Martin and Wilson (2016, 272) state, "for entrepreneurship theory then, we suggest: ontology matters."

5.9. Conclusion

Aboriginal ontologies have evolved over thousands of years and continue to do so. Despite various efforts aimed at eradicating the alternative beliefs, histories, ways of knowing, obligations to kin and environment, and other elements that shape these ontologies, they continue to resonate within people's lives, both within, and outside of cities. Crucially, the business practices of Aboriginal entrepreneurs are also being shaped by their ontologies and as a result, these entrepreneurs are helping to write a 'grander narrative' of entrepreneurship, one where financial profit and individual agency are not reified as the most important outcomes of entrepreneurial practices. Instead, they are creating a space where the value and ongoing relevance of their ontologies, particularly within settings such as cities, can be explained, and by doing so are contributing to improved socioeconomic outcomes for their communities. Cultural education programmes play a particularly important role in facilitating this change, and are being designed so that explanations of Aboriginal ontologies and their relevance within contemporary settings can be effectively communicated to people of different ages, gender, occupations, and so on.

Thus, Aboriginal ontologies are being shown to have a legitimate and productive place in Australian society. Aboriginal entrepreneurship is essential for creating awareness of these ontologies amongst the non-Aboriginal community, many of whom wish to broaden their understanding of Australian society and their place within it by engaging with these ontologies. Although some aspects of Aboriginal ontologies such as cultural obligations may be viewed as a limitation to entrepreneurial practice, these obligations are being modified by entrepreneurs so that they can achieve business success, and it may be argued that this is not an unexpected outcome, following the renewal of Aboriginal ontologies during earlier eras. Aboriginal entrepreneurs both prior to and following the British occupation consistently adapted their way of life to overcome new challenges. Yet, some obligations are being adhered to as closely as possible, while others are being given a new lease of life. Importantly though, upholding the obligation to contribute to the wellbeing of their communities remains a key objective for many Aboriginal entrepreneurs, and this will be discussed further in the following chapter.

Chapter 6: Ontology and the negotiation of relationships within the institutional and social structures of community and business

I've always had the best interests of Indigenous people [at heart], not myself. I put our mob first, and myself second...but my number one rule; I don't allow family to be involved in the business; full-stop. (Andrew, fashion, design and retail)

6.1. Introduction

This chapter builds on the findings of the preceding one by further demonstrating the centrality of ontological renewal to Aboriginal entrepreneurship. As shown in the two previous chapters, various economic, social, and political constraints, and efforts to overcome them, have helped shape Aboriginal entrepreneurship. The preceding chapter also argued that cultural obligations, a key element of Aboriginal ontologies, are helping to determine where and how people can practise entrepreneurship, and the forms of entrepreneurship that emerge from this interaction then become a medium for ontological renewal and growth. This chapter will elaborate on this contention by discussing further entrepreneurial outcomes that emerge through the performance of cultural obligations, before examining other aspects of Aboriginal ontologies, their effect on entrepreneurial practices, and the 'new ways of being' that emerge from these interactions.

The chapter begins by explaining how cultural beliefs can influence the entrepreneur and their business practice, before showing how these beliefs can strengthen cultural practices. The chapter then discusses how entrepreneurship can be used to fulfil cultural obligations. This involves sharing cultural knowledge with both the Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal communities, which may in turn contribute to the reconciliation process within Australia.¹ Next, the chapter describes how cultural

¹ The final recommendation from the 1991 Report of the Royal Commission into Aboriginal Deaths in Custody highlighted "the need for a reconciliation process" in Australia (Foley and Watson 2001, 11). Although the official reconciliation process concluded in 2000, many Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people continue to support the key objective of this process, which is the elimination of the economic, social, political and cultural disadvantage faced by Aboriginal Australians (Gunstone and McGinn 2011). Thus, reconciliation provides "an important reimagining of the 'public interest', an ideal largely discredited by planning theorists" (Fort 2013, 2).

obligations can influence the structure of an entrepreneur's business, which can then be used to fulfil these obligations. This will be followed by a discussion of how entrepreneurship can be used as a means of upholding and managing kinship obligations, particularly to extended family and certain elders. The second half of the chapter discusses further elements of Aboriginal ontologies, aside from cultural obligations, which also have a significant influence on Aboriginal entrepreneurship. These involve spiritual dimensions of ontology, and perspectives on debt and the relevance of time, and again, while these elements influence entrepreneurial practice, this interaction also leads to ontological renewal and growth.

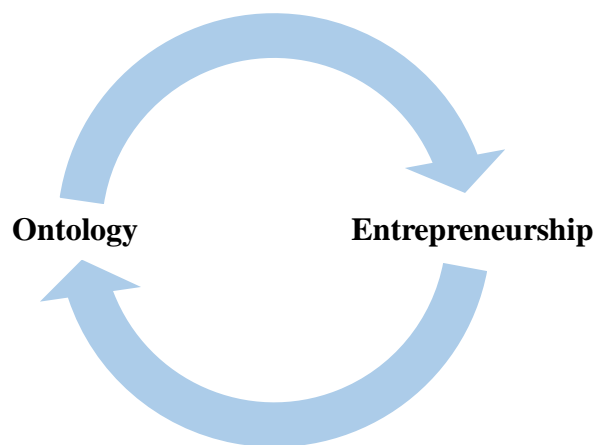


Figure 2: Minimalist representation of the relationship between ontology and entrepreneurship which disguises the complexities and dynamism that are inherent to this cycle. **Source:** By author (2016).

6.2. Strengthening ontology through entrepreneurship

As highlighted in Chapters 4 and 5, Aboriginal groups have a long history of reconciling their ontological beliefs with participation in non-traditional economic activity, including settler economies (Dudgeon et al. 2010; White 2010), colonial economies, and postcolonial economies (Broome 1982; Jacobs 1996; Flood 2006). Such beliefs still influence economic participation by Aboriginal people in the modern Australian economy. For example, Graham states that:

I could go to the mines, but I don't like the mining. People are getting too used to it...It's just the psyche of Aboriginal people, how we look at things so differently from other people. We see a piece of dirt, we look at our ancestors, we don't look at it in terms of money...I

don't want to be part of cutting up our land; just dig it up and dump crap. But I enjoy the fact that...a lot of our people [have work in the mines]. I'm amazed at how many Noongar women, or Aboriginal women across the board...are driving big trucks up there. (Graham, performance and dance)

Similarly, participation by Aboriginal people as entrepreneurs is shaped by their ontological outlook, and while Graham's cultural beliefs may be viewed as a limitation in terms of the type of work he can engage in, they have proved to be advantageous. This is because Graham's insistence on upholding his beliefs, and his resistance to typical employment streams, has led him to negotiate his own special place within the market economy that allows him to earn a living, and help strengthen Noongar culture in the process:

I'm one of many groups in the south that has access to Aboriginal tribal dance and protocols, and while each one of us do similar dances, every dance-group depends on the leadership...So in my group, I'm a hard taskmaster...we will not put our ancient culture in this country up in halfway measures; I want it done with passion every time. It's a microcosm of our culture and of course, word of mouth is still more powerful than anything in today's world. So when you do a good job at 110 percent and people talk about it, they get you other events. (Graham, performance and dance)

As mentioned in the previous chapter, the commodification of culture has not always been viewed in a positive light (Kleinert 2012; Nyseth and Pedersen 2014), yet Graham's dance-group has proved to be a medium for strengthening Aboriginal culture, and members of the group have also developed important business skills. As Graham states:

The dance group has given us all a sense of how to run a business, how to be on time, how to be presentable...also, things like public-speaking, in an eloquent, passionate way [and]...how to maintain our traditional protocols with strength – not maintain them in a 'tread water' situation. [Also]...to look at the business and say 'how can we promote this, how can we make it better'? (Graham, performance and dance)

This highlights how Aboriginal Australians are able to maintain their distinctive connections to family and Country while simultaneously participating in the nation's economy, the possibility of which has been questioned by "conservative commentators" (Martin 2015, 117). For example, Johns (2011) claims that Aboriginal culture hinges on violence and as such, restricts participation by Aboriginal Australians in the modern economy. Yet, Graham and his dance group prove how inaccurate and deceitful such claims are.

6.3. Ontological renewal: ‘bringing the two worlds together’.

Richard’s business activities are also influenced by his ontology, and in turn, his ontology is strengthened through these activities. For example, he believes that his cultural obligations extend to the non-Aboriginal community, and that “the sharing of cultural knowledge” is his responsibility. So, through his business, Richard has set out to strengthen the “cultural value” of his people by providing non-Aboriginal people with a better understanding of Noongar culture. He goes on to state that “they need to see how valuable we are as a people”, and that Aboriginal people who do not have that cultural knowledge benefit as well (Richard, various business interests). Mary also believes that her work allows her to fulfil a cultural obligation toward the non-Aboriginal community. Importantly though, she has found that:

A lot of people I’ve interacted with have gone on to find an Aboriginal connection within their own family, and often this is what they’ve been looking for; the soul-seeking, the answers to how and why something occurred, and how they can find that connection. We have an obligation to embrace this and help people through this journey. (Mary, Indigenous education provider)

Similarly, Alice states that she wants to make it easier for the next generation of Aboriginal Australians to have access to cultural knowledge, and to help them:

Go into more spaces in Australia where they don’t have to explain who they are, or what their identity is about, or face that discrimination or stereotyping from being Aboriginal. The work that I and many others do limit incidents of people having to justify who they are and what they’re about. People will understand what that [identity] is, and I think that’s the real strength of Indigenous entrepreneurship...we’re breaking down those barriers. (Alice, Indigenous consultant)

The incentive for Alice to take on her role as an Indigenous consultant arose following the birth of her first child, when she realised that she did not have job security in her executive role in government. Alice considered her options and states that she realised she had “a real passion for reconciliation and bringing the two worlds together as has been my life experience” as a person of mixed descent. Alice had completed a niche degree in Australian Indigenous studies, and states that at the time; “Australia had started to really take on this narrative about reconciliation and cultural education.” Because of her life experience, professional experience and university qualification, Alice saw the “potential to branch out” and decided to become an Indigenous consultant. Foremost in her mind was what she could achieve for both herself and her clients, and so as a consultant she endeavours to grow in her

culture, generate an income, and help her community at the same time. While Alice's ontology guides her entrepreneurial practice, she also highlights how this leads to ontological change, stating that because of the demands of her business, "that traditional concept of 'always being around your children', I can't do." The importance of ontological pluralism (Coombes, Johnson and Howitt 2012a) or as Alice says, 'bringing the two worlds together', and the role of the reconciliation process in achieving this is also highlighted by Member of the Legislative Assembly (Western Australia) Ben Wyatt (2015, 10), who states it is of the utmost importance that:

Aboriginality is considered by all Australians as a unique identity and one that all Australians can adopt and celebrate. Native title, Aboriginal heritage, [and] cultural practices have tended to be viewed only as Aboriginal, rather than the unique history of Australia. If we are genuinely committed to reconciliation then all Australians must be able to feel comfortable embracing our pre-colonial history as their history.

Thus, the work that some Aboriginal entrepreneurs perform is inextricably tied to a cause of national importance.

Alice also states that while there is not a big turnover, being an entrepreneur has "given me an opportunity to connect more with my culture and my language, as well as providing other people that same experience." Alice goes on to explain that it is something she really enjoys; showing customers the value of the Aboriginal cultural space and its value for their organisation, and that such interactions are about much more than engaging with Aboriginal culture simply because it is the right thing to do. While "broader projects of recognition, reclamation of sovereignty and resistance to...capitalism" have been identified as "Indigenous motivations in environmental disputes" (Coombes, Johnson and Howitt 2012a, 818), the same motivations may be posited for Aboriginal entrepreneurs. Generating greater recognition of Noongar ontologies is a key driver behind Graham, Richard, and Alice's entrepreneurial ventures, and demonstrates how entrepreneurship may be driven by non-economic incentives that can improve the wellbeing of Indigenous peoples and strengthen their cultures (Hindle et al. 2005; Gallagher and Lawrence 2012; Collins et al. 2016). Furthermore, they demonstrate how a Eurocentric influence such as capitalism can be subverted and reformed in order to leverage "indigenous identity as a mechanism for supporting indigenous values" (Groenfeldt 2003, 926), and ultimately, Noongar ontologies.

6.4. Cultural obligations; their influence on business structure, and the upkeep of ontologies

For Steve, cultural obligations were a key consideration in the expansion of his business interests. During the last mining boom he undertook market research with some of his customers to help set a new direction for his company. Because of the boom, his customers kept trying to direct him toward civil and construction opportunities in the resources industry. However, Steve told them that he was a Noongar company and so he wanted to seek out opportunities in Noongar Country. He goes on to state that:

in wanting to diversify the business I think one of the major changes for me in terms of that entrepreneurial mind-set was...the mining and resources industry were wanting to engage with the Aboriginal community, and there was lots happening up in the Pilbara in terms of Native Title holder groups, which is fantastic...but...I wasn't interested in going up to other people's Country. I wanted to create opportunities down here, so that's where I started to focus my energies and efforts. (Steve, various business interests)

Steve decided to develop a Joint Venture Partnership (JVP) to take advantage of a business opportunity in the office supplies market, and was introduced to a potential business partner through the IBA (Indigenous Business Australia). Two of Steve's non-negotiable requirements for the JVP were that:

It had to be a 51 percent Aboriginal-owned Company, and the second element...I wanted to create a community investment arm of the business that was seen by the market to be giving something back...where part-profits generated from the joint venture goes to community-projects like numeracy, literacy and youth programmes. (Steve, various business interests)

However, during negotiations, the potential business partner insisted that they form a 50/50 partnership. Steve believes the CEO of the potential JVP partner, an established company with a lot of "backing infrastructure" that would be incredibly helpful for this new venture, eventually got tired of Steve insisting on 51 percent ownership and gave him an ultimatum that it would be a 50/50 owned company or nothing at all. Steve states that this was "the straw that broke the camel's back...the end of negotiations" that had begun nine months earlier. Steve then went back into the market and was introduced to another potential JVP partner through the IBA, who was an immigrant of non-Anglo descent. Steve states that he "probably knew within about two weeks that he was the right fit...I think that not only were we corporately-aligned, but we were culturally-aligned." This further highlights that while Aboriginal ontologies may appear to dictate limits in terms of entrepreneurial

practice; they can also drive the entrepreneur to seek more favourable opportunities, while helping to inform an ethical approach to business. Steve's insistence on a 51 percent Aboriginal-owned Company and returning part-profits to the wider Aboriginal community has enabled him to attract the right business partner. As Steve explains, his new partner really wanted the JVP to be majority-owned by an Aboriginal company and "they were very excited about the community investment fund", a major point of difference from other companies in the industry. Steve goes on to explain that:

The community investment fund is designed so...if I win a contract in Karratha, the proceeds will go to the [Traditional Owners of that Country]. If I win a major contract for Rio Tinto, I want to make sure proceeds go to Traditional Owners in those areas. The board is very independent...and the fund is managed by the Fremantle Foundation...The board meet and we'll...extend monies to wherever we think that money needs to be sent. It's not specifically Noongar - its right across the whole of Australia. (Steve, various business interests)

Thus, the JVP has been structured in a way that allows Steve to uphold cultural obligations. Steve has ensured that he has a controlling interest in the business, and by establishing a community investment fund, he is able to disseminate a share of profits to Traditional Owners both within and outside of Noongar Country. This is a key point of difference for the industry that Steve's business is located in.

6.5. Negotiating ontological change: reconciling kinship and business obligations

An important ontological challenge for Aboriginal entrepreneurs is reconciling kinship obligations that help govern relationships with immediate and extended family members and the wider Aboriginal community, with the demands of running a business (Foley 2006a). According to Dana (2007), kinship obligations have a significant influence on the socioeconomic practices of many Indigenous cultures. This was highlighted during discussions with a number of Aboriginal entrepreneurs including Kylie who states that:

Because we're now in two worlds we're heading more toward 'how do we practice on our own', but...remember where we're from and how do we contribute to that? So, there's a real balancing act...because if you ask each Indigenous consultant...a lot of their businesses are based on helping out the wider community, so...we're still trying to get our head around it...creating wealth for ourselves...we do feel guilty...I think that's the real challenge when you're walking in two worlds. You want to be independent, but at the same time there are

still those strong cultural ties pulling you back...so, I think there is lots of entrepreneurship, but more...in terms of benefitting the collective. (Kylie, Indigenous consultant)

For Kylie then, business success means creating financial wealth *and* sharing this wealth with her community. According to Elaine (non-Aboriginal tourism consultant), Aboriginal entrepreneurs may be “‘humbled’ by family and community members who believe they are doing well financially”, and this is a barrier to business longevity that many non-Aboriginal entrepreneurs do not have to face. Yet, regardless of whether or not they are being humbled, Kylie states that for many Aboriginal entrepreneurs, financial success creates “a sense of guilt.” So, by giving back to her community, Kylie is able to move past such feelings and uphold a cultural obligation.

Similarly, Graham believes that he must uphold his obligations to the Noongar community, but he also acknowledges that he has business obligations to uphold. In balancing these demands, he has become particularly careful about whom he employs. Graham states that over time he has discovered the importance of “employing ‘busy men’; men that have a history of working.” Graham went on to state: “I didn’t want to be a welfare organisation...as Aboriginal people we’ve all been through this and you get sick of it, but something’s still got to be done.” Furthermore, Graham also thought about what he could do to support the wider Noongar community, and strengthen Noongar culture. He came to the conclusion that he needed to set a strong example for other performers to follow and by doing so, he ensures that customer needs are met and that his group’s performances meet the expectations of elders:

What about always being there on time? What about not turning up after a party hung-overish and smelling of stuff?...What about taking a real interest in our culture...[plus] everything’s fully choreographed, all the emails two months beforehand with me organising everything...and the organisers are happy. They can look for the drunken bass player and the jazz ensemble that didn’t turn up...[and] the elders have not only come to us and said...‘this is fantastic’, but some of the men and women, they’ve shed a tear, because we don’t compromise in our talk, or our actions. We just put on a really good strong, positive show; the real Noongar show, instead of all the crap you hear about in the media...You know, we’ve had government legislation - everything poured on us, and we’re still smiling. We’re still good people, and this is our land; people get shitty about it [laughs], but it’s still our land. (Graham, performance and dance)

However, while Indigenous entrepreneurs do have a responsibility to consider the needs of their wider community as part of their business journey (Anderson, Dana and Dana 2006), the importance of some obligations is now being contested and “contemporary kinship practices” are being established by urban Aboriginal entrepreneurs (Foley 2006a, 248). According to Susan (non-Aboriginal tourism coordinator), Aboriginal entrepreneurs need “a particular type of courage”, as they often have to “challenge the old way of doing things and so must be particularly innovative in moving forward.” She goes on to say that unfortunately, not all traditions can be maintained in this day and age, but while some of the older traditions are lost, this does not disrespect or diminish the culture; instead, it evolves and grows. For example, there are “specific traditions in many places around the world where women play a lesser role to men and in some aspects of culture this needs to be challenged” (Susan, non-Aboriginal tourism coordinator). The following section will highlight how one entrepreneur is challenging some of his cultural obligations.

6.6. Contesting cultural obligations through entrepreneurship

According to Foley (2006a, 252), the adaption of traditional values to conform to contemporary lifestyles is a means of “cultural and economic survival.” Aboriginal entrepreneurs both prior to the British occupation and throughout the colonial period would have faced a similar dilemma; cultural and economic survival necessitated innovation at certain times and such change would have upset established patterns of life and social relationships (Blainey 1976). Thus, not only are motives for Aboriginal entrepreneurship now and in the past very similar, so are some of the challenges that it presents. Richard elaborates on this by stating:

Because of our culture’s law and structure there’s obligations and those obligations must be met. These obligations are just as strong in urban areas as they are in places far away from the city...but to fit in with modern society the importance of some obligations needs to change. I hold a lot of things of value as an Aboriginal person, but in the context of life, we need to change a proportion of it. (Richard, various business interests)

Richard went on to describe how he does not observe some cultural obligations as rigidly as they were in the past. For example, he only tells his immediate family what he is doing in regard to his business activities, rather than his extended family, and while Richard is often asked by members of his extended family, “what are you

doing...where are you now?"; he does not tell them "until it's fully complete."

Richard goes on to state that:

I just say I'm doing my business because I don't want to be pulled down first. I want to get it up and running and then say what I've got. It's very hard to stand in your community, because your community's so critical...so how do we overcome that? You stand up and you do your business and then when you're finished...just go out and say 'hello, this is who I am'. (Richard, various business interests)

Thus, in true entrepreneurial style, Richard challenges the status quo to find success and in doing so, highlights how Foley's (2006a, 252) claim that "the urban Aboriginal Australian business person is continuously changing, improving themselves and their skills in an attempt to maintain social acceptance and business interaction" within the wider community, continues to ring true.

Richard has also been questioned about the suitability of his business activities. For example, some of his elders believe that he should not be providing certain aspects of cultural education, as he is not an elder himself. However, Richard states that some of his elders who have now passed on always told him, "it's not about your age; it's about what you know." He went on to state that "dad always said, 'you teach the white man now, because he needs to know...I couldn't teach him'." Although the "backlash" Richard received from some parts of the community was quite harsh, something he refers to as the "cultural costs", Richard went on to state that some people were:

very supportive; some immediate family members were proud of me...and seeing the change in non-Aboriginal people, how they look at us today, that's of really great value...so you need to weigh up the benefits you can achieve against the costs, such as the reaction of your community. (Richard, various business interests)

Richard acknowledges that "there was one stage of life where, whatever you did...you would take your family with you, but things changed." So, for example, if he is asked by an extended family member for money, Richard will say "I have none, it's my children's", and he goes on to state that in this way "we change our cultural system, we change our obligations, but if you see a family member that's really close, you keep that obligation." Graham (performance and dance) explains this type of change more succinctly, stating that "we have to be firm with our people sometimes, our...extended family you know." As Pearson and Helms (2012, 306) point out, "obligatory sharing is a serious challenge" for Aboriginal entrepreneurs.

Richard overcomes this challenge by contesting who he must inform about his business activities and who he must share the benefits with, and by doing so, demonstrates how entrepreneurship can lead to ontological renewal. As highlighted in Richard's profile (Appendix 1), he became a self-employed artist at the age of sixteen, and has worked for himself in some capacity ever since. Kylie on the other hand only started her business a few years ago and as such, remains uncertain about how she will balance the demands of her business and obligations to her family and community. Whether or not she contests these obligations as strongly as Richard has remains to be seen.

Tracey sums up how cultural obligations are a key determinant of contemporary Aboriginal entrepreneurship, and how contemporary cultural practices start to take shape:

You must keep in mind how your business will contribute to your culture, Country and lifestyle. Without contributing to all three of these things, you will not succeed as an Aboriginal entrepreneur. (Tracey, food and clothing retailer)

Accordingly, Tracey has built her business around her passion (food and clothing), but is committed to improving non-Aboriginal people's awareness of her culture, and helping the wider Aboriginal community. As Gallagher and Lawrence (2012, 406) state, being an entrepreneur not only allows people to make a living; "it is also a way of getting back to historical forms of economic activity which were fundamental to an indigenous way of life." Therefore, entrepreneurship may be viewed "as a normal part of what it means to be indigenous" (Gallagher and Lawrence 2012, 406). Similarly, just as elders exerted a strong influence over Indigenous economic activity in traditional settings (Matunga 2013), elders influence contemporary Indigenous entrepreneurship, as highlighted by Richard earlier, and this will be elaborated on in the following section.

6.7. Managing obligations and relationships to elders

Mary recognises that her elders can add value to the services she offers, and she also believes that she has an obligation to involve them in her business activities wherever possible. For example, Mary states that her elders "have that cultural knowledge...language, Welcome to Country, and they know how to teach it." So, if someone says to her "my mother knows language and she was a part of the stolen

generation”’, Mary will ask them if they would like to talk about their experiences and if so, they will be paid for their time and knowledge. “We see it as a cultural obligation; it’s a role and responsibility for us...and I think...what we really need to do is...pay homage to our elders in that sense because it’s been missed.” Mary goes on to state that:

there’s a lot of younger people who are doing ‘welcomes’ now when their parents and grandparents are still alive and if you’ve been given permission it’s okay, but if you haven’t, it’s wrong. You should support them and take a background role. I get asked to do a lot of welcomes and say ‘no’ because we have some strong elders in the community who are capable of doing it. (Mary, Indigenous education provider)

However, Mary states that some people “are too far gone and the respect for the elders is gone and they’ll go and make a dollar and say ‘that’s okay’, and are reaping the benefits.” Mary believes that this is one way “the role of elders has sort of fallen through”, but she goes on to state that this role “is being embraced once more and we are trying to lift it up.” As Graham states:

When it comes to tribal protocol, and understanding our culture, which is very, very important, you’ve got to have that base, that foundation. They [elders] are the ant’s pants; they know what they’re talking about. (Graham, performance and dance)

Thus, entrepreneurship not only offers a means of educating people about Aboriginal ontologies, it provides an opportunity to highlight the prominent position that Aboriginal elders hold within these ontologies, and to involve them in the educational process. The importance of this is explained by Jojola (2013, 465) who states that: “Indigenous communities have lost, or are losing, their ability to use elements of their philosophies and operationalize them in a manner that affirms their holistic practices”, but the knowledge held by elders can help reverse this trend. Also, as Mary highlights, interacting with, and involving her elders in her business activities, provides her with the confidence that the knowledge she shares is accurate and is being taught in a culturally appropriate way.

The ways in which Mary accommodates cultural obligations within her business demonstrates the “balancing act” that Kylie says Aboriginal entrepreneurs are challenged by. Yet, like Cathy and Graham for example, Mary does not view these obligations as a limitation but rather, she understands that adhering to them makes sound business sense. Indigenous elders are usually the “repositories of group knowledge, values, practices, and history” (Matunga 2013, 20), and as Mary states,

Aboriginal elders are the ones who can tell “the stories that people want to hear.” Mary (her emphasis) goes on to state that “if they can’t share these stories they’ll be gone forever, and once the elders are gone, *then* it’s our turn to step up, although...I think my elder siblings need to take on this role before me.” This highlights that long apprenticeships and the division of work based on a person’s age and/or authority continues to play a role in the dissemination of knowledge which helps inform Aboriginal ontologies. Mary highlights a further division in that she runs cultural education workshops specifically for men and specifically for women. ‘Men’s business’ and ‘women’s business’ remains an important aspect of Aboriginal knowledge systems (Broome 1982; Flood 2006). So, while the colonisation process led to the destruction of much of the “materiality and memory of Indigenous communities”, the suppression of what was left, and the establishment of “a new materiality and memory” based on the experiences of colonial settlers (Matunga 2013, 8), entrepreneurship offers a way of bringing these aspects of Aboriginal ontologies back to light.

So, as gatekeepers of important ontological perspectives, the insights and opinions of Indigenous elders are highly valued by members of their communities (Matunga 2013). For example, Hazel credits one of her elders not only with inspiring her to become an entrepreneur, but with the creation of her very first product line:

I didn’t actively pursue a career in the tourism industry, but [an elder], somebody that I’d known from a very young age...encouraged me to use my business skills to do something in culture. He just wanted us to do something...to start participating...mostly it was all white people doing it so he wanted Aboriginal involvement. [We started] making boomerangs which was something that he loved very much. (Hazel, various business interests)

Elaine (non-Aboriginal tourism consultant) identifies another important role that elders play in venture creation, stating that Aboriginal entrepreneurs “need to get permission from elders to share cultural knowledge; what they’re going to share, and how they’re going to share it.” Indeed, the “assent, consent, or...dissent” of Indigenous elders provides “a cultural and ethical check” for community members (Matunga 2013, 20). This was elaborated on by Jason who stated that:

We continue to rely on a lot of the community, especially my elders. I can’t do this without their permission - my tours are controlled by my elders, there are certain things I can talk about and certain things I can’t...They’ll always correct me if I’m saying something wrong...or say if they like it, or ‘don’t go too far with the jokes’. Sometimes they come and

listen...and because I do lots of little bits in other programmes I'll talk to the elders about this and that. (Jason, Indigenous education provider)

Similarly, in describing the (performance and dance) services that he offers, Graham states that: “we’ve made some tweaks so that people can understand, but keep it real and keep it passionate at all times.” Like Jason, Alice also says that in order to use cultural knowledge you have to gain permission from elders first; ask for their thoughts and opinions, talk over your ideas and discuss with them any adverse feelings they may have. Alice states that she has received a lot of support from Aboriginal elders and mentors which “has helped my business immensely. They are genuine and entertaining and funny and the way they explain things they inspire people to want to learn more.” According to Alice, non-Aboriginal people automatically get on the defensive when you start talking about Aboriginal issues, “but they [elders and mentors] know how to turn that narrative around and [an entrepreneur I did not interview] is an absolute master at it.” Thus, Aboriginal entrepreneurs are not just involving elders in their business operations because they have an obligation to do so, but because these elders can add value to the products and services they offer. More importantly, these elders are better equipped to explain Aboriginal histories, worldviews and ways of being and as such, they can more effectively counter the negative perspectives that some people have of Aboriginal ontologies.

6.8. Spiritual aspects of Aboriginal ontologies and their influence on entrepreneurship

Another integral aspect of ontology that has a significant effect on Aboriginal entrepreneurship is spiritual beliefs. For Aboriginal entrepreneurs, observing such beliefs may also be seen as fulfilling a cultural obligation. For example, the foundation of Kylie’s business is “Indigenous knowledge”, and so whenever she provides any form of training or workshop, it is “based on using an Indigenous worldview and the environment to teach.” Kylie believes that this comes back to her “spiritual side”; something that she had “never embraced.” However, with the passing of her mother, whom Kylie considered to be a spiritual person, she has started “to really take notice of stuff.” As a university lecturer, Kylie states that this “is really hard because obviously I’ve also taken on a Western scientific view

[laughs], so it's 'how do I balance that as well?'" To demonstrate how embracing her spiritual side has influenced her business, Kylie related a story in a context she referred to as her "Indigenous story-telling part coming out." One night she stood on an insect, was bitten, and then experienced pain that made her feel as though she was going to die. Yet, Kylie also felt really bad about killing the insect and said to a friend "this is just weird", and her friend replied "what does it mean?" Kylie went on to state: "I started 'googling' [laughs]" and discovered that these insects may be perceived as signs.

They are hard-working and if you're seeing them a lot it's a sign that you need to slow down. [Also] if you get bitten by one it's telling you something and I'm like 'gosh; that's my sign'. I suppose I am very spiritual in the fact that I have these signs and I take notice of them, and so it naturally meant that [this insect] would be my logo. And that's the thing; I did have to start thinking about taking care of myself because I was starting to stress out at that time.

(Kylie, Indigenous consultant)

Kylie also states that not only has this insect become the logo for her business, but she also refers to "this beautiful story" in a lot of her programmes, so "it's worked in really well...it's all been a process of science and growing organically." Like Kylie, Mary has allowed her 'spiritual side' to guide her along her business journey. Mary decided that she would step up from running her business on a part-time basis because:

I just felt I was ready to go full-time...I just felt a real presence in the air, and spiritually I was stable in my life and I said 'if I don't give this a go now, I'm never going to know'...so I just pushed everything aside and did it. (Mary, Indigenous education provider)

As Elizabeth (Indigenous consultant) states: being able "to use intuition and read vibrations to see the invisible and 'feel the deal'" are personal qualities that can help people succeed as entrepreneurs. Steve also explains how his spiritual beliefs have had a profound effect on his business. He states that while Aboriginal people "were always in the lower socioeconomic bracket, we're really starting to learn the rules of engagement for business development." However, Steve also recognises that there remains "that disparity with the 'Winyar mob'", a group who he defines as "the people who aren't benefitting", and he goes on to state that he does not want to be seen "as some snobby-arse who's forgotten where he's come from." Steve believes that it is important for Aboriginal entrepreneurs to be seen "giving something back to mob", and this is what led him to develop a community investment fund. He goes on to state that:

Ultimately, from a spiritual perspective...I always say 'you're answerable to your creator', and whether you're Taoist, Buddhist...or whatever; if you go before your creator he'll ask you one question; 'have you done good'? And I think if you can answer straight-faced with the knowledge that 'yes I have'...and that's that soul-work I was talking about; giving something back to the community. That to me is the most important thing about establishing your own business, because it gives you that vehicle, the autonomy, the independence, to give something back to your mob. (Steve, various business interests)

Thus, Steve has actively resisted and overcome barriers that have led to poor socioeconomic outcomes for Aboriginal people, and he strives to uphold his obligation to help the wider Aboriginal community. As Imas, Wilson and Weston (2012, 576) state, "entrepreneurial activities are at the same time a defiance mechanism and a way of (spiritually) organizing a better future for one's community and family."

For Richard, his spiritual beliefs mean that certain places are off-limits as far as business goes. For example, during a holiday to Queensland Richard fell ill and he puts this down to been away from Noongar Country. He goes on to state: "we're scared to leave our Country...we get scared to leave this place of serenity." Because of this, Richard would never consider setting up a business in somebody else's Country. Yet, there are also places within Noongar Country where Richard would not operate a business from, such as Wadjemup/Rottnest Island. Richard states that "I would only go there to tell the stories, not for recreation, and definitely not to sleep the night" because during its time as a prison,² "men of importance...spiritual healers...men who held the community together", were imprisoned there. Richard goes on to state that most of these men came from the Goldfields and the Kimberley regions and were taken as a means of "cleaning out all the authority" so access to resources would be much easier and now, "the energies that those old men carried

² Wadjemup/Rottnest Island operated as an Aboriginal prison station from 1839 (Brown 1839) until its official closure in 1904, although prisoners continued to carry out various works on the island such as building roads, until 1931 (Brendan Moore, personal communication November 18, 2016). During this period around 3,700 Aboriginal men and boys were imprisoned on the island, and close to 400 of them are acknowledged as having been buried there, making it one of the biggest Aboriginal deaths in custody sites in Australia (Government of Western Australia 2012). Most of those who survived imprisonment on the island never made it back to their home Countries, yet "scholars estimate that every Western Australian Aboriginal person alive today has an ancestor who was imprisoned on Rottnest Island" (Government of Western Australia 2012, 2).

and the songs they sang make that place a funny place - a real strange place.” Interestingly, at the totem workshop that I attended, Mary said that a lot of people ring her for help after coming back from Wadjemup/Rottneest Island as they feel unwell, and if she is too busy to see them, there is a network of elders who she can refer people to for help.

It has already been established that people can build an entrepreneurial identity outside of an archetype “based on [Western] male rationality...conquest, domination and control” (Verduijn and Essers 2013, 614), and as Steyaert (1997, 24) states, some “‘fragments’ of entrepreneurial reality” fall outside of the established body of entrepreneurial knowledge. Likewise, the entrepreneurs above have highlighted that some aspects of their ‘entrepreneurial reality’ are indeed absent from this body of knowledge, and as Kylie (Indigenous consultant) suggests, they can also defy rationalisation from a Western perspective. Nevertheless, these ‘esoteric aspects’ of ontology exert a significant influence over the business practices of Aboriginal entrepreneurs. In addition, by acknowledging and drawing on these aspects to help shape their business activities, Aboriginal entrepreneurs are countering the cultural arrogance of those who “overtly welcome the demise of traditional value systems” which are believed to “prevent individuals from living the full and fulfilling lives that...only [a] Western ethos makes possible” (Groenfeldt 2003, 918). They are also creating an entrepreneurial space that allows for “other ways of seeing, thinking, and ‘valuing’” (Groenfeldt 2003, 918), while highlighting the importance of alternative ontologies and their relevance to the wider community. The following section will look at perspectives relating to money and time dependence. My research highlights that such perspectives may also be influenced by a person’s cultural background, but by engaging in entrepreneurship, these perspectives may shift.

6.9. Perspectives on debt and time dependence and the implications for entrepreneurship

While non-Aboriginal entrepreneurs acknowledge the importance of managing debt and being on time for business-related activities (Foley 2006a), Robert (non-Aboriginal tourism consultant), believes that the financial and time-management

requirements of successful businesses are at odds with the approach to life that some Aboriginal people prefer:

I think it's that side of the business which is about running the bookings; book-keeping and making sure they're paid. I don't think Aboriginal people like asking for money...culturally, you don't ask people for money...and I think timekeeping is not an Aboriginal thing...culturally it's not something you worry about...I don't think they're cultural priorities...but I think they're very important for running a business. (Robert, non-Aboriginal tourism consultant)

Foley (2006a, 259) believes that having a non-Aboriginal spouse may be beneficial for Aboriginal entrepreneurs, as they will often bring “a considerable depth in education, family business expertise in some cases, and networking skills or contacts in almost all cases”, and they can also improve access to finance during the start-up stage of an entrepreneurial venture. However, through his involvement with male Aboriginal entrepreneurs, Robert believes that the main benefit of a non-Aboriginal spouse lies in the fact that they often have a different outlook when it comes to money and time. He states that one entrepreneur in particular was a “hell of a nice guy, always been a great tour guide, but totally unreliable.” Then he got married and “his business just hasn't stopped growing. Another guy, his business was *just ticking along*” (Robert's emphasis), but when his wife “decided to take over all the books and the accounts”, his business took off. “So their wife's an advantage.” They can send the debtor an email saying “you haven't paid yet”, or they might say to their husband:

‘Remember you've got that tour at 5 o'clock. It's now 4:30...get in your car and drive and do the tour'. Otherwise, they'll be sitting there having a chat until 5 o'clock and then suddenly think 'oh yeah, that tour, oh well, I'll get over there now'. (Robert, non-Aboriginal tourism consultant)

Yet, none of the entrepreneurs I interviewed mentioned that asking debtors for money is something they feel uncomfortable about. However, most of them did say that time management and being punctual *were* important aspects of their business success. Furthermore, while mixed marriages may lead to better business outcomes, as explained above, Aboriginal business success does not depend on having a non-Aboriginal spouse. Several of the Aboriginal entrepreneurs I interviewed depend on the support of their partners, who also happen to be Aboriginal, to succeed. Furthermore, Robert believes it is entrepreneurial men in general who can benefit from being married. “I don't just think its Aboriginal men; I think its men, and if you

look at some of the most successful businesses, it's actually generally a man and a woman." He goes on to state that:

It's not just the mixed partnerships that are successful...Another guy I know is married to an Aboriginal woman, but he's from Wyndham which is very conservative; she's from Broome. Aboriginal people [from Broome] have been dealing with Macassans...and all kinds of traders so she's got a real business mind. He's got this really fantastic hosting personality and is really good at understanding Country and he's really culturally very strong, so...they work really well together...Maybe their backgrounds are totally different, but they help substantiate a business. (Robert, non-Aboriginal tourism consultant)

Robert's comments highlight the complexity of Aboriginal ontologies and why they should not be generalised. Attitudes towards money and time vary widely across individuals and groups. Certainly, some people, whether Aboriginal or not, may consider it wrong to pursue money and organise their lives based on the hours in a day. Yet, others believe that people should honour their debts and that it is important to keep appointments and meet other responsibilities in a timely manner. This latter approach was certainly true of the Aboriginal entrepreneurs I interviewed, yet there is no right or wrong perspective. Through their work with Aboriginal tourism entrepreneurs in Northern and Central Australia, Banerjee and Tedmanson (2010, 153) found that when some tourists sought out Indigenous cultural tour experiences, tourist agencies would direct them "to a non-Aboriginal business instead of an Aboriginal owned and operated tour." Viewed in the context of Robert's discussion, one reason for these findings might be that some tour operators do not turn up on time. However, other generalisations perpetuate an image of Aboriginal Australians as never having the ability to participate in the mainstream economy at all, and being unlikely to do so in the future. This is highlighted in the following quote by Grant, Kleiber and McAllister (2005, 396):

Culturally, Aborigines lack the drive for accumulation endemic to successful capitalists. They also tend toward shyness, often avoiding eye contact. It would be difficult for indigenous Australians to psychologically embrace capitalist institutions and practices.

This assertion has led Grant, Kleiber, and McAllister (2005, 391) to ask "what path should Aborigines take to preserve their culture, mitigate social ills, and enjoy economic and social contentment?" Yet, many Aboriginal people do live fulfilling lives within contemporary Australian society, and the assertion made by Grant, Kleiber, and McAllister (2005) only adds to those narratives that have rendered the Aboriginal contribution to Australia's economic prosperity invisible (Kidd 2012). In

addition, despite the substantial amount of research that details Aboriginal participation in numerous areas of Australia's economy (Keen and Lloyd 2012), an "invented inability of Aboriginal people to fully participate in the mainstream economy" has overshadowed how great a contribution they really made in economic terms (Skyring 2012, 160). Kidd (2012, 172) elaborates on this by stating that Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders were "absolutely crucial to our development as a nation", but there has been a "longstanding 'whitewashing' of Aboriginal labour" from Australia's economic history. Or, as Graham (performance and dance) states: "this country was built on the sweat of the black woman and the black man." Unfortunately, past distortions of Aboriginal participation in the Australian economy continue to have negative implications, as highlighted by Foley (2012, 61):

The role of traditional Indigenous entrepreneurship in both pre-colonial and postcolonial economies and societies is most often ignored. Recent adaptations by Indigenous people to their traditional modes of entrepreneurship are also too frequently overlooked or poorly understood by most western academics, governments and business leaders. One unfortunate result of this is the nominal support received by Indigenous minorities for their own economic activity and their own entrepreneurial initiatives.

Nevertheless, within recent national Aboriginal development discourse, "economic participation is equated with entrepreneurship and employment" (Concu 2012, 287). So, while "in an earlier era, the desire to engage in commercial exchange was squashed by government authorities", today ironically, this type of engagement "is being demanded of Aboriginal communities" (Kleinert 2012, 87). Herein lays the answer to Grant, Kleiber, and McAllister's (2005) question. One path that Aboriginal people can take to help strengthen their cultures, mitigate disadvantage, and find economic and social contentment, is entrepreneurship, albeit on their terms.

6.10. Conclusion

Like the previous chapter, this one has highlighted how Aboriginal people are not only making a living as entrepreneurs; they are doing so by observing certain cultural obligations, and other aspects of their ontologies, which is leading to ontological renewal and growth for the entrepreneurs and their communities. This is not a straight-forward process though, as Aboriginal entrepreneurs experience various problems and forms of resistance relating to their business activities which often originate from within their own communities. How they react to these barriers

is strongly influenced by the amount of time that they have been in business. Experienced Aboriginal entrepreneurs understand how to successfully negotiate the demands of community and business, while those who are in the start-up stages of business may find negotiating these demands to be much more difficult. Ontological renewal and growth is also being experienced by non-Aboriginal people who engage the services of these entrepreneurs. This is occurring not only as they start to see the world through the lens of an Aboriginal ontology, but as their understanding of entrepreneurship is challenged, for example, by seeing that non-financial incentives such as cultural maintenance are important motivations for, and outcomes of, entrepreneurship, rather than financial incentives alone.

In effect, Aboriginal ontologies act as a moral compass which guides the entrepreneur in different areas of decision-making; most notably the work ethic they abide by, outcomes they work towards, and for some, how they structure their business. Thus, by observing certain aspects of their ontologies, and modifying them in some instances, Aboriginal entrepreneurs are building an entrepreneurial identity that not only highlights flaws in the 'grand narrative' of entrepreneurship, but is more readily accepted by some members of their community. Consequently, these 'ontological negotiations' affect the broader range of relationships that Aboriginal entrepreneurs have with other members of their community, those relationships that exist with members of the non-Aboriginal community, and the formation of new relationships. More specifically, the networks and networking activities of Aboriginal entrepreneurs are affected to varying degrees by their negotiation of both ontological demands and the demands of entrepreneurial practice, and this will be explained further in the following chapter.

Chapter 7: The importance of Aboriginal networks for successful entrepreneurship

It's all about who you know. That's how I got into the business - through someone I worked with. (Jason, Indigenous education provider)

7.1. Introduction

Many Aboriginal Australians maintain strong social networks consisting of immediate and extended family and Aboriginal friends and colleagues (Dudgeon, Garvey and Pickett 2000; Pascoe 2010). However, business networks, which provide a range of resources essential for business success (Dodd and Patra 2002; Foley 2006a) and alert the entrepreneur to business opportunities (Klyver, Hindle and Meyer 2008), have not been developed to the same extent (Foley and Hunter 2008; Lahn 2012; Light and Dana 2013). There is often a lack of previous business ownership in Aboriginal families (Australian Taxation Office 2009; Pearson and Helms 2012; 2013), and it is believed that people embedded in family networks with entrepreneurial members are more likely to start their own business, due to support they can access such as information, advice, and introductions to business contacts (Klyver, Hindle and Meyer 2008). Yet, as Klyver and Foley (2012, 569) state, most Aboriginal Australians “have very low social and human capital available to apply to entrepreneurship.” Furthermore, some Aboriginal Australians view the development of business networks, particularly outside of the Aboriginal community, as inappropriate, and “success as an entrepreneur is normally not rewarded with status within the community” (Klyver and Foley 2012, 568). In addition, Pearson and Helms (2012) believe that successful Aboriginal entrepreneurs, and in particular, female entrepreneurs, will be exploited by other members of their community.

Yet, through my research I have found that Aboriginal social networks play a crucial role in successful Aboriginal entrepreneurship, providing various forms of support both before and following the establishment of businesses and business networks. Furthermore, my research reinforces the findings of Klyver, Hindle and Meyer (2008) and Klyver and Foley (2012) regarding the influence of variform universality (culture moderates networking activity, see Chapter 3.9) in entrepreneurial

networking. Building on their findings, I highlight how specific aspects of culture, a key determinant of ontology (Rigney 1999; Harrison 2012; Coulthard 2014), influence networking practices. This chapter and the next will also discuss important measures that entrepreneurs can adopt or adapt as part of an effective network strategy. The importance of such a strategy has been highlighted by Klyver and Foley (2012, 585), who state that the development of a “network strategy” which clarifies how minority entrepreneurs can reconcile the demands of their family and business networks, can help minimise the “social and personal” costs of becoming an entrepreneur.

The chapter begins by describing some of the problems that Aboriginal entrepreneurs encounter through membership of family networks, and how these problems may be, and are overcome. I then look at the role of ‘strong ties’ in supporting the entrepreneur and their business activities (Aldrich and Zimmer 1986; Davidsson and Honig 2003; Zehrer and Raich 2010). Following this, I discuss the importance of balancing the demands of business and family, and some of the ways that Aboriginal entrepreneurs are doing this, before explaining how business and family demands influence the use of networks by Aboriginal entrepreneurs. Next, I examine how members of the wider Aboriginal community (aside from family and friends) are providing support to these entrepreneurs, before discussing the role of Aboriginal networks in succession planning, and how capacity building plays a crucial role in this activity. The chapter will conclude by examining how Aboriginal entrepreneurs are establishing business networks amongst themselves, the benefits that this entails, and some of the barriers to the formation of these networks.

7.2. Overcoming forms of exclusion and other challenges encountered through membership of family networks

It has been highlighted that the family networks of Aboriginal entrepreneurs can be uncondusive to business success (Klyver and Foley 2012; Pearson and Helms 2012). According to Kylie (Indigenous consultant), while broader family networks can be an asset, they can also be “a detriment...depending on the relationship.” Aboriginal entrepreneurs need to keep in mind that “sometimes people in our environment might not necessarily want us to succeed”, and so the advice they give is negative.

She goes on to state that “I haven’t had any in mine, but I have seen it...and that creates...barriers.” Kylie also states that there are terms describing these attitudes “like ‘lateral violence’ and ‘tall poppy syndrome’”, and while both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal communities experience this problem, within Aboriginal communities it is compounded by “transgenerational trauma [sighs] which is based on a lot of oppression and historical [factors].” According to Kylie, Aboriginal entrepreneurs in particular need to be critical in their thinking and reflective, “because you’re going to get lots of different advice, so you’ve got to be able to sort through it...and understand where the person giving the advice is coming from.”

Jason (Indigenous education provider) also states that the Aboriginal community have a problem with “tall poppy syndrome”, whereby some people “want to pull you down when you’re doing really well”, and there can be difficulties when it comes to sharing cultural knowledge as Aboriginal people can be quite guarded in this respect. Yet, Jason has found other Aboriginal entrepreneurs to turn to for advice and to share ideas, and believes that the Aboriginal community as a whole can benefit from the work that he and his peers engage in. Jason goes on to state: “if we share it with our tour guides, give each other knowledge, look out for each other...and keep lifting each other up; we’ll get back.” Foley (2006b, 20) suggests that the more successful Aboriginal entrepreneurs become, the more discriminatory “their own family networks” become toward them, and believes that “this is a secondary form of racism, racism from within Indigenous society against itself.”

Yet the treatment that Aboriginal entrepreneurs experience from family members cannot always be attributed to this. Susan (non-Aboriginal tourism coordinator) states that she “can sit on the outside and look in and say ‘like any culture, family can be humbug or supportive’.” For example, “one older woman does really well with her business and her children are happy, but when she’s not earning a lot of money, the kids will bring their mum down.” Tracey (food and clothing retailer) states that if an Aboriginal person has a business idea they need to nurture it and not share it too quickly, because “people may try to use your ideas even if they are family, so you need to formulate in your head what needs to be done to make your business idea succeed”, and then seek the help that is needed to actually start your business. In both of these cases, the entrepreneur is at risk of some form of unjust

treatment but neither could be called racism as such. If anything, these examples show that some members of an entrepreneur's family network can be supportive of the entrepreneur's work, as long as they are able to derive some benefit from it.

Maria (Indigenous consultant) was born and raised in a remote region of Western Australia and highlights a completely different problem stemming from membership of a family network. Maria has a large extended family and grew up around many family members. She also has a step father who belongs to a different language group from the same region, and acknowledges him as the main male figure in her life, after her eldest brother. As a consultant, many of the services Maria offers relate to Native Title claims and include research, workshop facilitation, and the preparation of reports for stakeholders. Yet, Maria states that it is difficult to find such work through her extended family network "because they are concerned about conflicts of interest." She goes on to state that:

It is a clear conflict for a family member to give me work solely based on our family connection. But, if I am skilled enough to do the work and offer value for money, then the proper approach is for the family member to declare that we are related [and]...abstain from voting or declare that they will vote based on the tender requirements and best interests of the [Aboriginal] organisation or company. (Maria, Indigenous consultant)

In this case, Maria has encountered a form of exclusion through her family network (Anderson, Dodd and Jack 2010) that reduces her chances of successfully tendering for work opportunities. Maria goes on to state that she has sought to reduce the effects of a 'conflict of interest' by "promoting awareness of what a conflict is...where it has been declared and how best to deal with it."

Kylie believes that she is developing some really strong networking abilities through carrying out research, understanding who her intended market is, and then finding out "who to go to - the support that's available." However, she states that successful networking also requires the entrepreneur to be assertive; "assertive to say 'yes' and also to say 'no'", and this applies to people within both her business networks and family networks. For example, Kylie states that she has had to start being firm with her siblings who are always asking for help with various things and now tells them "'no, I've got enough on my plate'." So, while Jóhannesson (2012) believes that entrepreneurship will gradually gain greater approval in cultural groups where it is not a widespread activity, the problem highlighted by Putnam (2000, 322) remains,

whereby “bonds of obligation and responsibility” may be used by members of a community to take advantage of entrepreneurial members. Kylie also highlights how she has restricted the growth of her business in order to meet the needs of her family, stating that:

A priority for me is my family [daughter and partner]...so whenever I'm making any decision about my business growing, they always come first...that's why my business hasn't 'gone guns', because I've controlled the growth...you're always balancing those priorities. (Kylie, Indigenous consultant)

According to Anderson, Dodd and Jack (2010) suggest, network membership is not always beneficial, and in some cases may restrict development and limit change - disadvantages which are not always apparent. Similarly, as the entrepreneurs above demonstrate, family networks can be the source of various problems that inhibit business success, and there is no straight forward solution for any of them. Each problem requires a different response, and how effective these responses are will vary from one entrepreneur to the next, and depend to a large degree on how determined each entrepreneur is to negotiate or contest the barriers, demands, and other problems that arise through their family network. This also highlights the role of variform universality in entrepreneurial networking (Klyver, Hindle and Meyer 2008; Klyver and Foley 2012). In this instance, there are certain cultural obligations and attitudes that can hinder the success of Aboriginal entrepreneurs which in turn, help determine the level of interaction that these entrepreneurs will have with members of their family network. Yet, despite such issues, the family networks of Aboriginal entrepreneurs do contribute to their business success in a number of ways that are discussed in the following section.

7.3. Building the foundation: the importance of strong ties prior to the establishment of entrepreneurial ventures

According to Bull and Willard (1993, 191), “entrepreneurs are embedded in social contexts” that both support and undermine their activities. Aldrich and Zimmer (1986) have proposed that relationships within these contexts may be differentiated on the basis of ‘strong’ and ‘weak’ ties. The importance of strong ties (Jack 2010; Lahn 2012) was highlighted by a number of the interviewees, who attributed their business success to values that were imparted to them by their parents. For example,

Neil states that as “mentors in life, role models...both mum and dad, they laid the foundation for me.” He went on to state:

We never had anything materialistic...but guess what!? We had a father who continually worked; we never went hungry. We still grew up grassroots in the camps and reserve...but I think out of all the ones who lived on the reserve, our family sort of succeeded. We went on to finish our education, because Mum was very staunch about education...Dad only went to Year 4, but Mum was very educated...that’s the reason why we never ended up in these missions, because we were going to school. They couldn’t say ‘we’re going to take you’, because Mum would say...‘you can’t take them, they’re going to school’. Mum been born in Moore River mission; she didn’t want her children to go through the same thing. (Neil, artist and gallery owner)

By drawing on the example his parents set and the values they passed on to him, Neil was able to overcome the challenges he faced in life and business, and find success as an entrepreneur. Similarly, Steve explains that his “grandad fought in the First World War and dad fought in the Second World War.” As a result, Steve states that his father was “very strong in his discipline [and]...taught us some really strong traits growing up.” Steve went on to state that “there’s no history with any of my family being involved with business. It was from ground zero basically”, but he believes that because of the principles his dad in particular imparted to him, he has succeeded in business:

Discipline, hard work, I think consistency - never wavering, they were really strong values that dad taught us. So yes, he was a big influence on me in terms of my values and my principles. We were raised up really strong, knowing right from wrong, and standing up for your rights - all those types of things. (Steve, various business interests)

People who are embedded in social networks containing entrepreneurs are more likely to become entrepreneurs themselves (Klyver, Hindle and Meyer 2008), and Aboriginal networks – in which there are often very few successful entrepreneurs - are therefore considered inadequate in terms of supporting participation in entrepreneurship (Foley 2012; Lahn 2012). In addition, Imas, Wilson and Weston (2012, 577) state that family is a central aspect of people’s ‘being’, but is also part of “the otherwise absent ontology of the social world”, that sees domestic life and its associated struggles omitted from entrepreneurial narratives. Yet, Neil and Steve demonstrate how the ‘entrepreneurial spirit’ (Imas, Wilson and Weston 2012) is not bound to networks that are rich in entrepreneurial experience, and highlight that the family networks of Aboriginal entrepreneurs are not just central to their being, but the values that these networks impart are central to their success as entrepreneurs.

Furthermore, while strong ties such as immediate family members have been identified as particularly important to the success of entrepreneurs (Klyver, Hindle and Meyer 2008; Jack 2010), both Neil and Steve highlight that the influence these ties have on entrepreneurial success can begin prior to the “discovery phase” (Klyver and Foley 2012, 567) and growth stages of an entrepreneurial venture, and that this influence can be felt both within and outside of a business setting. This is also alluded to by Richard (various business interests), who states that he is indebted to his late father because he “passed his knowledge on to me and so now it’s my job and our responsibility as a family to share that where we can.” Viewing the influence of strong ties from this longer term perspective is relevant to the ongoing debate highlighted by Dodgson (2011, 1120) concerning “the relative importance for innovation and entrepreneurship of dense, strong ties as opposed to sparse weak ties.”

7.4. The importance of strong ties during the nascent and growth stages of entrepreneurship

According to Tracey, her family network was “vital” to the success of her business, particularly in its early stages. She says that without the support of her family – their believing in her ideas and concepts, offering their opinions and feedback, and helping to develop her ideas further, she would not have succeeded (Tracey, food and clothing retailer). Likewise, in her study of female entrepreneurs amongst Indigenous groups in the Atlantic region of Canada, Diochon (2014) found that family members were often a driving force in the establishment of business ventures, due to the positive reactions that aspiring entrepreneurs received from them when discussing a potential product or service. However, Tracey also highlights that negative reactions can be an important source of motivation, stating that even the “knockers” who didn’t believe in her were an important part of her success, as they pushed her to put her ideas into action, although she believes it is crucial that you listen to others, “especially constructive criticism.” Tracey’s friends have also played a key role in her success. One of the main problems that Tracey faced when she started her business was establishing contact with business people and developing her business network. Fortunately, she had worked in the tourism industry in numerous roles over “30 odd years” where she built up a wide variety of beneficial

relationships, including “one or two Aboriginal friends who have been in tourism for a long time.” Tracey states that she was able to turn to them for advice and assistance with establishing business contacts, and she still seeks out their help “now and again.”

So, while non-Aboriginal people play a crucial role in the establishment of Aboriginal business networks (Klyver and Foley 2012), Aboriginal entrepreneurs also gain valuable business networking assistance from strong ties (Jack 2010; Lahn 2012) within the Aboriginal community. Mary also highlights how friends can be an important asset in terms of supporting a business and helping it to grow:

A lot of friends have volunteered to help me with the business...to do my morning teas, look after some of the participants while I'm talking, carrying my bag, just little things like that...They're also bringing their kids and family along to learn...a lot of Aboriginal people that are really close friends and family come and help and they're learning about their own roots and things as well. (Mary, Indigenous education provider)

Not only does Mary highlight the importance of strong ties for her business, she draws attention to the ongoing flow of non-financial resources (Klyver, Hindle and Meyer 2008) and their contribution to its success, that is, her network of family and friends can be a source of competitive advantage (Slotte-Kock and Coviello 2010) that does not require financial expenditure. Aside from making Mary's job easier and improving the experience that her customers have, this network has also offset a lot of marketing and promotional costs. Mary states that she has “a friend who works in a busy retail environment and she hands out a lot of pamphlets for me, and another who works for a government department that does the same.” Mary draws further attention to the interaction between her business and social networks (Jack 2010), stating that her business has “benefited immensely from word-of-mouth advertising” by friends, family, and business contacts, and that her website and Facebook page have been really helpful too. According to Mary, you can spend thousands of dollars on marketing and not be successful, but “if you know networks, and you can get it out to people, they blab for you. That's where I've been really lucky.” Mary says that because of this, most of her costs have related to the start-up phase of her business.

Graham also highlights the importance of his family network as both a source of encouragement and word-of-mouth advertising, stating:

Family networks were *really* important in the beginning, and still are today. They encourage you, they talk to potential clients [and]...they promote our business where friends or other people wouldn't do it as passionately. (Graham, performance and dance, his emphasis)

While the majority of interviewees drew attention to the importance of family networks for the success of their businesses, Cathy's explanation of this relationship really draws attention to how thinking about and understanding networks is ontological:

I asked everyone in my immediate family if I had their support before I made the decision [to start a consultancy], because I am very conscious that when you're in business you're not just representing yourself; you're representing your family and your nation and the Country and region you come from, and that's...been instilled in me from childhood...that was just a really strong foundation moving into the business side of things...The family side of things, look, just the way that Aboriginal people are and business people around the world, they're one and the same. I think of my business as an extension of my family, and I'm always calling them and talking to them [family]. In many cases they're my external advisors, without having to have a legal or official advisor. (Cathy, Indigenous consultant)

Cathy's belief that her business is an extension of her family contradicts Klyver and Foley's (2012, 574) finding that Aboriginal entrepreneurs are in business to support their immediate family and do not view their "business as an extension of their family; rather, it is somewhat an alien structure that is a means to an end, providing the physiological needs required by their nuclear families." However, of the sixty Indigenous Australian entrepreneurs who provided the data that Klyver and Foley (2012) based this finding on, none were Indigenous consultants. Becoming an Indigenous consultant has reinforced Cathy's perception of herself as a representative of her family and wider community, a perception that has been impressed upon her from an early age. As such, she views her business, family, and wider community as interrelated parts of a greater whole. Subsequently, she is always mindful of the need to make business decisions and network in an appropriate and respectful manner and her purpose as an entrepreneur is not limited to providing for the needs of her immediate family.

Furthermore, by turning to their network of family and friends for advice on a regular basis, not only do Tracey, Mary and Cathy nurture these relationships, they also help family members 'buy into their business' to a degree. This counters the idea that over time entrepreneurs start to focus on the maintenance and expansion of business networks, which draws their attention from "identity-based networks,

involving high levels of personal and social identification” (Dodgson 2011, 1121). For these Aboriginal entrepreneurs, balancing the demands of their business and family networks is crucial to their success.

7.5. The importance of balancing the demands of business and family

Frederick and Foley (2006, 11) have suggested that business success may lead to Aboriginal entrepreneurs “becoming isolated from their own families and support networks.” Yet, for Tracey, Cathy and Tina, this has not been the case. Tracey (food and clothing retailer) states that her family network will never lose its importance; these relationships must be “nurtured and maintained.” However, she does say that conversations with her family are now far less focussed on business than they used to be. While Tracey’s business network has really grown, she says that this has not been too much of a problem as she still manages to make time for family and other commitments. However, she concedes that she has not struck a balance yet, and that a major personal cost that came with the growth of her business was the strain it put on her relationship with her partner which could have resulted in a “massive loss.” Tracey says that fortunately her partner eventually came to see the potential her business had, and continued to support her.

Similarly, Cathy (Indigenous consultant) states that “sometimes it’s just the people and the family and the conversations you have on a day to day basis that give you the greatest inspiration and I never take that for granted.” She went on to state that your business will not succeed without personal relationships, and so you must “commit to time with family and loved ones and maintaining that network, because at the end of the day they were there before you started your business and they’ll be there long after.” Cathy has lived in Perth since 2010, but has no “bricks and mortar office” as she constantly travels within Western Australia and interstate for work commitments, while a lot of her family (including her dad) remain in the community up north, which she states is “very much still home for me.” Hence, many of the people within Cathy’s business and family networks are geographically distant from Perth. Yet, Cathy maintains these networks by regularly communicating with people via email, social media, or over the phone.

Tina made similar comments in regard to how important her family network is for the success of her business and the importance of maintaining regular contact with them. She elaborated on the relationship between the two, stating that:

For me, family were very important. They offered me support, they encouraged me, and they believed in me which made me believe in myself...So I still have them, those same networks in my life, because they balance me out with business. I believe the success that I've achieved in my life and in my business in a short amount of time is because I have good, strong networks. (Tina, Indigenous consultant)

As part of her networking strategy, Tina meets the demands of both her family and business by keeping “business hours within business hours”, which requires sound time management skills:

I do have family at home...and I don't want my world to revolve around my business where some things have got to give because of it...a loss of a relationship or a disconnection with your children...That's one of the areas that's been an ongoing challenge...I worry about my parents, I worry about what's happening with my siblings and my nieces and nephews - the whole extended family...It's not easy but that's the key to it - it's having that time management. (Tina, Indigenous consultant)

Thus, Tracey, Cathy and Tina all make sure that they do not become isolated from their family networks. Their continued success depends on the ongoing support of family members who are in a sense, their ‘safety network’, and so they must work out how to balance the demands of their business and family. As highlighted above, the ability of the entrepreneur to do this successfully will depend to a large degree on how supportive family members are of the entrepreneur's business activities, and their willingness to accept that in order for the entrepreneur to maintain and expand their business network, they will have less time to dedicate to their family. Yet, the type of business an entrepreneur operates can make it easier for them to maintain contact with family members, and this is explained next.

7.6. The influence of business structure and family on the use of networks

Jack (2010) believes that it is important to understand how networking behaviour changes over time, such as the difference between network use during the start-up and growth stages of a business (as explained above). Yet, aside from temporal influences, network use will also be influenced by an entrepreneur's family and the type of venture that they operate. For example, Richard (various business interests) has found that his family network is important for his business, but he believes that

this will vary from person to person depending on “how you structure your business.” So, while he often works alone when providing cultural education services in classrooms or to corporate clients, Richard states that if he has “a client who wants a broad cultural experience such as a ‘Welcome to Country’, bus tour, and smoking ceremony, then he will bring in some of his immediate family members to help.”

According to Berglund and Wigren (2012, 11), at the root of networking is the understanding that “the entrepreneur cannot really accomplish this task on her or his own, but needs to bring about the new in relations with other people.” In Richard’s case, his success is dependent not only on forming new relationships within the business community, but in utilising existing relationships for a new purpose, that is, by drawing members of his family network into his business network. Furneaux and Brown (2008, 137) have stated that social networks can “result in a drain on resources, as an Indigenous person in business is expected to share wealth with his or her kin.” Yet, aside from providing another example of how family networks can be an invaluable asset for business success, Richard highlights that although sharing wealth is a cultural obligation, there is a reciprocal obligation in terms of contributing to the generation of that wealth (in whatever form ‘wealth’ takes) that should be met as well. While his family are not always able to help him meet his business obligations, Richard states that this is okay, because “when the time comes, one of us has to do it; the sharing of cultural knowledge is our responsibility.”

The relationship between business structure, family, and the use of networks, as well as the blurring of the boundaries between family and business was also highlighted by Neil (artist and gallery owner) who, like Richard, has worked for himself for many years. Aboriginal art is often identified “as a key competitive advantage in the Indigenous economy [yet] there are still few Indigenous owned and operated tourist ventures that profit from their culture” (Banerjee and Tedmanson 2010, 154). However, not only has Neil opened an art gallery with the help of immediate family members, he has also set out to create a ‘Noongar niche’ in the art world. According to Neil, the gallery does not have “any work from the Kimberley or the Pilbara or the Gascoyne region; we solely concentrate on Noongar art.” He goes on to state that:

In here we have our grandkids work...I’d say 90 percent of the work in here is produced by immediate family which makes it more unique too, but...we do take other artists on-board; so

we've got about 3 different artists who are not related...It's about empowering up-and-coming Noongar artists...there's a lot out there, you only need to give them an opportunity.
(Neil, artist and gallery owner)

Essentially, all of the entrepreneurs who provided data for this thesis depend on Aboriginal networks for their success, although the type of business they operate will influence the extent and frequency of their interactions with these networks. For example, if a customer wants a broader cultural experience, Richard calls his siblings, and Neil generally works alone as an artist, but in his role as a gallery owner he requires the assistance of immediate family and other members of the Noongar community. This also highlights another instance of variform universality in networking practice. Richard and Neil both work in the 'Indigenous engagement space'¹ and the products and services they offer are derived from different aspects of Noongar culture. Therefore, their activation and use of certain ties within their networks is often a culturally dependent action (Klyver, Hindle and Meyer 2008).

7.7. Formation and growth of business networks: help from the wider Aboriginal community

According to Klyver and Foley (2012, 568), Aboriginal entrepreneurs "are commonly forced to find expertise outside the Indigenous community", such as non-Aboriginal mentors who can help them establish networks with "key industry contacts." However, as shown above, Aboriginal entrepreneurs also depend on their family and friends for help with building their business networks. In addition, these entrepreneurs also rely on the assistance of other members of the Aboriginal community with networking tasks. For example, Kylie has worked for different Indigenous organisations in the past, and so she turned to a number of her former (Aboriginal) work colleagues for assistance in establishing her business network. Although the ties she shares with these colleagues may not be considered as strong as those that exist amongst family and friends, they cannot be classified as weak ties either. Kylie says that her former work colleagues were really important in terms of

¹ Maria (Indigenous consultant) defines the 'Indigenous engagement space' as "working with and for Aboriginal people." I observe Maria's definition when using this term, but broaden its meaning to include 'those interactions that occur between Aboriginal entrepreneurs (or business people) and their clients/customers during the provision of goods and/or services'.

“generating ideas on strengths and sussing out opportunities for a market and...for moral support and motivation”, and that they continue to play an important role in her business. She elaborates on the process of utilising these relationships to expand her business network by stating:

Having all the work experience in other states you can make connections, but [their value does not become apparent] until you have a purpose for making your networks; for going back and using them, because usually the relationship is different. For me it was really difficult to try and use those relationships for a different purpose, but it worked out very well in the end [and]...part of that is using the internet to connect to diverse groups of people through social media such as LinkedIn and Facebook. (Kylie, Indigenous consultant)

As highlighted by Jóhannesson (2012), cultures continuously evolve and so entrepreneurship and business networking will grow in popularity in those cultures where these practices are not commonplace. The entrepreneurs above bring a number of benefits to their communities (as discussed in Chapters 5 and 6) and this presents a strong challenge to the notion that entrepreneurship and business networking is somehow at odds with Aboriginal culture. In addition, it suggests that perceptions are changing. Also, as Klyver and Foley (2012, 585) have observed, “elders play an important role in institutionalization of social norms, rules and values...Therefore, they may be seen as important actors in the process of enhancing or reducing” some of the difficulties that entrepreneurs encounter through their business networking activities. Thus, encouraging their elders to participate in different areas of their business (see Chapter 6.7) is another way that Aboriginal entrepreneurs can reduce any ill-feeling their community may have toward their networking practices; a further example of variform universality (Klyver and Foley 2012). Another way that these entrepreneurs can challenge the alleged dichotomy between Aboriginal culture and entrepreneurial practices (Foley 2010c) is through capacity building and succession planning.

7.8. Succession planning and the role of capacity building

Succession planning for the entrepreneur usually relates to employment strategies and most importantly, who to appoint as a successor at the head of a business (Chapman 2011). For Indigenous entrepreneurs in particular, capacity building plays a critical role in succession planning strategies. For example, in their study of large entrepreneurial ventures owned by Indigenous tribal groups in Canada (which

employ hundreds of tribal members), Hindle et al. (2005, 4) found that aside from focusing on network-building activities within and outside of the Indigenous community, considerable effort was devoted to “capacity building through education, training, and institution building” as part of a broad succession strategy. Similarly, Andrew (fashion, design and retail) also highlights the close relationship between succession planning and capacity building, and uses a novel approach to engage in both. According to Andrew, once his business was established and running successfully, succession planning became a key concern, or in his words, his priority became “to create sustainability so if I drop dead, or if I walk away from the business, Brothaboy will remain and continue without me being involved.” Andrew had limited the growth of his business networks during the start-up stages of his business by turning away various corporate and sporting organisations that approached him for different products such as business cards, corporate polo’s, and club uniforms. However, Andrew now offers these products and they are an integral part of his capacity building and succession planning strategy. He elaborates on this by stating:

We wanted to make sure we were known for our clothing label first, and then our traineeships...Now we’ve created the Brothaboy Group, and the subdivision Brothaboy Designs; we’ve opened it up to all those different people who have come to us previously. We now provide those services but say ‘you’ll be dealing directly with a trainee and one of our head designers, so trainees have that ongoing communication with you as a real-life client and they deliver the service that you want’. (Andrew, fashion, design and retail)

Through this approach, Andrew is building the capacity of his trainees in areas such as product design and customer service, and is creating a pool of employees who will eventually be able to take on different leadership roles in his company.

Capacity building is also an important consideration for Cathy although this is tied to a different type of succession planning. As Cathy states:

There’s a lot of consulting companies that say ‘our job is over when we do ourselves out of a job’, but they don’t actually do themselves out of a job. And we could very well keep milking organisations as well, but that doesn’t sit with us. That’s not who we are; that’s not how we operate. So, it’s about making sure that the mob we work with gain the skill and capabilities to own it themselves and do it. (Cathy, Indigenous consultant)

Thus, through the training programmes that her business offers, Cathy is helping Aboriginal organisations who utilise her services to build their capacity to engage with non-Aboriginal groups, and ‘succession’ in this instance involves her customers

developing the necessary skills to accomplish their goals without outside assistance. Cathy is also committed to helping these organisations build their capacity as quickly as possible, rather than exploiting their need for her services indefinitely. This honest approach is another way that Cathy is able to give back to the wider Aboriginal community, and it really demonstrates how individual gain and maximising wealth are not always the key drivers behind entrepreneurial practices (Imas, Wilson and Weston 2012).

7.9. The role of Aboriginal networks in succession planning

According to Hindle et al. (2005, 14), “the durability of a successful Indigenous venture is potentially more vulnerable to generational change than is mainstream enterprise”, and so the “grooming of successors” is a particularly important consideration for Indigenous entrepreneurs. For example, most Indigenous Australian businesses that offer products and services based on the owner’s cultural knowledge cannot simply be sold to a new owner; their durability depends on whether or not the owner can find and/or train a family member to take over the business (Robert Taylor, WAITOC CEO, personal communication August 31st, 2017). Alice believes that an effective succession strategy is vital to the success of Aboriginal entrepreneurs as it also supports the growth of their business networks, which Pearson and Helms (2013) believe are often inadequate for entrepreneurial success. Alice elaborates on this by stating:

I’m trying to do a lot of succession planning and honestly, I think that’s where a lot of Indigenous entrepreneurs fall down. They try and do it all themselves. I’ve seen it time and time again. They don’t do succession planning, they don’t grow the business, and they don’t train up other people because they think for some reason that they’re going to do it all themselves. That’s a huge demand when you’re the only person who can deliver, and big business knows that. You will not get the big tenders unless you can show clients that the risk factor is low, and if you’re the only person that can turn up, the risk factor is high.

(Alice, Indigenous consultant)

Aside from compromising business longevity and impeding the growth of business networks, a lack of succession planning can also have a negative impact on the family network. Jason says that he has built his business up gradually as his network of business contacts has grown. He now runs cultural education programmes in schools; performs for and teaches bus and cruise ship groups and other visitors about

various aspects of Aboriginal culture, and he provides similar interactive educational experiences for the school holiday programmes he organises and runs. The growth of this network continues to open further business opportunities, but it has also led to an overload of work that has affected his family:

The wife finds it very difficult because I work every weekend...my kids are all into sports...I've missed a lot of that sort of stuff because I've been working...Valentines and Easter breaks and Christmas parties, I'm here. I work during the Christmas holidays. I mightn't have a 9 to 5, but then I work every day, and I might only do 45 minutes in a school and then I've got the rest of the day off, but my wife works as well...so at times it makes it very difficult. (Jason, Indigenous education provider)

However, Steve states that “if you want to be entrepreneurial [and]...engage in the ‘real economy’, then there are some sacrifices that you have to make and part of that is time.” He goes on to state that this is a cost he is willing to pay, as “ultimately, it’s about leaving a legacy for my children and grandchildren” (Steve, various business interests). As Morley (2014) suggests, the opportunity to engage in succession planning is an important motivation for Aboriginal entrepreneurs, as it can help prevent future generations of the Aboriginal community from experiencing some of the difficulties that older generations endured.

Like Jason, Mary (Indigenous education provider) has also built up her business network gradually and is never short of work. However, she is assisted by her mother and (non-Aboriginal) husband with different aspects of her business such as administration duties. In addition, Mary also has young Noongar women learn from her and provide her with assistance during the workshops she holds, and she believes that one day they will be able to take on more permanent roles in her business. Yet, succession planning for Aboriginal entrepreneurs is made more difficult by the fact that their businesses operate within the Indigenous engagement space and so the pool of suitable employees that Aboriginal entrepreneurs can draw from is much smaller than that of non-Aboriginal entrepreneurs. As Elaine states:

How hard it is getting young people involved in business, or finding other reliable people...generally speaking. People that want to expand their business find it hard to locate and train young Aboriginal people that want to be part of the [tourism] industry. (Elaine, non-Aboriginal tourism consultant)

Furthermore, from this small cohort, Aboriginal entrepreneurs must find employees who have specific skills and/or qualities. As Jason states:

You've got to have that personality to be able to stand up and have the confidence to speak...Some people are very shy, you barely get very much out of them and it makes the tour very boring, whereas I want it to be dramatic. I'm looking for a certain charisma...I want somebody who has that smile on their face and makes people feel comfortable. I can't get anybody, and they have to be reliable. (Jason, performance and dance)

According to Klyver and Foley (2012, 584), "minority groups may behave as they do, not because of cultural priorities, but rather because their minority situation compels them to do so." Therefore, Aboriginal networks are essential in terms of succession planning as the more contacts the entrepreneur has within the Aboriginal community, the greater the chance they have of finding suitable employees to help them fulfil their business commitments. This is highlighted by Jason who has had to sacrifice a lot of quality time with his family due to business demands, but now seeks assistance from family members and others in the Aboriginal community to help meet these demands:

Every now and then I pull in another tour guide, and I'm training my son so he can cover for me, and there's another guy who works for a dance company that's learning traditional dance. I'm teaching him to cover the tours as well. (Jason, performance and dance)

Consequently, succession planning is being utilised by Aboriginal entrepreneurs to facilitate the growth of their business networks, meet the demands of their business and family, and to ensure business longevity. However, as explained above, effective succession planning can be particularly difficult for Aboriginal entrepreneurs due to the small Aboriginal population and the even smaller cohort within this group who have the necessary skills, or the ability to develop the skills, that an Indigenous venture requires. As a result, Aboriginal entrepreneurs are now developing business networks amongst themselves to help them overcome some of the business-related challenges that they face, such as implementing effective succession planning.

7.10. Building business networks amongst Aboriginal entrepreneurs

The creation of a business network by and for Aboriginal entrepreneurs was mentioned by a number of interviewees. According to Tina, the resources industry holds an 'Indigenous People in Resources Forum' once a year, but she believes that there needs to be a business forum for all Indigenous businesses where they can come together, share their knowledge and experiences, and teach one another. Tina states that this would be particularly beneficial for those who "are new and starting

out...and probably don't have the right skills or understanding of what's involved in a business." She also believes that this will not only benefit individual business owners, but will strengthen the Aboriginal business network as a whole. For example, if Tina cannot provide the service a customer requires, she will refer them to somebody who can, and in this way she actually relies on other Aboriginal entrepreneurs. Tina goes on to state:

Even my accountant...was recommended by another Indigenous business owner; so through my networks. He manages everything and gives really good advice and support around my financial status, so that's one thing less I have to worry about. (Tina, Indigenous consultant)

Similarly, Mary states that "it's not about competing with each other, it's about helping each other", and so she and a handful of others like to meet up on a monthly basis to yarn about their businesses and any new ideas that they have had. "One of us may have a product that another doesn't and so they'll say 'why don't we work together and do a workshop', and then we can share the benefits" (Mary, Indigenous education provider). Alice takes part in these informal meetings and states that this network has "grown in importance as my business has developed", particularly as she often works in partnership with other consultants. While Alice says that she relies on her partner at home for those 'water-cooler moments' where they act as her 'sounding board', she is seeking to expand her business network:

I'm not the only Indigenous entrepreneur out there who's thinking 'I feel like I'm going to explode because I don't have anyone to talk to'...So we're starting up these networking events. If you're a small [Indigenous] business owner and you want to come and network, yarn up to other mob...keep on track, and it's not just business. I mean its networking but...it's more about having an outlet, a neutral space, which is imperative...I'd love it to branch out to non-Indigenous entrepreneurs, but at the moment in particular, being an Indigenous entrepreneur has its own set of issues. (Alice, Indigenous consultant)

According to Elaine, Aboriginal tourism entrepreneurs in regional areas of Western Australia are not only drawing on established Aboriginal tourism networks for support; they too are developing their own local Aboriginal business networks:

People up north...are quite happy to help each other out by referring customers to other operators; as one operator calls it – 'the black highway'. More formalised networks like WAITOC are good...One operator said 'you just get so bogged down with the day-to-day stuff and disillusioned because you're doing it all by yourself, but then you come to the [WAITOC] conference and see that people have got the same issues and overcome it. I just get reenergised and get that passion back to continue'. I think hearing and learning from each other about those experiences...grassroots kind of stories, that's what they want to hear...have

others faced similar challenges?...They don't want to hear from the internationals [speakers] or government. (Elaine, non-Aboriginal tourism consultant)

Not only do these networks offer an alternative form of support to the non-Aboriginal mentors that Aboriginal entrepreneurs often depend on for developing their business networks (Klyver and Foley 2012), they provide an appropriate channel for discussing issues that are specific to Aboriginal entrepreneurs, and in settings that people feel comfortable in. As Maru and Davies (2011, 336) state, “densely bonded networks of friends and associates can be expected to share the same ontology about life and lifestyle and many of the same values.” Also, as mentioned earlier, some Aboriginal people consider networking with the mainstream business community to be inappropriate (Klyver and Foley 2012). Therefore, by networking with each other, as opposed to just embedding themselves in mainstream business networks, Aboriginal entrepreneurs may be less likely to face criticism, or feel isolated, from their community. In addition, dense bonding networks - such as those found amongst Aboriginal Australian groups, are “essential for maintaining cultural identity” - provide a structure through which people can exercise cultural norms such as speaking language, and they “generate information and practices that are easily accessed, reinforced and stored by members” (Maru and Davies 2011, 334). Similarly, Aboriginal business networks offer a platform through which members can access, support, express, and share culture. Yet, the development of these networks is not a straight-forward process.

7.11. Overcoming barriers to the creation of Aboriginal business networks

As explained above, networking amongst Aboriginal entrepreneurs offers a number of benefits, but according to Kylie (Indigenous consultant); there are some Aboriginal business owners who may “look at it more competitively. They have a different worldview. Instead of looking at it as everyone has their own strengths and weaknesses, and how can we refer each other”, they only see the potential that these other businesses have to cross over into their market. However, she believes that this is due to a “kind of miscommunication”, whereby established companies do not understand what exactly emerging companies have to offer, so they fail to see potential opportunities in terms of working together, while the fact that everyone is so busy means “it's hard to have a creative network.” Kylie also states: “I don't think

we realise that we're a minority group and we should come together as a stronger force [laughs]." Graham also believes that it is important for Aboriginal entrepreneurs to support each other, even if they work in the same industry, stating that:

We encourage all the other dance groups, none of this competitive stuff - 'I'm better than you'...I don't buy into any of that crap, and look who's still here, forging ahead. No politics; positivity, strength, with the blessing of the elders, that's how we do it, and everybody appreciates that. There are other members of our community that can do other things, like political stuff, and in my own time I'm always supporting that...land rights and stuff. Of course I do. (Graham, performance and dance)

Cathy (Indigenous consultant) is contributing to the development of Aboriginal business networks by strategically setting up business partnerships with members of other Aboriginal groups. She states that "we've got associate consultants in the Perth area, the Pilbara, and the Kimberley" and that she and her business partners are always looking to expand this group. Cathy goes on to state that they are particularly interested in the "next generation of entrepreneurs, or 'social change makers'" who are starting to come through, and they are always looking at what actions their consultancy can take to encourage them. Here, Cathy has identified 'structural holes' in her business network and has taken on the role of a 'broker' by developing bridging ties with established and aspiring Aboriginal entrepreneurs (Todeva 2006; Maru and Davies 2011); another instance of variform universality (Klyver, Hindle and Meyer 2008). By doing so, she is also enabling these entrepreneurs to activate ties with one another and the broader business community, while this network is likely to facilitate more business opportunities for Cathy and make it easier for her to achieve her business objectives. The role of broker also puts Cathy in a position to mediate and resolve "conflicts among values and norms" that may arise as members of this network interact (Maru and Davies 2011, 336).

For Aboriginal entrepreneurs, regardless of the geographical area that they reside in, or the language group that they belong to, many are bound by specific cultural protocols relating to where and how they may conduct business and network, which do not apply to non-Aboriginal entrepreneurs (Rose 1996; Harrison 2012). As Hindle et al. (2005, 19) state, in many cases, Indigenous entrepreneurship is made more difficult by the need for "double accountability", whereby the entrepreneur must negotiate "cultural-political concerns" while dealing with the usual difficulties

that are encountered in a competitive business environment. Consequently, Indigenous entrepreneurs require “a broader range of skills than is required in a non-Indigenous setting” (Hindle et al. 2005, 18), and Cathy has developed such a skillset. She has been particularly innovative in her approach to business and her own personal development (see Chapter 8.5), and is always cognisant of her responsibility to ensure that cultural obligations and protocols are adhered to wherever necessary. In the process, she is helping support the distinctive cultural characteristics of Aboriginal communities (Cuthbert et al. 2002; Hindle and Moroz 2010). Furthermore, observing cultural protocols within entrepreneurial practices is difficult, but even more so for women as the literature (for example, Walker and Buckler 2009; Pearson and Helms 2012; Shinnar, Giacomini and Janssen 2012) and a number of the interviewees have suggested. Yet, Cathy shows how cultural maintenance, entrepreneurship and networking may be practised simultaneously.

In addition, while Klyver and Foley (2012, 581) have suggested that “individuals are heavily constrained by social structures, rather than agents of their own fate”, Cathy highlights that social structures and the values they instil in members help underpin successful entrepreneurial outcomes, stating that:

It’s about maintaining that cultural protocol wherever we go, because the first thing people say is ‘what are you doing here’? And fair enough too. I know our mob have done it [questioned the appropriateness of Aboriginal consultants from other areas working on Gidja Country]...For us it’s about saying ‘yes, let’s honour that, honour where we come from, honour our ancestors and all the things that created us and who we are today’. And while you’re doing that, also make sure that you know what it takes to be a successful business-minded person...It’s about having a solid foundation for a business to succeed...and then all the things that our mob have handed down over the last 40,000 years...that connection back to who we are, and always honouring that. (Cathy, Indigenous consultant)

Unique support networks have long been identified amongst certain groups of ethnic minority entrepreneurs in various Western countries, and are particularly notable for the employment opportunities that they offer younger members of these communities, while being considered less accessible to non-ethnic entrepreneurs (Bull and Willard 1993; Klyver and Foley 2012). As Cathy demonstrates, opportunities exist to create similar support networks within the Aboriginal business community. Not only does Cathy’s business network enable her to make use of business opportunities which arise outside of her traditional Country, it provides a

means of strengthening the broader Aboriginal business network, and it also provides an opportunity for her to establish and strengthen ties within Aboriginal social networks (Foley and Hunter 2008), which have been progressively weakened since the British occupation (Foley 2010a; 2010b). The interrelationship between these networks is further highlighted by Alice, who states that the “cultural connection” Aboriginal entrepreneurs have means that “if you do the wrong thing or say the wrong thing or manipulate someone”, then this will not only affect your business, it will have personal implications too.

7.12. Conclusion

The social networks of Aboriginal Australians have been viewed as holding little value for, or as an impediment to the development of business networks. However, my research reveals that these networks play a critical role in both entrepreneurial practice and the establishment and expansion of business networks by Aboriginal entrepreneurs. The family networks of Aboriginal entrepreneurs in particular are crucial to the development of business networks; while Aboriginal networks in general are essential for effective succession planning and provide various forms of assistance including advice, motivation, inspiration, and emotional support. These are invaluable resources for any entrepreneur seeking to develop and expand their business network. Furthermore, these entrepreneurs are turning to friends and business acquaintances to expand their business networks, and they are also working with one another to build Aboriginal business networks which are an important source of support, particularly for aspiring Aboriginal entrepreneurs. Yet, the family networks of Aboriginal entrepreneurs can also be the source of obstacles to the development of business networks. These networks can be draining for the entrepreneur, financially, emotionally, and also in terms of the time spent maintaining ties to family members, while a belief by some Aboriginal people that there is a dichotomy between entrepreneurship and culture also presents a barrier to participation in entrepreneurship.

This belief also ties into the concept of entrepreneurial risk-taking, with social exclusion a real possibility for some Aboriginal people who practice entrepreneurship, while for others, being taken advantage of by family and

community members seeking to capitalise on their success is another potential risk. Also, managing risk, in terms of satisfying customer expectations and thereby avoiding the consequences of failing to do so, is perhaps less understood, but is especially important for Aboriginal entrepreneurs, particularly those who work in the Indigenous engagement space. In addition, this chapter highlighted a number of measures that Aboriginal entrepreneurs have taken to reduce the impact of problems and barriers that can affect their business success. These measures can be adopted or adapted by aspiring and established (Aboriginal) entrepreneurs as part of a personalised network strategy. They included critically reflecting on information received through family networks to judge its value, developing time management skills in order to balance the needs of family and business networks, and involving other family members such as elders in business activities wherever possible and/or networking with other Aboriginal entrepreneurs as a way of reducing negative perceptions that some members of the Aboriginal community may have towards entrepreneurship and networking. Building networks with other Aboriginal entrepreneurs is also an essential part of effective succession planning, while the assistance of organisations and individuals outside of the Aboriginal community is also vital to the success of Aboriginal entrepreneurs.

Crucially, while supporting past research that confirms the role of variform universality in networking practice, this chapter has also detailed how specific aspects of culture influence networking behaviour. This includes working in the Indigenous engagement space which necessitates the establishment of ties with people who can provide access to cultural goods and services, observing cultural obligations and protocols as part of the networking process, and responding to cultural attitudes that are uncondusive to the development of business networks. Both aspiring and established entrepreneurs can minimise the impact of problems and barriers they face during their business journey through the use of a network strategy. Yet, these entrepreneurs face a number of challenges when it comes to developing business networks with the non-Aboriginal community, and the growth of these networks can lead to another set of issues which I will explain in the following chapter.

Chapter 8: Building business networks with organisations and individuals outside of the Aboriginal community

No one in my family has owned a business or a home...a non-Indigenous friend that I used to hang with in High School; her parents owned a fish and chip shop - that's it. (Kylie, Indigenous consultant)

8.1. Introduction

The previous chapter examined how members of the Aboriginal community such as family, friends, and work colleagues, are able to assist Aboriginal entrepreneurs with the development of business networks. Aboriginal entrepreneurs also rely on organisations and individuals outside of the Aboriginal community for help with the development of these networks (Lahn 2012; Pearson and Helms 2012), and there are a number of reasons for this (Foley 2006a; 2008; Hunter 2013). The Aboriginal population in Australia is only around 2.5 percent of the total population and the proportion of entrepreneurs within this group is even less, making it difficult for Aboriginal people to access business networks within their own communities (Klyver and Foley 2012). There is also a widespread absence of prior business ownership in Aboriginal families, and so Aboriginal entrepreneurs often have nobody within their immediate family who they can seek help from when building their business network (Australian Taxation Office 2009). Therefore, Aboriginal entrepreneurs have little option but to turn to people outside of the Aboriginal community for this type of assistance (Klyver and Foley 2012), something that was alluded to in a number of the interviews I conducted. Yet, while membership of business networks is essential for entrepreneurial success, Aboriginal entrepreneurs must overcome various barriers to the development of these networks (Morley 2014).

This chapter begins by examining how Aboriginal entrepreneurs are establishing and expanding their business networks with help from people within the non-Aboriginal community, and how the boundaries between their businesses and Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal networks can easily become blurred. Following this, I will look at the role that government organisations play in supporting Aboriginal entrepreneurship and some of the structural issues which limit the effectiveness of

these support services, before looking at the role of mentors and life-coaches in helping Aboriginal entrepreneurs to achieve social and business objectives, and how mentor networks can be developed. Next, I discuss how issues of race and gender present barriers to network growth, and how these problems may be overcome, before elaborating on challenges that arise through the growth of networks. I then examine the importance of assessing and managing network growth, and how this process can be beneficial for the entrepreneur. In addition, like the previous chapter, this one will highlight the influence that different determinants of an entrepreneur's ontology have on networking practice, along with important measures that entrepreneurs take as part of an effective network strategy.

8.2. Blurring the boundaries between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal networks

As highlighted in the previous chapter, Aboriginal entrepreneurs rely on family and other members of the Aboriginal community for help with establishing and developing their business networks. However, they must also network with the wider community who are “invariably both their suppliers and customers” due to the small percentage of Aboriginal people within the Australian population (Klyver and Foley 2012, 574). Therefore, “in order to understand Indigenous entrepreneurs, researchers need to investigate both their networking activities with their own community” and outside of it (Klyver and Foley 2012, 583). The importance of both types of networks is elaborated on by Elizabeth who states that:

When I started my business in consulting services, I found my social networks were, and still are vitally important. My first projects came from people in my networks referring me to Australian Government agencies who commissioned me to work on reviews of national education related programmes. Support and encouragement to start and continue my business came from members of my family, friends in business, and business associates I met during the courses I did...My network of business associates in particular have become increasingly important...both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal. (Elizabeth, Indigenous consultant)

Similarly, Hazel highlights the importance of her ties within both the Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal communities for building her business network. Hazel is the co-owner of an art gallery/gift-shop with her brother, and her daughter, who she describes as “quite entrepreneurial.” Hazel believes it is important to support other members of the Aboriginal community, and to this end, she sells bush-foods supplied by a manufacturer and wholesaler called ‘Outback Pride’ who operate as a

social enterprise. Hazel states that while the owners of this business are non-Aboriginal, they have strong affiliations with the Aboriginal community, are great supporters of Aboriginal people, and bring many opportunities to them in both “wild harvest and growing.” Hazel elaborates on this part of her business network, stating that:

They take the horticultural skills and training through TAFE institutes and the business opportunity to Aboriginal communities, and then those communities grow in-situ those things that would naturally grow there...then they've got a guaranteed market for anything they grow, through the Outback Pride label. (Hazel, various business interests)

Hazel started selling these bush-foods over 10 years ago, and now retails the whole Outback Pride range. In this way she is helping to support the traditional resource gathering activities of other Aboriginal groups, their engagement with the modern economy, while developing business networks in a culturally acceptable way (Klyver, Hindle and Meyer 2008). Although a dichotomy between traditional Aboriginal economies and the market-based economy has often been underlined, scholarship is now highlighting how Aboriginal people are contesting such classifications by adopting new forms of economic participation (Altman 2012). One example is the hybrid economy whereby Aboriginal participation occurs through simultaneous use of traditional and modern forms of economic activity (Altman 2012; Collins et al. 2016). Also, as Harper (2003, 4) states, “different cultural value systems affect...the types of opportunities to which people are most attuned.” In Hazel’s case, she wants to support the wider Aboriginal community which in turn, influences her development of business networks, further highlighting the influence of variform universality.

A key reason for Elizabeth and Hazel’s reliance on ties within both the Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal community is that the products and services they offer are tied to some aspect of their Aboriginality, such as language, culture, and/or life experiences; yet, the main market for these products and services is the non-Aboriginal community. Consequently, the boundaries between what appear to be two distinct sets of networks become blurred. In addition, strong ties are not limited to members of the Aboriginal community, nor weak ties to members of the non-Aboriginal community. Most of the entrepreneurs I interviewed have strong ties within both the Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal communities. For example, in describing her role as a consultant, Cathy states that she is focused on:

Providing quality, culturally appropriate and commercially relevant management consultant services for both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal organisations, whether that be trusts, corporations, or stand-alone businesses. We can cater to many industries and in fact our current portfolio of clients represents a very diverse group...health, education, mining, construction [and]...we're also doing quite well at building a really strong team of culturally capable, but also very skilled consultants and facilitators and trainers. (Cathy, Indigenous consultant)

Cathy's statement also demonstrates why 'dual leadership' is so important for the success of Indigenous entrepreneurs. In their study of large entrepreneurial ventures owned by Indigenous tribal groups in Canada, Hindle et al. (2005, 13) found that "the establishment of a successful Indigenous venture requires dual leadership: cultural authority and a practical 'hard-driver'." Similarly, the success of the entrepreneurs I interviewed is dependent upon their cultural authority (bestowed upon them through their family networks) and their business nous. Thus, terms such as 'variform universality', 'dual leadership' and 'double accountability' (Chapter 7.11) all draw attention to the importance and influence of both Indigenous and non-Indigenous networks on entrepreneurial practices, and they also hint at a number of potential difficulties that will affect Indigenous entrepreneurs specifically. Within Australia, there are federal and state led business support organisations from whom aspiring and established Aboriginal entrepreneurs can seek assistance to overcome such difficulties (Morley 2014), although these organisations cannot always meet the specific needs of their clients (Pearson and Helms 2012; 2013). The benefits and shortcomings of these organisations and their support programmes will be discussed next.

8.3. The role of business support organisations: Indigenous Business Australia and the Small Business Development Corporation

Business support organisations can help entrepreneurs gain access to business networks and therefore, opportunities to develop their social capital (Shinnar, Giacomini and Janssen 2012). This networking support is particularly important for Aboriginal entrepreneurs. According to Foley (2012), the levels of human and social capital within Aboriginal networks are un conducive to entrepreneurial practice and networking. In general, "business opportunities do not exist within the indigenous societal or financial sectors" (Foley 2008, 210). As such, organisations like

Indigenous Business Australia (IBA) and the Small Business Development Corporation (SBDC) offer support to Aboriginal entrepreneurs. When Kylie decided to become an Indigenous consultant she accessed support programmes offered by the SBDC and then throughout the following year she attended workshops held by the IBA. However, Kylie states that some of these programmes; “whilst they’re there for Indigenous people, aren’t really appropriate”, and service providers “don’t necessarily understand that the individuals coming in have diverse needs and experiences.” Kylie goes on to state that because of this, their programmes are “really flawed...they don’t have any mechanisms for understanding who the client group is, so they’re just always delivering a one-size-fits-all approach.” In addition, Elizabeth (Indigenous consultant) states that “business support service providers for Aboriginal people...favour Aboriginal men in business and tend to limit support for Aboriginal women.” These observations support Klyver and Foley’s (2012, 585) contention that “for policy makers...it is essential to consider and incorporate the effect of national sub-cultures in their implementation of entrepreneurship fostering programmes.”

Kylie also believes that the failure of the SBDC and IBA to recognise the specific needs of clients continues to occur “even though there’s enough information and feedback coming back to them”, and she goes on to state that:

Because I come from an education background, I’m always looking at programmes...trying to improve my practices...I think that some of the people who are delivering these programmes...they’re just being directed in terms of meeting outcomes, so they’re not necessarily reflective and they don’t have the skills maybe to evaluate them. It’s a really tricky situation because they’re government [providers] as well, so there’s a lot of red tape...and from my observations, I’ve seen people in those roles that don’t understand...the kinds of need [that Indigenous entrepreneurs have]. (Kylie, Indigenous consultant)

Thus, the main problem identified by Kylie is the inability of the IBA and SBDC to match the content of its programmes and workshops to the needs of smaller cohorts or individuals. The government has a set of outcomes that it wants its service providers to achieve (Morley 2014), and even if IBA and SBDC employees have the ability to evaluate the specific needs of clients in relation to the programmes they offer, it is difficult for them to tailor their programmes accordingly due to the amount of red tape/public accountability requirements involved. This supports the findings of (Pearson and Helms 2012, 300), who believe that the blanket approach

used by federal and state led business support organisations “to foster Indigenous entrepreneurship” fails to acknowledge factors such as the diversity of enterprises and gender differences. Consequently, the needs of many clients are not met by “inflexible programmes” that focus on economic objectives and fail to adequately respond to the social and cultural differences amongst entrepreneurs (Pearson and Helms 2012, 300). Therefore, if the government allowed for a degree of flexibility with its outcomes, and employees were provided with additional training and time to evaluate client needs against the content of programmes and workshops, successful outcomes for both clients and the government could be improved.

Two of the interviewees also identified issues with the allocation of funding from the IBA. Maria has a law degree and, while working as a lawyer, she helped to set up a cultural awareness training business with two friends, before eventually joining the business as a full-time employee. Yet, Maria states that when she decided to start her own Indigenous consultancy service she approached the IBA and “applied for finance but was declined without any support to try again or advice on how to get finance approved.” On the other hand, while Neil was successful in his application to the IBA for a small grant to cover some signage and advertising costs, the process that he went through to gain this grant exposed another shortcoming with the allocation of funding by the IBA. He states that:

A lot of money just gets wasted...we didn't need a consultant from IBA, yet they still paid one to work with me. We had this business all set up, yet they still called the consultant in. We didn't need a consultant. We knew exactly where we were going. Even the consultant said to me 'well what do they expect me to do...you've done everything'? It's the way it's structured. (Neil, artist and gallery owner)

As mentioned by Kylie earlier, the IBA does not appear to act on the feedback it receives. One possible solution to this perceived problem could be the development of an appropriate system for receiving, assessing and/or providing feedback in a timely manner. Such a system might also prevent the issues identified by Neil and Maria from arising. However, there are also structural issues that limit the effectiveness of business support organisations and people's ability to engage in entrepreneurship, and an effective feedback system would only form part of any solution to these issues. This will be elaborated on next.

8.4. Structural issues and their impact on aspiring entrepreneurs and the effectiveness of support services

As discussed in Chapter 3, many Aboriginal people are subject to structural issues that have emerged through colonial processes. Thus, their relationship with the state is historically difficult, and these issues continue to impact the ability of many Aboriginal Australians to engage in certain aspects of contemporary Australian life as effectively as some non-Aboriginal Australians (Jacobs 1996; Cuthbert et al. 2002; Kerr and Cox 2016). One such issue mentioned by Tina and George is that the educational achievements of many Aboriginal Australians are often inadequate as far as successful engagement in entrepreneurship and in some cases; it prevents them from taking even the first steps toward establishing their own business. More specifically, Tina believes that government support needs to be improved where Aboriginal business owners submit tenders for government work, and she goes on to explain that:

You talk about supporting Indigenous businesses [but]...the reason why a lot of Aboriginal businesses don't succeed is because of the tendering process. They don't know how to do it...how to set their tender up with government, and everything else...and it's why they're unsuccessful in getting contracts. (Tina, Indigenous consultant)

So, along with some of her business associates, Tina took part in discussions which focused on ““what can we do to assist Aboriginal businesses’; to educate people about the tendering process, so that they are more proactive and effective in applying.” Through these discussions, Tina and her associates were able to pinpoint where the problem lay. She goes on to explain that:

People develop these policies thinking that Aboriginal people have the same education levels, when we haven't - we've been set back. Because of history...we're just catching up now, and the majority of those businesses, who do tender...they've been working in that space for many years. (Tina, management consultant)

Similarly, George suggests that the legal requirements aspiring entrepreneurs must comply with, particularly where there are sites of significance, can deter them from starting their own business:

The parks up here and old sites...there's none of that happening [cultural tours]...no-one's doing it for this area, and a lot of them that maybe want to...younger people...all the permission stuff, they think it's just too hard...it's too complicated...and sometimes it's too threatening for them. (George, artist and gallery owner)

One way that business support organisations such as the IBA could improve the service they provide and address the various problems discussed above was suggested by Neil:

You do a five-year plan with IBA, but...if they really wanted an Aboriginal business to succeed; they would work with them over the five years, not just the first twelve months - otherwise you set them up to fail. A lot of Aboriginal businesses hit the wall within the first eighteen months. Support could be through marketing...it could be assisting with doing something internationally; putting them on the big stage. We could take our products anywhere in the world, but it's a lot of work. (Neil, artist and gallery owner)

Neil's statement adds weight to Pearson and Helms (2012, 305) finding that support for Aboriginal entrepreneurs from government departments in Australia usually lasts "less than two years, and this limited period of assistance may explain why many new Indigenous ventures lack sustainability."

Yet, not everyone's experience with government institutions has been negative. For example, Elizabeth (Indigenous consultant) attended workshops provided by the IBA which helped her prepare for her entry into the business world, and Steve (various business interests) received financial assistance from the IBA "to pull together a team of lawyers, accountants and business development managers" to negotiate the JVP he eventually formed (and which took over nine months to finalise). Mary has taken advantage of SBDC workshops on public liability and food-handling requirements, stating that "they have been really supportive and have encouraged me to get my business plan sorted." She goes on to state that:

People don't spell this out to you. Some people have a product and just want to get out there and go, but it's actually very complicated. These are things you don't think about and this is why it's so great working with non-Aboriginal people, as they know all the rules and regulations. (Mary, Indigenous education provider)

Thus, groups such as the IBA and SBDC are an important source of support for Aboriginal entrepreneurs, but they do have a number of shortcomings. These include: a one size fits all approach that fails to recognise the diversity of Aboriginal Australians and therefore the diversity of their needs; an obligation to meet government objectives that are not always conducive to facilitating entrepreneurship; and, due to inadequate training and red tape, IBA and SBDC employees are often unable to adequately evaluate the needs of clients and provide appropriate support. A broad solution to these issues could involve extending the length of time these organisations work directly with clients; up to a period of five years. Also, a more

effective system for receiving, assessing and/or providing feedback could help solve some of these problems.

A shortcoming of my research into business networking by Aboriginal entrepreneurs was identified by Robert Taylor, the CEO of WAITOC. One month before my thesis submission date, during discussions about a tourism report I have written for WAITOC (Appendix 7), Robert asked about the importance of state, regional and local tourism organisations, industry bodies, and chambers of commerce and industry for the business networks of Aboriginal tourism entrepreneurs. The role of such groups had not arisen during my interviews and it was a serious oversight on my part not to have initiated discussion about such groups. This is an area of Aboriginal business networking which requires further research.

8.5. The importance of mentors and life-coaches for achieving social and business objectives

Once they progress beyond the start-up stages of their businesses, entrepreneurs may seek assistance with their business and personal development from other sources of support such as mentors and life-coaches. According to Shinnar, Giacomini and Janssen (2012, 486), “governments wishing to promote entrepreneurship in general and female entrepreneurship in particular”, should create business support organisations which provide advice and access to mentors, among other services. As discussed in the previous chapter, many Indigenous entrepreneurs are burdened by the requirement for ‘double accountability’, whereby they must deal with the usual problems that arise in a competitive business environment, but also attend to cultural-political issues that affect them, and therefore require a broader skill-set than that needed by non-Indigenous entrepreneurs (Hindle et al. 2005). In order to enhance their existing skills, and acquire new ones, a number of the entrepreneurs I interviewed have sought out the assistance of mentors and life-coaches. For example, Andrew (fashion, design and retail) states that he has “a number of mentors in different fields” such as business development and finance that he will go to depending on the advice he is looking for, while he also considers his late grandfather to have been a mentor and role model in terms of cultural matters. Cathy utilises the services of both mentors and life-coaches, stating that:

In terms of our business we've got mentors and coaches and we've got a board of advisors that we're introducing this year. They're professionals and experts in the fields of commercial contracts, social enterprise...and culture. We're making sure we've got those three bases covered, and they're seen as leaders in their respective fields. We've got our own coach in the U.S. that we link in with once every quarter...a life-coach, someone that checks in with where we're going and what we're doing and works through some of the challenges that come up for us as individuals. (Cathy, Indigenous consultant)

According to de Janasz, Sullivan and Whiting (2003, 78), some of the benefits that a mentee may derive from the mentoring process include an enhanced "sense of personal identity...and interpersonal competence." Furthermore, mentors provide a crucial career development experience, especially for "women and minorities" (de Janasz, Sullivan and Whiting 2003, 78). Having a strong sense of who they are and effective interpersonal skills are important for any entrepreneur, but particularly for female Aboriginal entrepreneurs who must negotiate their way through challenges that emerge from within their business and culture. Importantly, not only have Cathy and her business partners created a support network that can help them overcome these challenges, but they are also engaging experts in social enterprise, an approach to business that may be seen as more compatible with the ontologies and practices of Indigenous communities (as opposed to conventional forms of entrepreneurship) and thus, may help them meet the requirement for double accountability.

Tina elaborates on the importance of having mentors and life-coaches as an entrepreneur, stating that:

I have mentors...I've also just started being coached...and it's really interesting because it's completely different from a mentor...Through coaching you're getting people to think more around their actions, and for them to make decisions based upon those actions...you're getting them to that point...where they come up with the solution themselves...whereas with mentoring...you're advising them...So I do have mentors, I have a coach, and I like to talk to experts on different subjects. (Tina, Indigenous consultant)

As Bowerman and Collins (1999) suggest, coaching is a method of collaboration and a means of personal transformation whereby the person being coached learns how to look at situations differently and find the answers to problems themselves. More specifically, individuals can identify problems for which there seems to be no solution and work with their life-coach to resolve them (Bowerman and Collins 1999). Thus, coaching is another important tool that can be utilised by Aboriginal entrepreneurs to help them meet the business and cultural demands they face, and to

find novel ways of engaging in entrepreneurship and networking that demonstrate to the Aboriginal community how business and culture are compatible.

8.6. Establishing and developing a network of mentors

Tracey (food and clothing retailer) states that she did not have a mentor when she first started her business and because of this, “pretty much made every silly mistake you could possibly make in business.” However, Tracey now works with a marketing consultant through IBA and has also participated in Curtin University’s ‘Growth Ignition Program’, a week-long intensive course for aspiring entrepreneurs which she found “incredibly helpful” – working with “like-minded people.” Tracey also found that as people grew to love her products they introduced her to more people and her business network really started to build. According to Tracey, this also helped her to build a mentor network, as many of the people who became contacts within her business network often became sources of advice in relation to succeeding as an entrepreneur. Similarly, Kylie states:

You always have to be in a business mindset; if you’re speaking with someone and you know where your business is heading, and you know that they’ve got authority or value...pick their brain while you’ve got the opportunity. You’ve got to understand your moments otherwise you could miss that. (Kylie, Indigenous consultant)

Tracey also highlights a more novel form of mentor that she would like to work with. According to Tracey, now that her business network is “more in tune” with both her business and personal needs, she would like to network with people who have failed as entrepreneurs, because they can provide valuable insights into “what not to do” and therefore, how to succeed as an entrepreneur. Tracey thinks that this is particularly important now that she is transitioning from working on her business three days a week to full-time, and goes on to state that: “you can learn so much from unsuccessful entrepreneurs.” How one might do this in a respectful manner could be an issue, but through their networks, an entrepreneur may be able to find someone who is willing to discuss an unsuccessful attempt at entrepreneurship. However, an easier approach is suggested by Bwisa and Nafukho (2012, 77) who state that aspiring entrepreneurs should read about and reflect on “the lives and experiences of successful (and not-so-successful) entrepreneurs.”

According to de Janasz, Sullivan and Whiting (2003, 80), “a diverse cadre of mentors” is particularly important for entrepreneurs as their work is often characterised by flexibility, tailored engagements to suit the needs of numerous customers, and a strong imperative to learn from new engagements. However, it is particularly important for Aboriginal entrepreneurs to develop a diverse support network that includes mentors, life-coaches, and other relevant experts, as they often have to reconcile cultural obligations with the demands of business and this requires an innovative approach. Thus, Tracey has built her mentor network by utilising mentor services offered through different programmes, by seeking advice from people within her business network, and she intends to develop her mentor network by seeking advice from entrepreneurs who have experienced business failure.

8.7. Overcoming barriers to network growth: racism

According to Lahn (2012), the upkeep of extended family networks, like those of Aboriginal entrepreneurs’, prevents business networks from being developed to the same degree. This was not mentioned by any of the entrepreneurs that I interviewed, yet, a number of them did suggest that racist attitudes were a barrier to the growth of business networks. As Pearson and Daff (2012, 190) state, “a lack of understanding or respect for cultural differences can arise in the form of racist attitudes.” Interestingly, it was a racist incident that Tina experienced while working in the Resources Industry that encouraged her to become an entrepreneur. According to Tina, this incident showed her that:

There was a gap in the industry with companies’ not understanding Indigenous people or how to deal with racism, because nobody wants to talk about it. It’s a sensitive subject...so I established my business with the aim of filling the gap. (Tina, Indigenous consultant)

Klyver and Foley (2012) suggest that some Indigenous Australian entrepreneurs may not reveal, or will even hide their Aboriginality in an attempt to avoid latent racism that exists within some mainstream business networks. According to the Australian Taxation Office (2009, 10),¹ “unless it is a cultural-type business, such as tourism or art”, Indigenous business owners believe that highlighting their Indigeneity is of little to no value, and in some cases a barrier to business success. Yet, even if a business is located within the Indigenous engagement space, latent racism can still

¹ Report on *Indigenous Small Business Owners in Australia*.

be an issue. For example, Anthony heard from numerous contacts within his business and personal networks that he would not succeed as an entrepreneur, and states that:

A lot of people think you can't be an entrepreneur because you're Aboriginal. 'Oh you own a business...Aboriginal people owning their own business...really...oh that's not going to work', is the type of thing I hear from friends, competitors, and other people in my business network. (Anthony, self-employed artist)

However, Anthony says that he does let these types of comment get to him and he went on to state that:

I haven't had any problems with the growth of my business network. As long as you act professional and do the right thing, but if you don't, if you let people down, like any other business you'll start having problems. Just being really professional...keeps a lot of the negative stuff out. (Anthony, self-employed artist)

So, while some believe that network membership can lead to greater acceptance of minority entrepreneurs (Hoang and Antoncic 2003; Klyver, Hindle, and Meyer 2008; Klyver and Foley 2012), Anthony argues that this change in attitudes may be more dependent on the actions of the entrepreneur themselves.

8.8. 'Evening the playing field' and breaking the 'glass ceiling': moving beyond the domain of 'Aboriginal affairs'

Like Anthony, Steve (various business interests) embraces a positive attitude and a professional approach as an entrepreneur, which has allowed him to successfully grow his business network. Frederick and Foley (2006, 8) have stated that Indigenous Australians "are caught in a spiral of discrimination that is scarcely conducive to authentic entrepreneurial activity", yet Steve says that he has never seen his Aboriginality as a disadvantage. He goes on to state that while "a lot of mob who come from disenfranchised sort of backgrounds might perceive it to be...I've never seen anything like that and I've...made every post a winner." In addition, Steve states that "in more recent times...a huge appetite for Aboriginal business engagement" has developed, particularly following the introduction of Native Title legislation, and this is something Steve has used to his advantage. He goes on to state that:

I grew the business up from just myself to at its peak [where] I had 8 or 9 employees...and it was at that time I wanted to diversify the business and hence where the social networks; particularly the business networks started to come into play. I wanted to go out and talk to

some of my customers...and these guys had known me and the company for 9 or 10 years. They knew there was...that mantra of having a good reputation, being consistent, having stood the test of time, and they knew that I was genuine in wanting to take the company in a totally new direction. (Steve, various business interests)

Thus, while Hindle et al. (2005, 15) state that “for an Indigenous venture, change is even harder than creation”, Steve has made the most of his contacts within the non-Aboriginal community and a newfound desire for Aboriginal business engagement by the mining and resources industry. Steve has also diversified his business interests by successfully branching into the world of office supplies. The importance of diversifying in this way was elaborated on by Tina, who states that:

I think as Indigenous entrepreneurs we need to function in the mainstream if we want to be successful. It’s not about being Indigenous so that we only operate in the Indigenous domain...In order to be successful we also have to be competitive with mainstream businesses, showing people that we are capable of being successful if given the opportunity. Ultimately, that’s the secret isn’t it? (Tina, Indigenous consultant)

Yet, according to Elizabeth, “the business ‘playing field’ is far from equal for Aboriginal people” and regardless of our abilities, we are often “assessed negatively by non-Aboriginal people.” She goes on to state that there is an:

Attitude from the mainstream business industry that Aboriginal people can only do business in Aboriginal Affairs...It is difficult to be viewed and accepted as being able to operate in a mainstream business area the same way as non-Aboriginal colleagues, regardless of our mainstream qualifications, knowledge, skills and experience. (Elizabeth, Indigenous consultant)

A similar observation has been made by Wyatt (2015, 10), who states that “for a long time Aboriginal leadership has very much been a narrow construct. That is, Aboriginal leaders are expected to be leaders within the world of Aboriginal ‘affairs’.” Subsequently, Elizabeth states that:

I prefer not to be labelled an ‘Aboriginal Entrepreneur’ but an ‘entrepreneur’ who is an Aboriginal person. I think the constant labelling of ‘Aboriginal’ gives cause for non-recognition of us as members of the mainstream society and tends to be used to give us lower societal status and keep us marginalised. (Elizabeth, Indigenous consultant)

While overt forms of discrimination present an additional obstacle to the development of business networks by Aboriginal entrepreneurs (Frederick and Foley 2006), there also appears to be a perception within some quarters of the non-Aboriginal community that pigeonholes Aboriginal entrepreneurs as far as where it is suitable for them to engage in business. However, some Aboriginal entrepreneurs are successfully contesting these views, and by doing so are slowly breaking down

the walls that confine Aboriginal entrepreneurs to certain sectors, and hamper the development of their business networks. The following section will discuss gender-based issues which are a further barrier to entrepreneurial success and also impede the development of business networks.

8.9. Overcoming barriers to network growth: gender-based issues

As discussed earlier, Elizabeth believes there is a bias within business support service providers for Aboriginal people that favours men over women. This observation is supported by Alice (Indigenous consultant), who says that one of the main problems she had to overcome when she first started her business was being female. Alice goes on to state that “I was female in a predominately male space which is a challenge, and it’s always been a challenge for women working in the business world.” Similarly, Tina (Indigenous consultant) states that “most of the people I deal with are men. So men [laughs], you’ve got to be really assertive with men.” According to Tina, men may have good ideas, and often believe her approach is unsuitable for their company. She goes on to state: “you’ve got to be assertive and go, ‘well actually, in this place I’m the expert’, especially when they’re dealing with Indigenous kids or communities.” Tina also states that she knows a lot of “Indigenous men in business that get really defensive and really assertive”, but I can get them to “start to agree and see the vision of what I’m actually trying to achieve” just by changing the way that I communicate with them. According to Tina, building and maintaining these relationships is harder for women, but is essential for business success.

While male domination within business networks has been identified as a barrier to the progression of female entrepreneurs (Chell and Baines 2000; Shinnar, Giacomini and Janssen 2012), for female Aboriginal entrepreneurs this barrier is compounded if they seek to undertake work outside of their traditional Country. As Kylie states:

It’s a lot harder for Indigenous women than for men...there’s gender differences in business, especially when you’re not from here...That’s why I’ve been really working at building my supports...getting my name out there...because you’ve got to respect that you’re not from here, and you’ve got to build your networks. (Kylie, Indigenous consultant)

Kylie goes on to state that she does know of one female Aboriginal entrepreneur (Cathy, Indigenous consultant) who respects Aboriginal protocols, “but within her

networks...goes in a roundabout way of making connections...there's ways to get invited without going directly.” One way that Cathy is able to establish these connections is through her capacity building efforts (see Chapter 7.8). Cathy and her business partner “develop training in partnership with Aboriginal people...by Aboriginal people, for Aboriginal people”, so that they can become more effective in meeting the needs of their communities in areas such as “health, education, mining and construction.” In addition, this engagement is regulated by the cultural charter that Cathy and her business partner developed to ensure cultural protocols are adhered to (see Chapter 5.8). Through this respectful approach, Cathy is improving her chances of attracting Aboriginal clients with whom she has no familial relationship.

As Klyver and Foley (2012, 584) state, when it comes to entrepreneurial networking, “subgroups belonging to various sub-cultures behave in completely different ways according to the circumstances they experience.” In this instance, Kylie and Cathy both highlight how adhering to traditional customs and practices provides them with an opportunity to discover new ways of practising entrepreneurship and building business networks in a culturally acceptable way. This is particularly important for overcoming some of the additional restrictions they face as women, and demonstrates that the need to abide by cultural norms should not always be interpreted as a restriction on networking activities. Yet, while the expansion of their business networks is a key objective for entrepreneurs, this growth can be problematic in some cases.

8.10. Problems arising through the growth of business networks

Maria (Indigenous consultant) has found herself under increasing pressure as her business networks have grown, stating that: “I am only one person and there is only so much I have the capacity to do. I am constantly trying to ensure that I have a balance between work and my personal life”, particularly when it comes to balancing “community and volunteer commitments, and paid work commitments. It is hard to say ‘no’ to your community.” Similarly, Mary usually works alone and states that she often has an overload of work, “particularly for special occasions such as Sorry

Day or NAIDOC week.” Despite this, Mary says that she is always putting her name out there and goes on to state that:

Someone’s always seeking a cultural experience. Talk to local councils, talk to ‘friends of’ groups...how you grow your business and expand your networks is very important – you don’t focus on the one stream, you move into different streams. A ‘friends of’ group may want to learn about Aboriginal plants and their uses, or a local council may need some cultural education for their staff to improve consultation with Aboriginal people. Offer what people want and that’s how your name spreads. Participants then go and tell twenty other people. (Mary, Indigenous education provider)

In some cases, Mary’s business network provides a solution to excess work she attracts. If she is unable to meet the needs of multiple customers, she can direct them to other Indigenous entrepreneurs who provide the same or similar services. In addition, she states that:

You can’t do an event for everyone...you can’t overbook yourself, it’s just bad business. So we’ve been innovative by saying to people ‘why not hold a NAIDOC event the week before or after’? That works well with schools as they are on holiday during that week, so they get funding and prepare for their event a couple of months later. (Mary, cultural education provider)

While referring customers to other operators as Mary does may help ease demand, sharing the workload in this way may not always work out for the best. When asked if the growth of her business networks had all been positive, Alice stated:

No...In the area of Indigenous consultancy and tours it’s a highly competitive market now - there is a huge demand. Men like [Noongar entrepreneurs] have had a monopoly over the market...because they’re good at what they do and they’ve kind of been the ‘go to guys’...A lot of people have now realised there’s a real [profitable] commodity in this so you’re seeing a lot of tour operators popping up, or Indigenous consultants in particular - it’s getting flooded. So, unfortunately when you’re talking about partnering and working with others, that can turn into a negative...I have been burnt a few times by people saying ‘let’s partner’, and then off they branch...It’s just a learning curve I guess, to really know who to partner with, or how much information you share. (Alice, Indigenous consultant)

Despite these setbacks, Alice states that her business network has grown significantly due to the “really good referrals” she receives from customers. She goes on to state that she sometimes takes part in “big corporate events which are really good if you know how to network. I give out business cards and then people often ask what else do I do and this leads to more work.” Alice also states that it is “imperative to be able to sell yourself but not in a superficial way”, and that it is important to stay true to who you are and to keep your own “unique flavour”, or, as

Bwisa and Nafukho (2012) suggest, a successful entrepreneur's business will reflect *their identity*, rather than someone else's. According to Alice, clients want you to be genuine because "you are the product." Thus, Maria, Mary and Alice further demonstrate how entrepreneurial networking is "culturally moderated", as they must simultaneously take into account the demands of their own culture and "the demands of the market within the mainstream culture" (Klyver and Foley 2012, 584).

This also provides an example of 'mixed embeddedness', a concept that has emerged through research into ethnic entrepreneurship. It describes how the economic behaviour of minority groups can only be understood by examining both the social networks and ties within the group, and the various linkages to the mainstream culture. According to Klyver and Foley (2012, 584), mixed embeddedness may force an Aboriginal entrepreneur to "sacrifice their own inherent minority cultural position and perhaps identity", which has consequences in both the social and business spheres and will affect an individual's "psychological wellbeing." Yet, the Aboriginal entrepreneurs who were interviewed as part of this thesis all work within the Indigenous engagement space to varying degrees, and a number of them suggested that by doing so, they are able to preserve and reinforce their cultural position and identity. This has positive effects on their psychological wellbeing. In addition, there are steps that entrepreneurs can take to minimise some of the pressures that arise through network growth which will be discussed next.

8.11. Assessing and managing network growth and monitoring its benefits

Another problem that Alice has encountered as her business network has grown, is attending to the needs of her customers on a regular basis, and receiving nothing in return for her efforts. She states that:

You want to be personable...[so they] know that you're always there, but unless they're on a retainer agreement there's got to be a point where you say, to put it very bluntly, 'you're taking the piss...we need to sort out some arrangement where...we're both getting some benefit'...Most consultants...any time you ring them, email them, fax them...there's a fee involved...So that's another thing that we're sorting out...How do we not scare our clients away...but also, make it beneficial for us...it's a hard one to figure out. (Alice, Indigenous education provider)

Tina experienced a similar problem, finding that the number of meetings she was attending steadily increased as her business network grew, but she was not deriving any benefit from these meetings. She goes on to state that:

I'm starting to be more effective in having those discussions up front and finding out what clients actually want before I even have a meeting, because I'm not going to waste my time...if nothing's going to come of it. (Tina, Indigenous consultant)

According to Elizabeth, her network of business associates has "become increasingly important and diverse" as she has started to focus on "sustaining and expanding" her business, and she goes on to state that I have "become more experienced in assessing which associates I allow into my networks, for what reasons, and what is the potential worth for my business" in establishing and developing these relationships. Elizabeth also states that "the main disadvantage of the growth of my business networks is the time spent on the process of networking and establishing a database of networks", which involves attending business-related functions, meeting and establishing relationships with both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal groups, "and assessing the potential and usefulness of contacts in developing strategic business alliances and partnerships" (Elizabeth, Indigenous consultant). Similarly, Cathy and her first business partner have changed their focus over the last few years in terms of the time they spend networking. Cathy states that:

Probably the first 18 months after we started we would spend two days a week building and strengthening relationships and creating new ones, whereas now, we're a lot more strategic about who we approach. That's not because we think we're better than anyone. It's just thinking 'okay, how can we make the greatest impact in the least amount of time'?...So we have definitely shifted where our energy goes so that we can get our products quicker for our clients, and better results when we're doing our training programmes...Like any business you've got to make sure you're continuously improving...that's what we do week in and week out. (Cathy, Indigenous consultant)

Cathy goes on to state that we also "do quite a lot of work in terms of 'what's stopping us from reaching our goals'?" An essential part of this is "our ability to reflect and always make sure that people are clear on what we do." Cathy also states that every six months we review the services and programmes we provide and update them if there is a better way of doing something, "just because the more clear we are, then the clearer people in our network are going to be", and so the actual growth of our business network has not been a problem:

It's just made us smarter, more effective, and more efficient...It also allows us to be talking to the right people at the right time...At the end of the day it's about our customers and our

clients and how we can get the best results for them and create greater change in our community. (Cathy, Indigenous consultant)

According to Anderson, Dodd and Jack (2010), a negative aspect of the business networking process relates to the benefits derived being outweighed by the effort invested. As discussed above, the establishment and development of relationships within a business network can lead to an increase in meetings and other forms of contact which do not always benefit the entrepreneur. Thus, as Tina, Elizabeth and Cathy highlight, it is essential to assess, reflect upon and/or review the value of maintaining relationships and establishing new ones, and this advice is relevant to any entrepreneur at any stage of their business.

8.12. Conclusion

While Aboriginal entrepreneurs receive valuable assistance establishing and developing business networks from members of their own communities, assistance from organisations and individuals outside of the Aboriginal community with these tasks is also essential. Ontological perspectives are a key determinant of both the usefulness of these networks, and barriers to their activation and utilisation. For example, racist views, being perceived as suited to working in the world of 'Aboriginal affairs' only, and a belief by some in the wider community that Aboriginal people lack entrepreneurial capacity, can all place limits on an entrepreneur's ability to develop business networks. Likewise, perspectives on gender-roles make it more difficult for women than men to participate in business, and this problem is exacerbated for many Aboriginal women by traditional gender relations that impact their ability to practice entrepreneurship and build business networks, particularly outside of their family's traditional Country/s. Yet, rather than perceiving cultural protocols and obligations as obstacles that need to be overcome, adhering to them can provide the entrepreneur with an opportunity to challenge conventional ways of conducting business, and find novel approaches to entrepreneurship that allow them to bring about ontological change within their community. Thus, ontology shapes entrepreneurial practice, and vice versa.

Like the previous chapter, this one has also highlighted measures that both aspiring and established entrepreneurs can adopt or adapt as part of a network strategy, designed to minimise the impact of problems and barriers to success that emerge

during their business journey. How an entrepreneur grows their business and expands their networks is particularly important. The growth of a business network has associated benefits and drawbacks and for Aboriginal entrepreneurs such as education providers, it is particularly important for them to have ties to other entrepreneurs in the industry that they can draw on for assistance when they have excess work. For an Aboriginal business such as a consultancy, it may also be helpful to develop a 'cultural charter' that allows the entrepreneur to observe cultural protocols as part of their business practice. Finally, entrepreneurs should clearly identify the needs of potential clients before undertaking work for them, and then review on a regular basis not only how much time they dedicate to new and existing customers, but also the services that are offered so that there is no disparity between client expectations and what is actually delivered. A complete summary of measures that may be included in an effective network strategy will be provided in the concluding chapter of the thesis which follows next.

Chapter 9: Discussion and Conclusion

Almost every contact I have with Aboriginal people forces me to rethink the way I am conditioned to understand things...the work ethic Europeans are all brought up with, our selfishness in capital accumulation for the benefit only of our close family, these all look pretty illogical when examined from a different angle. (Bowden 1990, 1)

9.1. Introduction

This chapter begins by summarising the argument of my thesis, before recapping my key findings in relation to each of my research objectives and explaining the contribution that they make to academic knowledge. Following this, I elaborate on the theoretical and practical implications of my research, before providing an overall conclusion for the thesis, and suggesting directions for future research.

9.2. Building the thesis argument

This thesis made the argument that recognition of how entrepreneurial practices continue to be enacted by members of groups whose ontologies have been marginalised within capitalist societies and settings, and how the enrichment from these practices is more than economic, challenges longstanding theories of entrepreneurship and networking, and highlights the need to revise them so that they can be applied to a range of settings. To make this argument I utilised a variety of qualitative research methods that allowed me to explore the nexus between ontology, entrepreneurship and networking. In particular, I privileged the voices of Aboriginal entrepreneurs by drawing on primary data collected during semi-structured, in-depth interviews to reinforce the thesis argument, answer my research objectives, and to counter more conventional views on the entrepreneurial phenomenon. I also critically reviewed literature on ontology, entrepreneurship and networking, before examining and reinterpreting a range of literature describing the economic activities of Indigenous communities, through an 'entrepreneurial lens'. By doing so, I was able to demonstrate how entrepreneurship was practised by traditional and historic Aboriginal groups through innovative acts that were central to their survival and success, and that ontological renewal continues to be a key outcome of entrepreneurial practice.

Crucially, this data captures the participants' own strategies for addressing their challenges and making use of their strengths as part of a successful entrepreneurial practice. Therefore, this information may be of use to others who wish to develop their own entrepreneurial identity, particularly those who have experienced marginalisation and structural inequalities as members of minority communities. This information will also be helpful to individuals and organisations who wish to facilitate further successful participation in the entrepreneurial space, especially by individuals and groups within the Aboriginal community. In addition, the data provided by interviewees contradicts negative stereotypes of Aboriginal Australians and perceptions that entrepreneurship is somehow at odds with their ways of life, and thus is helpful for asserting ownership of, and encouraging further participation in, the entrepreneurial space by Aboriginal people. Therefore, the findings that are derived from this data should be taken into account when developing policies, reports, and statements that are intended to facilitate greater participation by Aboriginal Australians as entrepreneurs.

9.3. Research findings and significance

There were three key findings from my research, each of which relates to one of my research objectives:

- **Objective one:** critically analyse conventional theories of entrepreneurship and apply an 'entrepreneurship lens' to economic activity in traditional Aboriginal Australian societies to determine if entrepreneurship was practised by these groups.
- **Key finding:** entrepreneurship, as theorised within Western scholarship, was practised and highly valued by traditional Aboriginal groups for thousands of years, and contemporary Aboriginal entrepreneurship is a continuation of these practices.

Although several authors have highlighted that entrepreneurship has been practised by Indigenous groups for many thousands of years, these claims have often been based on the presence of trade as evidence of entrepreneurial activity. This thesis has also observed the role of trade as evidence that entrepreneurship was practised in traditional Indigenous societies. However, I have strengthened this claim by highlighting the links between both conventional and emerging theories of

entrepreneurship and the innovative economic practices that members of traditional Aboriginal Australian societies engaged in. In particular, I have emphasised the relevance of Schumpeter's (1968) theory, which describes the entrepreneur's principal function as the 'carrying out of new combinations', to economic practices in these societies. Most importantly, I have also challenged conventional theories of entrepreneurship and interpretations of Aboriginal economic and social practices by privileging the voices of contemporary Aboriginal entrepreneurs, and presenting their views on the entrepreneurial abilities of their ancestors, an approach that I have not encountered before. In turn, this has highlighted that Aboriginal entrepreneurship today can be seen as a continuation of past practices that ensured the wellbeing of the individual, their family, and wider community, rather than as an inevitable outcome of engagement with the modern Australian economy.

- **Objective two:** explain the influence that ontology has on both the theorisation and practice of entrepreneurship.
- **Key finding:** ontology is a central determinant of how people theorise about entrepreneurship and engage in entrepreneurial practices, and the enrichment from these practices is not only economic, as socioeconomic innovation and ontological renewal are integral outcomes of entrepreneurship.

Conventional theories of entrepreneurship have often emphasised the creation of fast-growing firms or similar business undertakings by the innovative, masculine hero of Western capitalist societies - motivated predominately by economic success - as a central narrative of the entrepreneurial phenomenon. This prevailing view of entrepreneurship has been supported by academics, business interests, and other influential figures who believe that personal gain is a key incentive for, and outcome of, entrepreneurship. However, viewing entrepreneurship in this way is an ontological presupposition (Lawson 2014) as it fails to account for those entrepreneurial practices that continue to be enacted by a range of people, in a variety of settings, and for reasons other than individual achievement and monetary profit. For example, I have suggested that Schumpeter (1968) did not apply his theory of entrepreneurship to settings other than those based on capitalist economic development, because the prevailing ontological outlook of his time and society was located within such a setting, and did not recognise the presence of the entrepreneurial phenomenon in a broader range of settings and time periods.

The influence of ontology on entrepreneurial practice is clearly demonstrated by those Aboriginal entrepreneurs, whose complex motivations for engaging in business go beyond personal achievement and economic success, and incorporate the maintenance of a range of social, cultural and ecological relations and beliefs. Thus, while Aboriginal ontologies may appear to place limits on entrepreneurial practice; they also push the entrepreneur to be particularly innovative in order to reconcile both their business and cultural obligations. To this end, Aboriginal entrepreneurs are challenging conventional understandings of entrepreneurship as they negotiate their own place within the entrepreneurial space, one which allows them not only to make a living, but to support their wider community directly and/or indirectly as well. This support may manifest in a number of ways including through the performance of cultural obligations, by sharing financial profit, and/or by educating the non-Aboriginal community about the relevance and importance of Aboriginal ontologies for a prosperous Australian society. Ontological renewal also occurs through these interactions as Aboriginal entrepreneurs contest certain cultural obligations, negotiate the level and type of support they provide their community, and decide who amongst their community they discuss their business activities with. In addition, as non-Aboriginal people who engage with these entrepreneurs begin to understand the world from an Aboriginal perspective; broader and more ontologically nuanced perspectives on successful entrepreneurship emerge.

- **Objective three:** discuss the influence that ontology can have on networking behaviour and explain the impact that this has on the character of different networks.
- **Key finding:** ontology plays a defining role in the activation of network ties, and the use and growth of different networks.

Just as ontology helps shape entrepreneurial practice, it has a significant influence on people's networking practices and their use of both family and business networks. While the family networks of Aboriginal entrepreneurs have often been considered of little value for, or even a barrier to, the development of business networks, I have found that family networks play an essential role in successful Aboriginal entrepreneurship through the various forms of support they provide. In addition, this support can manifest long before the establishment of a business in the form of values that family members impart to entrepreneurs, and the encouragement that they

provide. This can instil in the entrepreneur a sense of belief that they can succeed despite the obstacles they must face, and further highlights the importance of strong ties for entrepreneurial success. Essentially, Aboriginal entrepreneurs depend on people both within and outside of their communities to establish and develop their business networks. This comes down to the fact that their work is often carried out within the Indigenous engagement space, thereby making engagement with members of the Aboriginal community who can provide or grant access to cultural goods and services a necessity, while the primary market for these goods and services is the non-Aboriginal community.

My research also builds on the findings of Klyver, Hindle and Meyer (2008) and Klyver and Foley (2012), by identifying specific ways that culture influences entrepreneurial networking. Observing cultural obligations for example, requires the entrepreneur to gain the permission of elders in order to perform certain roles, and may also lead them to encourage these elders and/or other family members to participate in the provision of certain goods and services. Importantly, this provides an insight into the contribution that elders can make to entrepreneurial practice and networking, an area of study that has not been examined in any great depth. It also shows how business networking not only involves forming new ties with members of the business community, but can involve utilising familial ties as part of a business network. In addition, as part of a cultural obligation to support their wider community, and an astute business practice, Aboriginal entrepreneurs are building business networks with each other specifically. Aside from the potential business opportunities that such networks offer, they can also help the entrepreneur with their capacity-building and succession planning efforts, and provide a vehicle through which they can discuss challenges that hinder them specifically, as members of the Aboriginal (business) community. Likewise, the observation of cultural protocols within a business setting requires the entrepreneur to build their networks in a certain way. Aboriginal entrepreneurs can face resistance from members of other Aboriginal groups if they attempt to procure work in areas outside of their traditional Country, but by establishing business partnerships with members of these groups, Aboriginal entrepreneurs can be invited to work in such areas and consequently, they avoid such resistance.

9.4. The theoretical implications of my research

The findings above have theoretical implications for the broad field of entrepreneurship and networking, particularly in the context of Indigenous entrepreneurs, and advance the work of Schumpeter (1968) by highlighting that his theory is applicable to forms of economic development that are not only capitalist. There is a dearth of literature which explains the relationship between ontology, and the theorisation and practice of entrepreneurship and networking. Acknowledgement of ontological difference and its influence can help answer why, despite extensive research, academics have been unable to agree on a complete theory of entrepreneurship, and also highlights the need for a more critical assessment of entrepreneurial theories. Therefore, my findings and analysis, as well as the work of authors such as Ogbor (2000), Foley (2006a; 2010c; 2012a; 2012b) and Imas, Wilson and Weston (2012), suggest the development of a ‘grander narrative’ of entrepreneurship, that is, a more inclusive approach to understanding, describing and investigating this phenomenon.

Such a narrative acknowledges that the entrepreneur is not embodied solely by the white, masculine hero of Western capitalist societies, and that entrepreneurship continues to be practised in a range of settings by alternative heroes whose ontologies have been marginalised within such societies. This has important consequences for entrepreneurial theory and practice. Not only does a grander narrative challenge longstanding assumptions about entrepreneurship, it also implies that conventional entrepreneurial theories can be applied to a broader range of settings, and encourages the collection of more diverse data through which the intricacies of this phenomenon can be analysed. In keeping with such a narrative, this thesis has examined the influence and implications of ontology and ontological difference on the practice and theorisation of entrepreneurship. Accordingly, ontology has been shown to play a defining role in the way that people engage in networking practices: from the activation of network ties, through to the use and development of different networks such as business networks, while ontological renewal has been identified as a key outcome of entrepreneurial practice. Entrepreneurship has also been shown to provide a medium through which the significance of Indigenous ontologies can be imparted to non-Indigenous people,

which in turn can lead to more equitable communities. Crucially, recognition of the applicability of conventional theories of entrepreneurship to economic activity outside of capitalist economies and ontologies will open up new avenues of exploration in the quest to better understand the entrepreneurial phenomenon.

9.5. The practical implications of my research

Chapters 5 to 8 have highlighted a number of measures taken by Aboriginal entrepreneurs as they have moved through different stages of business, which have allowed them to overcome, or negotiate their way past, various problems, challenges, and other barriers to their success. Aspiring and established entrepreneurs can adopt or adapt similar measures to develop a personalised network strategy that will guide them along their business journey, and help them to achieve long-term success. These findings will also be useful for individuals and organisations who wish to facilitate further successful participation in entrepreneurship, particularly by members of the Aboriginal community. To this end, I have written a report for WAITOC titled: *Building successful Aboriginal tourism ventures: case-studies from metropolitan Perth* (see Appendix 7). This report discusses opportunities that are available for aspiring and established Aboriginal entrepreneurs who wish to participate in the tourism industry; the potential benefits of such work; barriers to success and other problems that tourism entrepreneurship entails; and, possible solutions to these challenges. Key recommendations from this report are discussed in the rest of this section, and may be of use for entrepreneurs outside of the tourism industry.

Building a network strategy

First, there are a number of important personal qualities and skills that aspiring (and established) entrepreneurs should be prepared to develop, even if they already possess them. These include a strong work ethic, confidence, openness, and the ability to maintain a positive, professional attitude despite the setbacks and problems that they will encounter. Time management skills are also essential for balancing the needs of family and business networks effectively. Aboriginal entrepreneurs who work in the tourism industry and/or provide cultural education services should also have a depth of knowledge of their culture that allows them to perform such roles

effectively, and uphold and negotiate their obligations relating to their use of cultural knowledge in (capitalist) business settings. The various measures that an entrepreneur chooses to include in their network strategy will be determined to a large degree by the stage of business they are in. Any aspiring entrepreneur should have a clear idea of the type of business that they want to develop, decide whether they can commit to this business on a full-time or part-time basis, and then seek assistance from people with relevant business experience. They should also consider how to share their ideas and with whom, focussing on who can help them to achieve their business objectives; it is unwise to rush into starting a business and then try to succeed by yourself.

Both aspiring and established entrepreneurs can seek relevant advice from business support organisations such as the SBDC, while Aboriginal entrepreneurs can also seek assistance from the IBA. As noted earlier (Chapter 8.4), further research is needed into the role of other support organisations in Aboriginal business networks, such as industry bodies and chambers of commerce and industry. Entrepreneurs also find it very helpful to obtain assistance from individuals such as mentors and/or life coaches. Mentors and life coaches can help entrepreneurs to overcome business-related challenges and also develop or strengthen some of the personal qualities and skills that successful business people require. For example, both aspiring and established entrepreneurs may need to build their confidence to engage more effectively with customers, and mentors and coaches can provide this type of assistance. An entrepreneur must also plan how they will grow their business and expand their business networks. It is important to offer what customers want, as this can generate further business, but it may also lead to a decrease in the amount of time that an entrepreneur has available to spend with family and friends. Therefore, time management is a particularly important aspect of a successful network strategy. For entrepreneurs, effective time management should involve clearly identifying what customers want before undertaking work for them, and then reviewing on a regular basis (every six months for example) how much time they dedicate to new and existing customers. The entrepreneur should also review the products and services they offer to ensure that they meet client expectations.

A successful network strategy must also include steps that an entrepreneur can take to respond to family, friends and community members who want to share in their financial success without contributing to it. This is essential as such requests can threaten the viability of a business. One way an entrepreneur could tackle this problem is by saying to people who seek to benefit from their business that they must work for the entrepreneur within the business, or perform other related duties. Employing certain family, friends and community members for various purposes during different stages of their business will also help the entrepreneur to ensure that this network is not neglected. However, this approach is unlikely to help the entrepreneur who has just established their business and/or has been approached for assistance by numerous people within their network of family and friends for example. Saying 'no' to such requests may be the only alternative. This may be difficult for the entrepreneur, but is necessary. However, by being strategic in regards to who they share information about their business activities with, and by being selective in who they ask for assistance, the entrepreneur may be able to avoid attracting the attention of people who might take advantage of their success.

Aboriginal entrepreneurs may also face, and must be prepared to negotiate, resistance to their activities by some members of their community who believe that there is a dichotomy between Aboriginal culture and entrepreneurial practices. By seeking permission from their elders to develop a business, and then asking them to participate in business activities wherever possible, Aboriginal entrepreneurs can reduce this resistance and show their communities that business and culture are not incompatible. It may also be useful for entrepreneurs working in the Indigenous engagement space to develop a 'cultural charter' for their business. A key purpose of such a charter is to help the entrepreneur to acknowledge and respect cultural protocols as part of their business practices.

Capacity-building and succession planning can also be used by Aboriginal entrepreneurs to reduce opposition to their business and networking practices. Through these activities, the entrepreneur can help other members of their community to learn new skills and abilities, and/or develop existing ones. In addition, capacity-building and succession planning may be viewed as an important investment for established entrepreneurs, rather than just another business expense. It

allows them to grow their businesses, meet customer needs in a timely fashion, and overcome some of the challenges that they encounter when running a business, such as having less time to spend with family and friends. Aboriginal entrepreneurs may also counter negative perceptions of their business activities by developing business networks with each other, rather than with non-Aboriginal organisations and individuals only. Furthermore, such networks provide a means of discussing problems faced by Aboriginal entrepreneurs specifically, along with possible solutions, and offer another platform through which members can maintain, express and share their culture.

9.6. Conclusion and directions for future research

This thesis has offered an analysis and critique of theories of entrepreneurship and networking which helps explain why there are differences between and amongst these theories, and why people engage in entrepreneurship and networking practices in certain ways. In addition, by bringing to light the perspectives and practices of Aboriginal entrepreneurs, and by applying an ‘entrepreneurship lens’ to economic activity in Indigenous communities, this thesis contributes to scholarship on the role of culture in entrepreneurship, and importantly, suggests ways for Aboriginal entrepreneurs to counter the notion that there is a dichotomy between culture and entrepreneurship. Thus, aside from an academic contribution, the findings and theoretical insights derived from this thesis have important practical applications too. While the study of entrepreneurship and networks/networking practices are already diverse and multifaceted fields, this thesis proposes adding another layer of complexity to their study by renewing the call for research that not only explores the relationship between ontology, entrepreneurship and networking, but utilises more inclusive approaches to such study that can contribute to a grander narrative of entrepreneurship.

In moving forward, there are a number of points of departure for such research. Further analysis of economic activity in a range of traditional and historic settings will advance existing theories of entrepreneurship. For example, it would be valuable to investigate settings where scarcity can be identified as a key driver of entrepreneurial behaviour and practices, and explore how contemporary forms of

entrepreneurship have evolved from such settings. This form of enquiry would benefit from an interdisciplinary approach, as more insightful findings are likely to be found through collaboration between academics in fields such as entrepreneurship, economic history, anthropology, and archaeology. Another important avenue of study raised by this thesis is the role of cultural and ontological difference in entrepreneurship. In particular, the role of elders as enablers of entrepreneurship, as providers of goods and services within the entrepreneurial space, and most importantly, as figureheads who can facilitate greater participation in, and acceptance of, Indigenous entrepreneurship, requires further examination. In addition, risk, an important concept within entrepreneurial literature, has not been touched upon to any great degree in this thesis. Although three questions in the interview schedule (Has the growth of these networks had any disadvantages? What problems did you face when you started your business? What have been the personal costs and benefits of owning a business?) (Appendix 3) elicited information that is relevant to understanding risk in the context of Aboriginal entrepreneurs; *innovation*, and its role in traditional, historical, and contemporary entrepreneurship was the central focus of this thesis. Future research could focus on the nuances of risk with specific objectives such as understanding what Aboriginal entrepreneurs risk, how do they manage risk, and how is their willingness to embrace risk influenced by their Indigeneity.

Crucially, such studies will be of real benefit to elders and entrepreneurs as long as they can (fully) participate in and drive future research projects, and are given appropriate assistance if needed. Thus, a transdisciplinary approach would be particularly useful for supporting such projects, as the next generation of research in this field requires an ontological commitment to centre Indigenous peoples' knowledge and insights if it is to be of enduring value to Indigenous entrepreneurs, their communities, and academic understanding. Reflecting on such a challenge; this is the type of endeavour that I would like to be involved in as I move forward. I say this not only because of my connection to, and understanding of, wider issues of Indigeneity as a person of Māori descent (and in particular, the issue of Indigenous knowledge systems and rights being deemed irrelevant to Western institutions), but because my challenging PhD journey has vastly broadened my understanding of such issues, and revealed my own innate entrepreneurial characteristics which would

be particularly useful in supporting the process of creative destruction to further unsettle relationships between 'the establishment' and Indigenous groups.

References

- Aldrich, Howard, and Catherine Zimmer. 1986. "Entrepreneurship through Social Networks." In *The Art and Science of Entrepreneurship*, eds Donald L. Sexton and Raymond W. Smilor, 3-23. Massachusetts, US: Ballinger Publishing Company.
- Altman, Jon. 1992. *Impacts of Tourism: Tourism and Aboriginal Communities*. Canberra. www.anu.edu.au/caepr-dev/sites/default/files/.../1993_AusTourism.pdf.
- Altman, Jon. 2012. "Foreword; Indigenous Participation in Australian Economies II: Historical Engagements and Current Enterprises." In *Indigenous Participation in Australian Economies II: Historical engagements and current enterprises*, edited by Natasha Fijn, Ian Keen, Christopher Lloyd and Michael Pickering, Canberra, A.C.T.: ANU E Press.
- Altman, Jon, and Julie Finlayson. 2003. "Aborigines, Tourism and Sustainable Development." *The Journal of Tourism Studies* 14 (1): 78-91.
- Anderson, Alistair R., Sarah Drakopoulou Dodd, and Sarah Jack. 2010. "Network Practices and Entrepreneurial Growth." *Scandinavian Journal of Management* 26: 121-133. doi: 10.1016/j.scaman.2010.01.005.
- Anderson, Robert B., Leo Paul Dana, and Teresa E. Dana. 2006. "Indigenous Land Rights, Entrepreneurship, and Economic Development in Canada: "Opting-in" to the Global Economy." *Journal of World Business* 41: 45-55.
<http://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S1090951605000738>.
- Anderson, Robert B., Bob Kayseas, Leo Paul Dana, and Kevin Hindle. 2004. "Indigenous Land Claims and Economic Development: The Canadian Experience." *American Indian Quarterly* 28 (3): 634-648.
<http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/aiq/summary/v028/28.3anderson.html>.
- Andina, Tiziana. 2016. *An Ontology for Social Reality*. London, U.K.: Springer Nature.
- Archibald, Jo-ann. 2008. *Indigenous Storywork: Educating the Heart, Mind, Body, and Spirit*. Vancouver, Canada: UBC Press.

- Attwood, Bain, Andrew Markus, Dale Edwards, and Kath Schilling. 1997. *The 1967 Referendum, or When Aborigines Didn't Get the Vote*. Canberra, A.C.T.: Aboriginal Studies Press.
- Australian Government. 2013. Celebrating Naidoc Week. Australian Government. Accessed 08/11/16
<https://web.archive.org/web/20130428120354/http://www.naidoc.org.au/celebrating-naidoc-week/>.
- Australian Government. 2015. Sorry Day and the Stolen Generations. Australian Government. Accessed 08/11/16 <http://www.australia.gov.au/about-australia/australian-story/sorry-day-stolen-generations>.
- Australian Taxation Office. 2009. *Indigenous Small Business Owners in Australia*. Canberra: Australian Taxation Office.
- Banerjee, Subhabrata and Deirdre Tedmanson. 2010. "Grass Burning under Our Feet: Indigenous Enterprise Development in a Political Economy of Whiteness." *Management Learning* 41 (2): 147-165.
<http://mlq.sagepub.com/content/41/2/147>
- Banks, James A. 1993. "The Canon Debate, Knowledge Construction, and Multicultural Education." *Educational Researcher* 22 (5): 4-14.
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/1176946>.
- Bargh, Maria. 2011. "Moving on from the Developmental View of Humanity." *Alternatives: Global, Local, Political* 36 (1): 79-85. doi: 10.1177/0304375411402022.
- Barwick, Diane E. 1970. "'And the Lubras Are Ladies Now'." In *Woman's Role in Aboriginal Society*, ed. Fay Gale, 30-38. Canberra, A.C.T.: Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies.
- Baumgartner, Stefan, Christian Becker, Malte Faber, and Reiner Manstetten. 2006. "Relative and Absolute Scarcity of Nature. Assessing the Roles of Economics and Ecology for Biodiversity Conservation." *Science Direct* 59: 487-498.
<http://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0921800905005227>.
- Baumol, William J. 1990. "Entrepreneurship: Productive, Unproductive, and Destructive." *Journal of Business Venturing* 11: 3-22.

- Baumol, William J. 1993. "Formal Entrepreneurship Theory in Economics: Existence and Bounds." *Journal of Business Venturing* 8 (3): 197-210. doi: 10.1016/0883-9026(93)90027-3.
- Baumol, William J. 2010. "Preface: The Entrepreneur in History." In *The Invention of Enterprise: Entrepreneurship from Ancient Mesopotamia to Modern Times*, eds David S. Landes, Joel Mokyr and William J. Baumol, ix-xiii. New Jersey, U.S.A: Princeton University Press.
- Baxter, Jamie, and John Eyles. 1997. "Evaluating Qualitative Research in Social Geography: Establishing 'Rigour' in Interview Analysis." *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 22 (4): 505-525.
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/623115>.
- Bearance, Deborah, and Kimberley Holmes. 2015. "Ontology through a Mindfulness Process." *Interchange* 46 (2): 143-152. doi: 10.1007/s10780-015-9238-6.
- Bednarik, Robert G. 2006. *Australian Apocalypse: The Story of Australia's Greatest Cultural Monument*. Vol. 14. Victoria, Australia: Australian Rock Art Research Association, Inc.
- Behrendt, Larissa. 2006. "The Urban Aboriginal Landscape." In *The City in Transformation Conference Centre for Cultural Research, University of Western Sydney*.
http://www.uws.edu.au/_data/assets/pdf_file/0007/6928/Behrendt_Final.pdf.
- Bell, Judith. 2005. *Doing your Research Project: A guide for first-time researchers in education, health and social science*. Berkshire, England: Open University Press.
- Benadusi, Mara, Alessandro Lutri, and Circe Sturm. 2016. "Composing a Common World? Reflections around the Ontological Turn in Anthropology." *Anuac* 5 (2): 79-98. doi: 10.7340/anuac2239-625X-2528.
- Bender, B. 1981. "Gatherer-Hunter Intensification." In *Economic Archaeology - Bar International Series 96*, eds A. Sheridan and G.N. Bailey, 149-157. British Archaeological Reports.
- Bennett, Tony. 2010. "Making and Mobilising Worlds: Assembling and Governing the Other." In *Material Powers: Cultural Studies, History and the Material Turn*, eds Tony Bennett and Patrick Joyce, 190-208. London, England: Routledge.

- Berglund, Karin, and Caroline Wigren. 2012. "Soci(et)al Entrepreneurship: The Shaping of a Different Story of Entrepreneurship." *Tamara: Journal for Critical Organization Inquiry* 10 (1): 9-22.
http://search.proquest.com.dbgw.lis.curtin.edu.au/docview/1029938880?rfr_id=info%3Axri%2Fsid%3Aprimo.
- Berndt, Catherine H. 1970. "Digging Sticks and Spears, or, the Two-Sex Model." In *Woman's Role in Aboriginal Society*, ed. Fay Gale, 39-47. Canberra, A.C.T.: Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies.
- Berndt, Catherine H., and Ronald M. Berndt. 1983. *The Aboriginal Australians: The First Pioneers*. Victoria: Pitman Publishing Pty Ltd.
- Bessarab, Dawn. 2000. "Working with Aboriginal Families: A Cultural Approach". In *Issues facing Australian families: Human Services Respond*, ed. W. Weeks, 79-90.
- Bhabha, Homi. 1994. *The Location of Culture*. London, U.K.: Routledge.
- Blainey, Geoffrey. 1976. *Triumph of the Nomads: A History of Ancient Australia*. South Melbourne, Australia: The MacMillan Company of Australia Pty Ltd.
- Blainey, Geoffrey. 1995. *A Shorter History of Australia*. Port Melbourne, Victoria: Mandarin.
- Boettke, Peter J. and Christopher J. Coyne. 2003. "Entrepreneurship and Development: Cause or Consequence." *Advances in Austrian Economics* 6: 67-88. http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=869770.
- Booth, Wayne C., Gregory G. Colomb, and Joseph M. Williams. 1995. *The Craft of Research*. Chicago, U.S.A.: The University of Chicago Press.
- Bornstein, David, and Susan Davis. 2010. *Social Entrepreneurship: What Everyone Needs to Know*. New York, U.S.A.: Oxford University Press.
- Bourdieu, Pierre. 1997. "The Forms of Capital." In *Education: Culture Economy and Society*, eds A. H. Halsey, Phillip Brown and Amy Stuart Wells, 47-58. Oxford, England: Oxford University Press.
- Bowden, Ros. 1990. *Being Aboriginal: Comments, Observations and Stories from Aboriginal Australians*. N.S.W., Australia: ABC Enterprises.
- Bowler, Sandra. 1976. "Hook, Line, and Dilly Bag: An Interpretation of an Australian Coastal Shell Midden." *Mankind* 10 (4): 248-258.

- Bowerman, Jennifer, and Gordon Collins. 1999. "The Coaching Network: A Program for Individual and Organizational Development." *Journal of Workplace Learning* 11 (8): 291-297.
<http://dx.doi.org/10.1108/13665629910300414>.
- Brady, Wendy. 2000. "Indigenous Insurgency against the Speaking for Others." *Subaltern, Multicultural & Indigenous Histories Transforming Cultures Winter School 2000*: 1-7.
http://edocs.library.curtin.edu.au/eres_display.cgi?url=DC65067447.pdf.
- Broome, Richard. 1982. *Aboriginal Australians: Black Response to White Dominance, 1788-1980*. North Sydney, NSW: George Allen & Unwin Australia Pty Ltd.
- Brown, Peter. 1839. "Lands on the Island of Rottnest." In *The Perth Gazette and Western Australian Journal*, Perth, Western Australia: Charles MacFaul.
- Browne-Yung, Kathryn, Anna Ziersch, Fran Baum, and Gilbert Gallaher. 2013. "Aboriginal Australians' Experience of Social Capital and Its Relevance to Health and Wellbeing in Urban Settings." *Social Science & Medicine* 97: 20-28. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.socscimed.2013.08.002>.
- Bull, Ivan, and Gary E. Willard. 1993. "Towards a Theory of Entrepreneurship." *Journal of Business Venturing* 8 (3): 183-195.
<http://www.sciencedirect.com.dbgw.lis.curtin.edu.au/science/article/pii/0883902693900262>.
- Buultjens, Jeremy, Deborah Gale, and Nadine Elizabeth White. 2010. "Synergies between Australian Indigenous Tourism and Ecotourism: Possibilities and Problems for Future Development." *Journal of Sustainable Tourism* 18 (4): 497-513. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/09669581003653518>.
- Bwisa, Henry M., and Fredrick Muyia Nafukho. 2012. *Learning Entrepreneurship through Indigenous Knowledge*. Ontario, Canada: Nsemia Inc. Publishers.
- Cachon, Jean-Charles. 2012. "Paleo Aboriginal Entrepreneurship: Evidence from Turtle Island." *Journal of Australian Indigenous Issues* 15 (4).
https://www.researchgate.net/publication/256446001_Paleo_Aboriginal_Entrepreneurship_evidence_from_Turtle_Island.
- Cahn, Miranda. 2008. "Indigenous Entrepreneurship, Culture and Micro-Enterprise in the Pacific Islands: Case Studies from Samoa." *Entrepreneurship &*

Regional Development 20 (1): 1-18.

<http://web.b.ebscohost.com.dbgw.lis.curtin.edu.au/ehost/detail/detail?sid=57cc6162-44ca-4727-b6d0->

[6733d02a5087%40sessionmgr115&vid=0&hid=102&bdata=JnNpdGU9ZWhvc3QtbGl2ZQ%3d%3d#db=bth&AN=27876237](http://web.b.ebscohost.com.dbgw.lis.curtin.edu.au/ehost/detail/detail?sid=6733d02a5087%40sessionmgr115&vid=0&hid=102&bdata=JnNpdGU9ZWhvc3QtbGl2ZQ%3d%3d#db=bth&AN=27876237).

Canclini, Nestor Garcia. 1995. *Hybrid Cultures: Strategies for Entering and Leaving Modernity*. Minneapolis, U.S.A.: University of Minnesota Press.

Cantillon, Richard. 2010. *An Essay on Economic Theory*. Alabama, U.S.A.: Ludwig von Mises Institute.

Casson, Mark. 2003. *The Entrepreneur: An Economic Theory, Second Edition*. Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar.

Casson, Mark, and Catherine Casson. 2014. "The History of Entrepreneurship: Medieval Origins of a Modern Phenomenon." *Business History*: 1-20. doi: 10.1080/00076791.2013.867330.

Castells, Manuel. 2010. *The Rise of the Network Society*. 2nd ed. Oxford, England: Wiley-Blackwell.

Cato, Nancy. 1982. *The Noosa Story: A Study in Unplanned Development*. Milton, Queensland: The Jacaranda Press.

Chapman, Jonathan. 2011. "Succession Planning for the Entrepreneur." *Construction Accounting & Taxation* 21 (4): 5-12.

<http://search.proquest.com.dbgw.lis.curtin.edu.au/docview/886423991/fulltextPDF/52A49E8B8C7949FCPQ/1?accountid=10382>

Chell, Elizabeth, and Susan Baines. 2000. "Networking, Entrepreneurship and Microbusiness Behaviour." *Entrepreneurship & Regional Development: An International Journal* 12: 195-215. doi: 10.1080/089856200413464.

Churchill, Scott D. 2011. "Empirical Variations of Relationality and the Question of Ontology: A Comment on Ken Gergen's Relational Being." *Journal of Constructivist Psychology* 24 (4): 297-303.

<http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/10720537.2011.593466>.

Clason, George S. 2002. *The Richest Man in Babylon*. Victoria, Australia: Penguin Books Ltd.

Colbung, K. 1988. "Not Land Rights but Land Rites." *Australian Aboriginal Studies* (2): 103-110.

http://edocs.library.curtin.edu.au/eres_display.cgi?url=dc60124817.pdf

- Collard, Kim. 2000. "Aboriginal Culture." In *Working with Indigenous Australians: A Handbook for Psychologists*, eds Pat Dudgeon, Darren Garvey and Harry Pickett, 21-26. Curtin Indigenous Research Centre; Perth: Gunada Press.
- Collins, Jock, Mark Morrison, Branka Krivokapic-Skoko, Rose Butler, and P.K. Basu. 2016. "Indigenous Small Businesses in the Australian Indigenous Economy." In *Engaging Indigenous Economy: Debating Diverse Approaches*, edited by Will Sanders, Canberra, Australia: Australian National University Press.
- Concu, Nanni. 2012. "Environmental Conservation and Indigenous Development through Indigenous Protected Areas and Payments for Environmental Services: A Review." In *Indigenous Participation in Australian Economies II: Historical engagements and current enterprises*, edited by Natasha Fijn, Ian Keen, Christopher Lloyd and Michael Pickering, Canberra, A.C.T.: ANU E Press.
- Coombes, Brad, Jay T. Johnson, and Richard Howitt. 2012a. "Indigenous Geographies I: Mere Resource Conflicts? The Complexities in Indigenous Land and Environmental Claims." *Progress in Human Geography* 36 (6): 810-821. doi: 10.1177/0309132511431410.
- Coombes, Brad, Jay T. Johnson, and Richard Howitt. 2012b. "Indigenous Geographies II: The Aspirational Spaces in Postcolonial Politics – Reconciliation, Belonging and Social Provision." *Progress in Human Geography* 37 (5): 691-700. doi: 10.1177/0309132512469590.
- Coulthard, Glen Sean. 2014. *Red Skin, White Masks: Rejecting the Colonial Politics of Recognition*. Minneapolis, U.S.A.: University of Minnesota Press.
- Croitoru, Alin. 2012. "A Review to a Book That Is 100 Years Old." *Journal of Comparative Research in Anthropology and Sociology* 3 (2): 137-148. <http://compaso.eu/wp-content/uploads/2013/01/Compaso2012-32-Croitoru.pdf>.
- Crotty, Michael. 1998. *The Foundations of Social Research: Meaning and Perspective in the Research Process*. Crows Nest NSW, Australia: Allen & Unwin.
- Cuthbert, Denise, Ceridwen Spark, Stephen Pritchard, and Susan Lowish. 2002. "Aboriginal Identity, Culture and Art." *The Year's Work in Critical and*

Cultural Theory 10 (1): 259-332.

<http://ywcct.oxfordjournals.org.dbgw.lis.curtin.edu.au/content/10/1/259.full.pdf+html>.

- Dana, Leo Paul. 2007. "Toward a Multidisciplinary Definition of Indigenous Entrepreneurship." In *International Handbook of Research on Indigenous Entrepreneurship*, eds Leo Paul Dana and Robert B. Anderson, 3-7. Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar Publishing Limited.
- Dana, Leo Paul. 2008. "Community-based entrepreneurship in Norway." *Entrepreneurship and Innovation* 9 (2): 77-92.
- Dana, Leo Paul, and Teresa E. Dana. 2005. "Expanding the scope of methodologies used in entrepreneurship research." *International Journal of Entrepreneurship and Small Business* 2 (1): 79-88.
- Davidsson, Per, and Benson Honig. 2003. "The Role of Social and Human Capital among Nascent Entrepreneurs." *Journal of Business Venturing* 18: 301-331. doi: 10.1016/S0883-9026(02)00097-6.
- de Bruin, Anne, and Peter Mataira. 2003. "Indigenous Entrepreneurship." In *Entrepreneurship: New Perspectives in a Global Age*, eds Anne de Bruin and Ann Dupuis, 169-184. Hampshire, England: Ashgate Publishing Limited.
- de Janasz, Suzanne C., Sherry E. Sullivan, and Vicki Whiting. 2003. "Mentor Networks and Career Success: Lessons for Turbulent Times." *Academy of Management Executive* 17 (4): 78-93.
http://www.jstor.org/stable/4166008?seq=1&cid=pdf-reference#references_tab_contents.
- DeLugan, Robin Maria. 2010. "'Same Cat, Different Stripes': Hemispheric Migrations, New Urban Indian Identities, and the Consolidation of a Cosmopolitan Cosmopolitanism." In *Indigenous Cosmopolitans: Transnational and Transcultural Indigeneity in the Twenty-First Century* ed. Maximillian C. Forte, 145-161. New York, U.S.A.: Peter Lang Publishing Inc.
- Diochon, Monica. 2014. "A Baseline Study of Entrepreneurship among First Nations Women in the Atlantic Region." *Journal of Small Business & Entrepreneurship* 27 (1): 89-112.
<http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/08276331.2014.988050>.

- Dodd, Sarah Drakopoulou, and Eleni Patra. 2002. "National Differences in Entrepreneurial Networking." *Entrepreneurship and Regional Development* 14: 117-134. doi: 10.1080/0898562011011130 4.
- Dodgson, Mark. 2011. "Exploring New Combinations in Innovation and Entrepreneurship: Social Networks, Schumpeter, and the Case of Josiah Wedgwood (1730–1795)." *Industrial and Corporate Change* 20 (4): 1119-1151. doi: 10.1093/icc/dtr021.
- Dowling, Robyn. 2010. "Power, Subjectivity, and Ethics in Qualitative Research." In *Qualitative Research Methods in Human Geography*, ed. Iain Hay, 26-39. Don Mills, Ontario: Oxford University Press.
- Drucker, Peter F.. 1986. *Innovation and Entrepreneurship: Practice and Principles*. London, Great Britain: William Heinemann Ltd.
- Dudgeon, Pat, Darren Garvey, and Harry Pickett. 2000. "A Cultural History." In *Working with Indigenous Australians: A Handbook for Psychologists*, eds Pat Dudgeon, Darren Garvey and Harry Pickett, 27-30. Perth, WA: Gunada Press.
- Dudgeon, Pat, Michael Wright, Yin Paradies, Darren Garvey, and Iain Walker. 2010. "The Social, Cultural and Historical Context of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Australians." In *Working Together: Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Mental Health and Wellbeing Principles and Practice*, edited by Nola Purdie, Pat Dudgeon and Roz Walker, Canberra, A.C.T.: Commonwealth of Australia.
- Dunn, Kevin. 2010. "'Doing' Qualitative Research in Human Geography." In *Qualitative Research Methods in Human Geography*, ed. Iain Hay, 101-138. Don Mills, Ontario: Oxford University Press.
- Dzisi, Smile. 2008. "Entrepreneurial Activities of Indigenous African Women: A Case of Ghana." *Journal of Enterprising Communities: People and Places in the Global Economy* 2 (3): 254-264.
<http://dx.doi.org/10.1108/17506200810897231>.
- Flinders University. 2012. "Appropriate Terminology, Representations and Protocols of Acknowledgement for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peoples." https://www.flinders.edu.au/staff-development-files/CDIP%20documents/CDIP%20Toolkit%202012/2_%20Appropriate%20Terminology,%20Indigenous%20Australians.pdf.

- Flood, Josephine. 2006. *The Original Australians: Story of the Aboriginal People*. NSW, Australia: Allen & Unwin.
- Foley, Charmaine, and Ian Watson. 2001. *A People's Movement: Reconciliation in Queensland*. Queensland, Australia: Keeaira Press.
- Foley, Dennis. 2006a. "Does Business Success Make You Any Less Indigenous?" *International Entrepreneurship*: 241-257.
http://www.academia.edu/17764576/Does_business_success_make_you_any_less_indigenous
- Foley, Dennis. 2006b. "Indigenous Australian Entrepreneurs: Not All Community Organisations, Not All in the Outback." Canberra, Australia: Centre for Aboriginal Economic Policy Research.
- Foley, Dennis. 2008. "Does Culture and Social Capital Impact on the Networking Attributes of Indigenous Entrepreneurs?" *Journal of Enterprising Communities: People and Places in the Global Economy* 2 (3): 204-224.
<http://dx.doi.org/10.1108/17506200810897204>.
- Foley, Dennis. 2010a. "Can We Educate and Train Aboriginal Leaders within Our Tertiary Education Systems?" *The Australian Journal of Indigenous Education* 39: 138-150.
<http://search.informit.com.au/documentSummary;dn=634435019984472;res=IELIND>.
- Foley, Dennis. 2010b. "The Function of Social (and Human) Capital as Antecedents on Indigenous Entrepreneurs Networking." *New Zealand Journal of Employment Relations* 35 (1): 65-88. http://novaprd-lb.newcastle.edu.au/vital/access/manager/Repository/uon:9654;jsessionid=D167C55FCCCE3EE0B092E8E28582D27B?f0=sm_subject%3A%22Australian+Aboriginals+entrepreneurs%22.
- Foley, Dennis. 2010c. "Enterprise and Entrepreneurship Are Not Un-Aboriginal." *Journal of Australian Indigenous Issues* 13 (4): 85-93.
<http://nova.newcastle.edu.au/vital/access/manager/Repository/uon:9652>.
- Foley, Dennis. 2012a. "Teaching Entrepreneurship to Indigenous and Other Minorities: Towards a Strong Sense of Self, Tangible Skills and Active Participation within Society." *Journal of Business Diversity* 12 (2): 59-74.

- Foley, Dennis. 2012b. "Aboriginal Entrepreneurship in Australia: Eight Thousand Years of Continuous Enterprise." *Journal of Australian Indigenous issues* 15 (4).
- Foley, Dennis, and Boyd Hunter. 2008. "Submission to the House of Representatives Standing Committee on Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Affairs (Horscotsia) Inquiry 'Developing Indigenous Enterprises-the Road to Economic Independence'."
- Fort, Warrick. 2013. "How Effective Are Reconciliation Action Plans? Strengthening Indigenous Values." Planning Dissertation. Department of Urban and Regional Planning. Curtin University Perth, Australia.
- Forte, Maximillian C. 2010. "Introduction." In *Indigenous Cosmopolitans: Transnational and Transcultural Indigeneity in the Twenty-First Century*, ed. Maximillian C. Forte. New York, U.S.A.: Peter Lang Publishing Inc.
- Frederick, Howard H., and Dennis Foley. 2006. "Indigenous Populations as Disadvantaged Entrepreneurs in Australia and New Zealand." *The International Indigenous Journal of Entrepreneurship, Advancement, Strategy and Education*: 1-16.
<http://www.indigenousjournal.com/IJJEASVolIIIss2Frederick.pdf>.
- Frederick, Howard H., and Donald F. Kuratko. 2010. *Entrepreneurship: Theory, Process, Practice*. South Melbourne, Australia: Cengage Learning.
- Fuller, Don, and Anne Gleeson. 2007. "Sustainable Indigenous Community Economic Development in Australia." In *Striving for Sustainability: Case Studies in Indigenous Tourism*, ed. Jeremy Bultjens and Don Fuller, 1-35. Lismore NSW: Southern Cross University Press.
- Furneaux, Craig W., and Kerry A. Brown. 2008. "Australian Indigenous Entrepreneurships: A Capital-Based View." *International Journal of Entrepreneurship and Innovation* 9 (2): 133-144.
<http://eprints.qut.edu.au/14234/>.
- Galbraith, Craig S., Carlos L. Rodriguez, and Curt S. Stiles. 2006. "False Myths and Indigenous Entrepreneurial Strategies." *Journal of Small Business and Entrepreneurship* 19 (1): 1-20.
http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=1497735.

- Gale, Deborah. 2008. "Walking an Epistemological Tightrope - the Challenges of Conducting Funded Indigenous Tourism Enterprise Research." In *CAUTHE 2008 Conference, Gold Coast International Hotel, Australia*, 1-9.
<http://search.informit.com.au/fullText;dn=997280555019874;res=IELBUS>.
- Gallagher, Bryan, and Thomas B. Lawrence. 2012. "Entrepreneurship and Indigenous Identity: A Study of Identity Work by Indigenous Entrepreneurs in British Columbia." *International Journal of Entrepreneurship and Small Business* 17 (4): 395-414.
<http://www.inderscience.com/info/inarticle.php?artid=50162>.
- Gibson-Graham, J. K. 2008. "Diverse Economies: Performative Practices for 'Other Worlds'." *Progress in Human Geography* 32 (5): 613-632.
http://search.proquest.com.dbgw.lis.curtin.edu.au/docview/230692316?r_id=info%3Axri%2Fsid%3Aprimo.
- Gibson-Graham, J. K. 2014. "Rethinking the Economy with Thick Description and Weak Theory." *Current Anthropology* 55 (9): 147-153. doi: 10.1086/676646.
- Gilbert, David. 2014. "Science-Art." In *Introducing Human Geographies*, eds Paul Cloke, Philip Crang and Mark Goodwin, 97-116. Oxon, England: Routledge.
- Godley, Andrew, and Mark Casson. 2010. "History of Entrepreneurship: Britain, 1900-2000." In *The Invention of Enterprise: Entrepreneurship from Ancient Mesopotamia to Modern Times*, eds David S. Landes, Joel Mokyr and William J. Baumol. New Jersey, U.S.A: Princeton University Press.
- Gouvea, Raul. 2014. "Sustainability and Entrepreneurship: Fostering Indigenous Entrepreneurship in the Brazilian Amazon Region." *International Journal of Social Ecology and Sustainable Development* 5 (3): 48-64.
<http://www.igi-global.com.dbgw.lis.curtin.edu.au/gateway/article/full-text-pdf/120104>.
- Government of Western Australia. 2012. "Rottneest Island Authority Reconciliation Action Plan." Perth, Western Australia: The Government of Western Australia.

- Grant, Randy R., Kandice L. Kleiber, and Charles E. McAllister. 2005. "Should Australian Aborigines Succumb to Capitalism?" *Journal of Economic Issues* 39 (2): 391-400. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4228151>.
- Grassby, Al, and Marji Hill. 1988. *Six Australian Battlefields: The Black Resistance to Invasion and the White Struggle against Colonial Oppression*. North Ryde, NSW: Angus & Robertson Publishers.
- Greenwood, Margo. 2014. "Walking in the Interfaces: A Story of Coming to Know." In *Enhancing Mātauranga: Māori and Global Indigenous Knowledge*, 135-149. Wellington, New Zealand: New Zealand Qualifications Authority.
- Greve, Arent, and Janet W. Salaff. 2003. "Social Networks and Entrepreneurship." *Entrepreneurship Theory and Practice* 28 (1): 1-22. doi: 10.1111/1540-8520.00029.
- Groenfeldt, D. 2003. "The Future of Indigenous Values: Cultural Relativism in the Face of Economic Development." *Futures* 35 (9): 917-929. http://edocs.library.curtin.edu.au/eres_display.cgi?url=DC65082914.pdf.
- Gunstone, Andrew, and Ian McGinn. 2011. "Reconciliation Groups in Gippsland." In *Reconciliation in Regional Australia: Case Studies from Gippsland* ed. Andrew Gunstone, 153-166. Victoria, Australia: Australian Scholarly Publishing.
- Harben, Sandra, and Leonard Collard. 2009. "Literature Review for Avon Basin Noongar Heritage and Cultural Significance of Natural Resources." https://www.wheatbeltnrm.org.au/sites/default/files/knowledge_hub/documents/RTKlitweb.pdf.
- Harper, David A. 2003. *Foundations of Entrepreneurship and Economic Development*. Oxon, England: Routledge.
- Harrison, Rodney. 2012. *Heritage: Critical Approaches*. New York, U.S.A.: Routledge.
- Healey, Justin. 2001. "The Stolen Generations". In *Issues in Society*, 7-14. Rozelle, N.S.W.: The Spinney Press.
- Hebert, Robert F., and Albert N. Link. 1982. *The Entrepreneur: Mainstream Views and Radical Critiques*. New York, U.S.A.: Praeger Publishers.
- Heilbroner, Robert L.. 1972. *The Making of Economic Society*. 4th ed. New Jersey, U.S.A.: Prentice-Hall.

- Higgins-Desbiolles, Freya, George Trevorrow, and Syd Sparrow. 2014. "The Coorong Wilderness Lodge: A Case Study of Planning Failures in Indigenous Tourism." *Tourism Management* 44: 46-57.
<http://www.sciencedirect.com.dbgw.lis.curtin.edu.au/science/article/pii/S0261517714000351>.
- Hindle, Kevin. 2010. "How Community Context Affects Entrepreneurial Process: A Diagnostic Framework." *Entrepreneurship and Regional Development* 22 (7): 599-647.
<http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/08985626.2010.522057#.U2CgOLGQ-Uk>.
- Hindle, Kevin, and Michele Lansdowne. 2005. "Brave Spirits on New Paths: Toward a Globally Relevant Paradigm of Indigenous Entrepreneurship Research." *Journal of Small Business and Entrepreneurship* 18 (2): 131-142. <http://dro.deakin.edu.au/view/DU:30029649>.
- Hindle, Kevin, and Peter Moroz. 2010. "Indigenous Entrepreneurship as a Research Field: Developing a Definitional Framework from the Emerging Canon." *International Entrepreneurship and Management Journal* 6 (4): 357-385. <http://link.springer.com/article/10.1007%2Fs11365-009-0111-x>.
- Hindle, Kevin, Robert B. Anderson, Robert J. Giberson, and Bob Kayseas. 2005. "Relating Practice to Theory in Indigenous Entrepreneurship: A Pilot Investigation of the Kitsaki Partnership Portfolio." *American Indian Quarterly* 29 (1/2): 1-23. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4138799>.
- Hirtle, Jeannine St Pierre. 1996. "Coming to Terms." *The English Journal* 85 (1): 91-92.
<http://www.jstor.org.dbgw.lis.curtin.edu.au/stable/pdf/821136.pdf?acceptTC=true>.
- Hiscock, Peter. 2008. *Archaeology of Ancient Australia*. Oxon, England: Routledge.
- Hoang, Ha, and Bostjan Antoncic. 2003. "Network-Based Research in Entrepreneurship: A Critical Review." *Journal of Business Venturing* 18: 165-187. doi: 10.1016/S0883-9026(02)00081-2.
- Holmquist, Carin. 2003. "Is the Medium Really the Message? Moving Perspective from the Entrepreneurial Actor to the Entrepreneurial Action." In *New Movements in Entrepreneurship*, eds Chris Steyaert and Daniel Hjorth, 73-85. Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar Publishing Limited.

- Hoselitz, Bert F. 1951. "The Early History of Entrepreneurial Theory." In *Essays in Economic Thought: Part 1*, ed. J. Spengler, 234-257. Michigan, U.S.A.: Xerox University Microfilms.
- Howitt, Richard, and Gaim James Lunkapis. 2010. "Coexistence: Planning and the Challenge of Indigenous Rights." In *The Ashgate Research Companion to Planning Theory: Conceptual Challenges for Spatial Planning*, ed. Jean Hillier and Patsy Healy, 109-133. Surrey, England: Ashgate Publishing Limited.
- Howitt, Richard, Kim Doohan, Sandie Suchet-Pearson, Gaim Lunkapis, Samantha Muller, Rebecca Lawrence, Sarah Prout, Siri Veland, and Sherrie Cross. 2013. "Capacity Deficits at Cultural Interfaces of Land and Sea Governance." In *Reclaiming Indigenous Planning*, eds Ryan Walker, Ted Jojola and David Natcher, 313-335. Montreal, Canada: McGill-Queen's University Press.
- Hubbard, Phil, Rob Kitchin, Brendan Bartley, and Duncan Fuller. 2002. *Thinking Geographically: Space, Theory and Contemporary Human Geography*. London, U.K.: Continuum.
- Hunter, B. 2013. *Recent Growth in Indigenous Self-Employed and Entrepreneurs*. Centre for Aboriginal Economic Policy Research: Centre for Aboriginal Economic Policy Research.
<http://caepr.anu.edu.au/sites/default/files/Publications/WP/WP91%20Hunter%20self%20employment.pdf>
- Hunter, Rosemary. 1993. "Before Cook and after Cook: Land Rights and Legal Histories in Australia." *Social and Legal Studies* 2 (4): 487-506. doi: 10.1177/096466399300200407.
- Imas, J. Miguel, Nick Wilson, and Alia Weston. 2012. "Barefoot Entrepreneurs." *Organization* 19 (5): 563-585. doi: 10.1177/1350508412459996.
- Ingold, Tim. 2007. "Materials against Materiality." *Archaeological Dialogues* 14 (1): 1-16. doi: 10.1017/S1380203807002127.
- Jack, Sarah L. 2010. "Approaches to Studying Networks: Implications and Outcomes." *Journal of Business Venturing* 25: 120-137. doi: 10.1016/j.jbusvent.2008.10.010.
- Jacobs, Jane M. 1996. *Edge of Empire: Postcolonialism and the City*. London, England: Routledge.

- James, Sarah W. 2012. "Indigeneity and the Intercultural City." *Postcolonial Studies* 15 (2): 249-265.
<http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/13688790.2012.693045>.
- Jóhannesson, Gunnar Thór. 2012. "To Get Things Done": A Relational Approach to Entrepreneurship." *Scandinavian Journal of Hospitality and Tourism* 12 (2): 181-196. doi: 10.1080/15022250.2012.695463.
- Johannisson, Bengt. 1995. "Paradigms and Entrepreneurial Networks—Some Methodological Challenges." *Entrepreneurship & Regional Development: An International Journal* 7 (3): 215-232.
<http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/08985629500000014>.
- Johns, Gary. 2011. *Aboriginal Self-Determination: The Whiteman's Dream*. Victoria, Australia: Connor Court Publishing.
- Jojola, Ted. 2008. "Indigenous Planning—an Emerging Context." *Canadian Journal of Urban Research* 17 (1): 37-47.
<http://search.proquest.com.dbgw.lis.curtin.edu.au/docview/208739515?OpenUrlRefId=info:xri/sid:primo&accountid=10382>.
- Jojola, Ted. 2013. "Indigenous Planning: Towards a Seven Generations Model." In *Reclaiming Indigenous Planning*, eds R. Walker, T. Jojola and D. Natcher, 457-472. Montreal, Canada: McGill-Queen's University Press.
- Jones, Rhys. 1977. "The Tasmanian Paradox." In *Stone Tools as Cultural Markers: Change, Evolution and Complexity*, ed. R. V. S. Wright, 189-204. Canberra, A.C.T.: Humanities Press Inc.
- Jootun, Dev, Gerry McGhee, and Glenn R. Marland. 2009. "Reflexivity: Promoting Rigour in Qualitative Research." *Nursing Standard* 23 (23): 42-46.
<http://search.proquest.com.dbgw.lis.curtin.edu.au/docview/219890344?OpenUrlRefId=info:xri/sid:primo&accountid=10382>.
- Kao, Raymond W. Y., Kenneth R. Kao, and Rowland R. Kao. 2002. *Entrepreneurism: A Philosophy and a Sensible Alternative for the Market Economy*. London, England: Imperial College Press.
- Kariv, Dafna, Teresa V. Menzies, Gabrielle A. Brenner, and Louis Jacques Filion. 2009. "Transnational Networking and Business Performance: Ethnic Entrepreneurs in Canada." *Entrepreneurship and Regional Development* 21 (3): 239-264. doi: 10.1080/08985620802261641.

- Kearns, Robin A. 2010. "Seeing with Clarity: Undertaking Observational Research." In *Qualitative Research Methods in Human Geography*, ed. Iain Hay, 241-258. Don Mills, Ontario: Oxford University Press.
- Keelan, Teorongonui Josie, and Christine Woods. 2006. "Māuipreneur: Understanding Māori Entrepreneurship." *International Indigenous Journal* 2 (2): 1-20.
www.indigenousjournal.com/IJJEASVolIIIss1Woods.pdf.
- Keen, Ian, and Christopher Lloyd. 2012. "Introduction; Indigenous Participation in Australian Economies II: Historical Engagements and Current Enterprises." In *Indigenous Participation in Australian Economies II: Historical engagements and current enterprises*, edited by Natasha Fijn, Ian Keen, Christopher Lloyd and Michael Pickering, Canberra, A.C.T.: ANU E Press.
- Kerr, Thor, and Shaphan Cox. 2016. "Media, Machines and Might: Reproducing Western Australia's Violent State of Aboriginal Protection." *Somatechnics* 6 (1): 89-105.
http://espace.library.curtin.edu.au/webclient/StreamGate?folder_id=0&ds=1487724532264~592&usePid1=true&usePid2=true.
- Kidd, Ros. 2012. "Aboriginal Workers, Aboriginal Poverty." In *Indigenous Participation in Australian Economies II: Historical engagements and current enterprises*, edited by Natasha Fijn, Ian Keen, Christopher Lloyd and Michael Pickering, Canberra, A.C.T.: ANU E Press.
- Kitchin, Rob. 2014. "Explanation-Understanding." In *Introducing Human Geographies*, eds Paul Cloke, Philip Crang and Mark Goodwin, 117-129. Oxon, England: Routledge.
- Kleinert, Sylvia. 2010. "Aboriginal Enterprises: Negotiating an Urban Aboriginality." *Aboriginal History* 34: 171-196.
<http://search.informit.com.au.dbgw.lis.curtin.edu.au/documentSummary;dn=661098801854956;res=IELAPA>.
- Kleinert, Sylvia. 2012. "'Keeping up the Culture': Gunai Engagements with Tourism." *Oceania* 82 (1): 86-103.
<http://search.informit.com.au.dbgw.lis.curtin.edu.au/fullText;dn=201206323;res=IELAPA>.

- Klyver, Kim, and Dennis Foley. 2012. "Networking and Culture in Entrepreneurship." *Entrepreneurship and Regional Development* 24 (7): 561-588. <http://ideas.repec.org/a/taf/entreg/v24y2012i7-8p561-588.html>.
- Klyver, Kim, Kevin Hindle, and Denny Meyer. 2008. "Influence of Social Network Structure on Entrepreneurship Participation-a Study of 20 National Cultures." *International Entrepreneurship Management Journal* 4: 331-347. doi: 10.1007/s11365-007-0053-0.
- Lahn, Julie. 2012. "Poverty, Work and Social Networks: The Role of Social Capital for Aboriginal People in Urban Australian Locales." *Urban Policy and Research* 30 (3): 293-308. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/08111146.2012.673483>.
- Landstrom, Hans. 1999. "The Roots of Entrepreneurship Research." *New England Journal of Entrepreneurship* 2 (2): 9-20. <http://search.proquest.com/dbgw.lis.curtin.edu.au/docview/231215718/fulltextPDF/151BA71497D14288PQ/1?accountid=10382>.
- Landstrom, Hans. 2005. *Pioneers in Entrepreneurship and Small Business Research*. Boston, U.S.A.: Springer eBooks.
- Latour, Bruno. 1996. "On Actor-Network Theory: A Few Clarifications." *Soziale Welt* 47 (4): 369-381. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40878163>.
- Lawson, Tony. 2014. "A Conception of Social Ontology." In *Social Ontology and Modern Economics*, edited by Stephen Pratten, Oxon, England: Routledge.
- Leask, Rebecca, and Catherine Philpot. 2012. "On the Promotion of Positive Peace for Indigenous Australians: Ideas from across the Tasman." In *Peace Psychology in Australia*, edited by Diane Bretherton and Nikola Balvin, Boston, U.S.A.: Springer.
- Light, Ivan, and Leo-Paul Dana. 2013. "Boundaries of Social Capital in Entrepreneurship." *Entrepreneurship Theory and Practice* 37 (3): 603-624. doi: 10.1111/etap.12016.
- Lindgren, Monica, and Johann Packendorff. 2003. "A Project-Based View of Entrepreneurship: Towards Action-Oriented, Seriality and Collectivity." In *New Movements in Entrepreneurship*, eds Chris Steyaert and Daniel Hjorth, 86-102. Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar Publishing Limited.

- Lonner, W. J.. 1980. "The Search for Psychological Universals." In *Perspectives handbook of Cross-Cultural Psychology, Vol. 1*, eds H. C. Triandis and W. W. Lambert, 143-204. Boston, U.S.A.: Allyn and Bacon.
- Loring, Stephen. 1996. "To Please The Animal Master: The Innu Hunting Way of Life." *Tribal College* 7 (4): 20-23.
http://search.proquest.com.dbgw.lis.curtin.edu.au/docview/231686409?rft_id=info%3Axri%2Fsid%3Aprimo.
- Lourandos, Harry. 1983. "Intensification: A Late Pleistocene-Holocene Archaeological Sequence from Southwestern Victoria." *Archaeology in Oceania* 18 (2): 81-94. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40386632>.
- Lumsdaine, Edward, and Martin Binks. 2007. *Entrepreneurship from Creativity to Innovation: Effective Thinking Skills for a Changing World*. Victoria BC, Canada: Trafford Publishing.
- Martin, David F. 2015. "Does Native Title Merely Provide an Entitlement to Be Native? Indigenes, Identities, and Applied Anthropological Practice." *The Australian Journal of Anthropology* 26 (1): 112-127.
<http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com.dbgw.lis.curtin.edu.au/doi/10.1111/taja.12121/epdf>.
- Martin, Lee, and Nick Wilson. 2016. "Opportunity, Discovery and Creativity: A Critical Realist Perspective." *International Small Business Journal* 34 (3): 261-275.
<http://journals.sagepub.com.dbgw.lis.curtin.edu.au/doi/pdf/10.1177/0266242614551185>.
- Maru, Yiheyis T., and Jocelyn Davies. 2011. "Supporting cross-cultural brokers is essential for employment among Aboriginal people in remote Australia." *The Rangeland Journal*. 33 (4): 327-338.
<https://doi.org/10.1071/RJ11022>
- Mason, Clara. 1988. "Koorie Soldiers." In *La Perouse: The Place, the People and the Sea*, ed. Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, 45-47. Canberra, A.C.T.: Aboriginal Studies Press.
- Matunga, Hirini. 2013. "Theorizing Indigenous Planning." In *Reclaiming Indigenous Planning*, eds R. Walker, T. Jojola and D. Natcher, 3-32. Montreal, Canada: McGill-Queen's University Press.

- Mauss, Marcel. 2002. *The Gift: The Form and Reason for Exchange in Archaic Societies*. London, U.K.: Routledge. <https://libcom.org/files/Mauss%20-%20The%20Gift.pdf>.
- Max-Neef, Manfred A. 1992. *From the Outside Looking In: Experiences in 'Barefoot Economics'*. London, UK: Zed Books.
- Maynard, John. 2014. "Marching to a Different Beat: The Influence of the International Black Diaspora on Aboriginal Australia." In *Indigenous Networks: Mobility, Connections and Exchange*, eds Jane Carey and Jane Lydon, 262-272. Florence, Italy: Taylor and Francis.
- Mayring, Philipp. 2000. "Qualitative Content Analysis." *Forum: Qualitative Social Research* 1 (2): 1-10. <http://nbnresolving.de/urn:nbn:de:0114-fqs0002204>.
- Meyer, Manulani Aluli. 2014. "Indigenous Epistemology: Spirit Revealed." In *Enhancing Mātauranga: Māori and Global Indigenous Knowledge*, 151-164. Wellington, New Zealand: New Zealand Qualifications Authority.
- Mitchell, J. Clyde. 1973. "Networks, Norms and Institutions." In *Network Analysis Studies in Human Interaction*, ed. Jeremy and J. Clyde Mitchell Boissevain, 2-35. Paris, France: Mouton & Co.
- Morley, S. 2014. *Success Factors for Indigenous Entrepreneurs and Community-Based Enterprises*. Australian Institute of Health and Welfare & Australian Institute of Family Studies. <http://www.aihw.gov.au/WorkArea/DownloadAsset.aspx?id=60129546986>.
- Moyal, Ann. 1987. "Invention and Innovation in Australia: The Historian's Lens." *Prometheus: Critical Studies in Innovation* 5 (1): 92-110. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/08109028708629415>.
- Murdoch, Jonathan. 1998. "The Spaces of Actor-Network Theory." *Geoforum* 29 (4): 357-374. <http://www.sciencedirect.com.dbgw.lis.curtin.edu.au/science/article/pii/S0016718598000116#>.
- Murdoch, Jonathan. 2006. "Networking Rurality: Emergent Complexity in the Countryside." In *Handbook of Rural Studies*, eds Paul Cloke, Terry Marsden and Patrick Mooney, 171-184. London, England: Sage.

- Murray, James M. 2010. "Entrepreneurs and Entrepreneurship in Medieval Europe." In *The Invention of Enterprise: Entrepreneurship from Ancient Mesopotamia to Modern Times*, eds David S. Landes, Joel Mokyr and William J. Baumol, 88-106. New Jersey, U.S.A.: Princeton University Press.
- Murray, Tom. 2004. "Dhakiyarr Vs the King: Study Guide." http://sa-staging.com/programs/teachers_notes/8660_dhakiyarrnotes.pdf.
- Musgrove, P. 1974. "Why a Boomerang Returns." *New Scientist* 61: 186-189.
- Musgrove, P. 1975. "Prehistoric Aeronautics." *Hemisphere* 19 (9): 10-14.
- National Health and Medical Research Council. 2014. "National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research." Canberra, Australia.
- Naudé, Wim A., and J. J. D. Havenga. 2007. "An Overview of African Entrepreneurship and Small Business Research." In *International Handbook of Research on Indigenous Entrepreneurship*, eds Leo-Paul Dana and Robert B. Anderson, 28-45. Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar Publishing Limited.
- Nielsen, Noah, and Erica Wilson. 2012. "From Invisible to Indigenous-Driven: A Critical Typology of Research in Indigenous Tourism." *Journal of Hospitality and Tourism Management* 19: 1-9.
- Nugent, Maria. 2005. *Botany Bay: Where Histories Meet*. Crows Nest, New South Wales: Allen & Unwin.
- Nugent, Maria. 2012. "An Economy of Shells: A Brief History of La Perouse Aboriginal Women's Shell-Work and Its Markets, 1880–2010." In *Indigenous Participation in Australian Economies II: Historical engagements and current enterprises*, edited by Natasha Fijn, Ian Keen, Christopher Lloyd and Michael Pickering, Canberra, A.C.T.: ANU E Press.
- Nyseth, Torill, and Paul Pedersen. 2014. "Urban Sámi Identities in Scandinavia: Hybridities, Ambivalences and Cultural Innovation." *Acta Borealia: A Nordic Journal of Circumpolar Societies* 31 (2): 131-151. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/08003831.2014.967976>.
- Oakley, Susan, and Louise Johnson. 2012. "Place-Taking and Place-Making in Waterfront Renewal, Australia." *Urban Studies* 50 (2): 341-355. <http://usj.sagepub.com/content/50/2/341>.

- Ogbor, John O. 2000. "Mythicizing and Reification in Entrepreneurial Discourse: Ideology-Critique of Entrepreneurial Studies." *Journal of Management Studies* 37 (5): 605-635.
- Okpara, Friday O. 2007. "The Value of Creativity and Innovation in Entrepreneurship." *Journal of Asia Entrepreneurship and Sustainability* 3 (2): 1-14.
http://search.proquest.com.dbgw.lis.curtin.edu.au/docview/213619364?r_id=info%3Axri%2Fsid%3Aprimo.
- Opie, Redvers. 1968. "Translator's Note." In *The Theory of Economic Development: An Inquiry into Profits, Capital, Credit, Interest, and the Business Cycle*, ed. Redvers Opie. Massachusetts, U.S.A.: Harvard University Press.
- O'Reilly, Karen. 2005. *Ethnographic Methods*. Oxon, England: Routledge.
- Ord, Duncan, and Tim Mazzarol. 2007. "Unlocking the Economic Potential of an Australian Indigenous Community." In *International Handbook of Research on Indigenous Entrepreneurship*, eds Leo-Paul Dana and Robert B. Anderson, 508-525. Cheltenham, U.K.: Edward Elgar.
- Parkhe, Arvind, Stanley Wasserman, and David A. Ralston. 2006. "New Frontiers in Network Theory Development." *Academy of Management Review* 31 (3): 560-568. <http://dx.doi.org/10.5465/AMR.2006.21318917>.
- Pascoe, Bruce. 2010. *The Little Red Yellow Black Book: An Introduction to Indigenous Australia*. Canberra, A.C.T.: Aboriginal Studies Press.
- Pavel, Thomas G. 1981. "Fiction and the Ontological Landscape." *Studies in 20th & 21st Century Literature* 6 (1): 149-163.
<http://newprairiepress.org/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1630&context=sttcl>.
- Pearson, Cecil A. L., and Sandra Daff. 2012. "Transcending Hunter Gatherer Pursuits While Balancing Customary Cultural Ideals with Market Forces of Advanced Western Societies: Extending the Traditional Boundaries of Indigenous Yolngu People of the Northern Territory of Australia." *International Journal of Cultural Studies* 16 (2): 189-208.
<http://ics.sagepub.com/content/16/2/189>.
- Pearson, Cecil A. L., and Klaus Helms. 2012. "Conversations with Australian Indigenous Females Revealing Their Motives When Establishing a Sustainable Small Business." *Information Management and Business*

Review 4 (6): 299-310.

[http://search.proquest.com.dbgw.lis.curtin.edu.au/docview/1030094596?
rfr_id=info%3Axri%2Fsid%3Aprimo](http://search.proquest.com.dbgw.lis.curtin.edu.au/docview/1030094596?rfr_id=info%3Axri%2Fsid%3Aprimo).

Pearson, Cecil A. L., and Klaus Helms. 2013. "Indigenous Social Entrepreneurship: The Gumatj Clan Enterprise in East Arnhem Land." *Journal of Entrepreneurship* 22 (1): 43-70.

<http://joe.sagepub.com/content/22/1/43.abstract>.

Pellandini-Simanyi, Lena. 2014. "Bourdieu, Ethics and Symbolic Power." *The Sociological Review* 62 (4): 651-674.

[http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com.dbgw.lis.curtin.edu.au/doi/10.1111/1467-
954X.12210/epdf](http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com.dbgw.lis.curtin.edu.au/doi/10.1111/1467-954X.12210/epdf).

Peredo, Ana Maria, Robert B. Anderson, Craig S. Galbraith, Benson Honig, and Leo Paul Dana. 2004. "Toward a Theory of Indigenous Entrepreneurship." *International Journal of Entrepreneurship and Small Business* 1 (1): 1-20. http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=1276522.

Peredo, Ana Maria, and Murdith McLean. 2010. "Indigenous Development and the Cultural Captivity of Entrepreneurship." *Business and Society* 52 (4): 592-620. <http://bas.sagepub.com/content/52/4/592>.

Peters, Evelyn, and Chris Andersen. 2013. "Introduction." In *Indigenous in the City: Contemporary Identities and Cultural Innovation*, eds Evelyn Peters and Chris Andersen, 1-20. Vancouver, Canada: UBC Press.

Pieris, Anoma. 2012. "Occupying the Centre: Indigenous Presence in the Australian Capital City." *Postcolonial Studies* 15 (2): 221-248.

[http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/13688790.2012.708317?jo
urnalCode=cpcs20#preview](http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/13688790.2012.708317?journalCode=cpcs20#preview).

Pol, Eduardo. 2007. "An Appreciative Model of Schumpeterian Evolution."

University of Wollongong, Faculty of Business - Economics Working papers.

[http://ro.uow.edu.au/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1183&context=commw
kpapers](http://ro.uow.edu.au/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1183&context=commwkpapers).

Polanyi, Karl. 1944. "Societies and Economic Systems." In *Primitive, Archaic and Modern Economies: Essays of Karl Polanyi*, ed. George Dalton, 3-25. Boston, U.S.A.: Beacon Press.

- Polanyi, Karl. 1957. *Trade and Market in the Early Empires: Economics in History and Theory*. Edited by Karl Polanyi, Conrad M. Arensberg and Harry W. Pearson. New York: U.S.A.: Free Press.
- Poli, Roberto, and Johanna Seibt. 2010. "Preface." In *Theory and Applications of Ontology: Philosophical Perspectives*, edited by Roberto Poli and Johanna Seibt, London, England: Springer.
- Porsanger, Jelena. 2004. "An Essay about Indigenous Methodology." *Tidsskrift i litteratur og kultur: Special Issue on Northern Minorities* 8 (1): 105-120. <https://www.ub.uit.no/baser/septentrio/index.php/nordlit/article/view/1910/1776>.
- Porter, Libby. 2013. "Coexistence in Cities: The Challenge of Indigenous Urban Planning in the Twenty-First Century." In *Reclaiming Indigenous Planning*, eds R Walker, T. Jojola and D. Natcher, 283-310. Montreal, Canada: McGill-Queen's University Press.
- Porter, Libby. 2014. "Possessory Politics and the Conceit of Procedure: Exposing the Cost of Rights under Conditions of Dispossession." *Planning Theory* 13 (4): 387-406. <http://plt.sagepub.com.dbgw.lis.curtin.edu.au/content/13/4/387.full.pdf+html>.
- Pratten, Stephen. 2014a. "Introduction." In *Social Ontology and Modern Economics*, ed. Stephen Pratten, 1-16. Oxon, England: Routledge.
- Pratten, Stephen. 2014b. "The Scope of Ontological Theorising." In *Social Ontology and Modern Economics*, ed. Stephen Pratten, 68-94. Oxon, England: Routledge.
- Proulx, Craig. 2010. "Aboriginal Hip Hoppers: Representin' Aboriginality in Cosmopolitan Worlds." In *Indigenous Cosmopolitans: Transnational and Transcultural Indigeneity in the Twenty-First Century*, ed. Maximillian C. Forte, 40-61. New York, U.S.A.: Peter Lang Publishing Inc.
- Putnam, Robert D. 2000. *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community*. New York, USA: Simon & Schuster.
- Redmond, Anthony. 2012. "Tracking Wurnan: Transformations in the Trade and Exchange of Resources in the Northern Kimberley." In *Indigenous Participation in Australian Economies II: Historical engagements and*

- current enterprises*, edited by Natasha Fijn, Ian Keen, Christopher Lloyd and Michael Pickering, Canberra, A.C.T.: ANU E Press.
- Redmond, Anthony, and Fiona Skyring. 2010. "Exchange and Appropriation: The Wurnan Economy and Aboriginal Land and Labour at Karunjie Station, North-Western Australia." In *Indigenous Participation in Australian Economies: Historical and anthropological perspectives*, edited by Ian Keen, Canberra, A.C.T.: ANU E Press.
- Rigney, Lester-Irabinna. 1999. "Internationalization of an Indigenous Anticolonial Cultural Critique of Research Methodologies: A Guide to Indigenist Research Methodology and Its Principles." *Wicazo Sa Review: Emergent Ideas in Native American Studies* 14 (2): 109-121.
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/1409555>.
- Robertson, Francesca, Glen Stasiuk, Noel Nannup, and Stephen D. Hopper. 2016. "Ngalak Koora Koora Djinang (Looking Back Together): A Nyoongar and Scientific Collaborative History of Ancient Nyoongar Boodja." *Australian Aboriginal Studies* (1): 40-54.
<http://search.informit.com.au.dbgw.lis.curtin.edu.au/fullText;dn=220817786606525;res=IELAPA>.
- Rosaldo, Renato. 1995. "Foreword." In *Hybrid Cultures: Strategies for Entering and Leaving Modernity*, xi-xvii. Minneapolis, U.S.A.: University of Minnesota press.
- Rose, Deborah Bird. 1996. *Nourishing Terrains: Australian Aboriginal Views of Landscape and Wilderness*. Canberra, A.C.T.: Australian Heritage Commission.
- Royal Commission into Aboriginal Deaths in Custody. 1991. "Recommendations of the Royal Commission into Aboriginal Deaths in Custody." Canberra: Commonwealth of Australia.
- Russell, Lynette. 2014. "'The Singular Transcultural Space': Networks of Ships, Mariners, Voyagers and 'Native' Men at Sea, 1790-1870." In *Indigenous Networks: Mobility, Connections and Exchange*, eds Jane Carey and Jane Lydon, 97-113. Florence, Italy: Taylor and Francis.
- Russell-Mundine, Gabrielle. 2007. "Key Factors for the Successful Development of Australian Indigenous Entrepreneurship." *Tourism* 55 (4): 417-429.
<http://trove.nla.gov.au/version/7349834>.

- Sabbioni, Jennifer. 1998. "Preface; Indigenous Australian Voices: A Reader " In *Indigenous Australian Voices: A Reader* eds Jennifer Sabbioni, Kay Schaffer and Sidonie Smith, xix-xxxi. USA: Rutgers University Press.
- Sachs, Wolfgang. 2010. "Preface to the New Edition." In *The Development Dictionary: A Guide to Knowledge as Power*, edited by Wolfgang Sachs, London, England: Zed Books.
- Say, Jean-Baptiste. 1964. *A Treatise on Political Economy or the Production, Distribution and Consumption of Wealth*. New York, U.S.A.: Augustus M. Kelley.
- Schaper, Michael. 2007. "Aboriginal and Torres Islander Entrepreneurship in Australia: Looking Forward, Looking Back." In *International Handbook of Research on Indigenous Entrepreneurship*, eds Leo-Paul Dana and Robert B. Anderson, 526-535. Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar Publishing Limited.
- Scheurich, James Joseph, and Michelle D. Young. 1997. "Coloring Epistemologies: Are Our Research Epistemologies Racially Biased?" *Educational Researcher* 26 (4): 4-16. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1176879>.
- Schramm, Carl J. 2010. "Foreword." In *The Invention of Enterprise: Entrepreneurship from Ancient Mesopotamia to Modern Times*, eds David S. Landes, Joel Mokyr and William J. Baumol, vii-viii. New Jersey, U.S.A.: Princeton University Press.
- Schumpeter, Joseph A. 1962. *Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy*. Third ed. New York, U.S.A.: Harper Torchbooks.
- Schumpeter, Joseph A. 1968. *The Theory of Economic Development: An Inquiry into Profits, Capital, Credit, Interest, and the Business Cycle*. Massachusetts, U.S.A.: Harvard University Press.
- Shepherd, Robert. 2002. "Commodification, Culture and Tourism." *Tourist Studies* 2 (2): 183-201. <http://tou.sagepub.com.dbgw.lis.curtin.edu.au/content/2/2/183.full.pdf+html>.
- Shinnar, Rachel S., Olivier Giacomini, and Frank Janssen. 2012. "Entrepreneurial Perceptions and Intentions: The Role of Gender and Culture." *Entrepreneurship Theory and Practice* 36 (3): 465-493. doi: 10.1111/j.1540-6520.2012.00509.x.

- Short, John Rennie. 2012. "Representing Country in the Creative Postcolonial City." *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 102 (1): 129-150. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/00045608.2011.583576>.
- Simpson, Audra, and Gail Landsman. 2014. *Mohawk Interruptus: Political Life across the Borders of Settler States*. Durham, U.S.A.: Duke University press.
- Sirolli, Ernesto. 1999. *Ripples from the Zambezi: Passion, Entrepreneurship, and the Rebirth of Local Economies*. 2nd ed. British Columbia, Canada: New Society.
- Skyring, Fiona. 2012. "Low Wages, Low Rents, and Pension Cheques: The Introduction of Equal Wages in the Kimberley, 1968–1969." In *Indigenous Participation in Australian Economies II: Historical engagements and current enterprises*, edited by Natasha Fijn, Ian Keen, Christopher Lloyd and Michael Pickering, Canberra, A.C.T.: ANU E Press.
- Slotte-Kock, Susanna, and Nicole Coviello. 2010. "Entrepreneurship Research on Network Processes: A Review and Ways Forward." *Entrepreneurship Theory and Practice* 34 (1): 31-57. doi: 10.1111/j.1540-6520.2009.00311.x.
- Smajs, Josef. 2008. *Evolutionary Ontology: Reclaiming the Value of Nature by Transforming Culture*. New York, U.S.A.: Rodopi.
- Smith, M. A. 1986. "The Antiquity of Seedgrinding in Arid Australia." *Archaeology in Oceania* 21 (1): 29-39. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40386709>.
- Smith, Michael E. 2004. "The Archaeology of Ancient State Economies." *Annual Review of Anthropology* 33: 73-102. doi: 10.1146/annurev.anthro.33.070203.144016.
- Stake, Robert E. 1995. *The Art of Case Study Research*. Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publications.
- Stanner, W. E. H. 1953. "The Dreaming." In *White Man Got No Dreaming: Essays 1938-1973*, ed. W. E. H. Stanner, 23-40. Canberra, A.C.T.: Australian National University Press.
- Stanner, W. E. H. 1966. "Industrial Justice in the Never-Never." In *White Man Got No Dreaming: Essays 1938-1973*, ed. W. E. H. Stanner, 249-268. Canberra, A.C.T.: Australian National University Press.

- Steyaert, Chris. 1997. "A Qualitative Methodology for Process Studies of Entrepreneurship: Creating Local Knowledge through Stories." *International Studies of Management & Organization* 27 (3): 13-33.
<http://www-tandfonline-com.dbgw.lis.curtin.edu.au/doi/abs/10.1080/00208825.1997.11656711>.
- Steyaert, Chris, and Daniel Hjorth. 2003. "Creative Movements of Entrepreneurship." In *New Movements in Entrepreneurship*, eds Chris Steyaert and Daniel Hjorth, 3-19. Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar Publishing Limited.
- Steyaert, Chris, and Jerome Katz. 2004. "Reclaiming the Space of Entrepreneurship in Society: Geographical, Discursive and Social Dimensions." *Entrepreneurship & Regional Development* 16 (3): 179-196.
<http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/0898562042000197135?journalCode=tepn20#preview>.
- Tapsell, Paul, and Christine Woods. 2008. "Potikitanga: Indigenous Entrepreneurship in a Maori Context." *Journal of Enterprising Communities: People and Places in the Global Economy* 2 (3): 192-203.
<http://dx.doi.org/10.1108/17506200810897196>.
- Taylor, John 2013. "Indigenous Urbanization in Australia." In *Indigenous in the City: Contemporary Identities and Cultural Innovation*, edited by Evelyn Peters and Chris Andersen, Vancouver, Canada: UBC Press.
- Tedmanson, Deirdre, Karen Verduyn, Caroline Essers, and William B. Gartner. 2012. "Critical Perspectives in Entrepreneurship Research." *Organisation* 19 (5): 531-541. doi: 10.1177/1350508412458495.
- Thornton, George. 1883. "Report of the Protector of the Aborigines." edited by New South Wales Legislative Assembly, New South Wales: New South Wales Legislative Assembly.
- Tinsley, Ross, and Paul Lynch. 2001. "Small Tourism Business Networks and Destination Development." *Hospitality Management* 20: 367-378.
www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S027843190100024X.
- Todd, Roy. 2012. "Young Urban Aboriginal Women Entrepreneurs: Social Capital, Complex Transitions and Community Support." *British Journal of Canadian Studies* 25 (1-20).

[http://search.proquest.com.dbgw.lis.curtin.edu.au/docview/1011059629?
rft_id=info%3Axri%2Fsid%3Aprimo](http://search.proquest.com.dbgw.lis.curtin.edu.au/docview/1011059629?rft_id=info%3Axri%2Fsid%3Aprimo).

- Todeva, Emanuela. 2006. *Business Networks: Strategy and Structure*. Oxon, England: Routledge.
- Tsing, Anna. 2005. *Friction: An Ethnography of Global Connection*. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press.
- Unemoto, Kare. 2001. "Walking in Another's Shoes: Epistemological Challenges in Participatory Planning." *Journal of Planning Education and Research* 21 (1): 17-31. <http://jpe.sagepub.com/content/21/1/17>.
- Van de Ven, Andrew H. 1995. "The Development of an Infrastructure for Entrepreneurship." In *Entrepreneurship: Perspectives on Theory-Building*, eds Ivan Bull, Howard Thomas and Gary Willard, 39-66. Oxford, UK: Pergamon.
- Verduijn, Karen, and Carloline Essers. 2013. "Questioning Dominant Entrepreneurship Assumptions: The Case of Female Ethnic Minority Entrepreneurs." *Entrepreneurship & Regional Development: An International Journal* 25 (7-8): 612-630.
<http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/08985626.2013.814718>.
- Walker, Katherine, and Carolee Buckler. 2009. "Northern Entrepreneurship." Canada: International Institute for Sustainable Development.
- Watson, Mark K. 2010. "Diasporic Indigeneity: Place and the Articulation of Ainu Identity in Tokyo, Japan." *Environment and Planning A* 42 (2): 268-284.
<http://epn.sagepub.com.dbgw.lis.curtin.edu.au/content/42/2/268.full.pdf+html>.
- Webb, David, and David Warren. 2005. *Fremantle Beyond the Round House: 50 Fascinating Stories About Australia's Most Diverse Port City*. South Fremantle, Western Australia: Longley Books.
- Wensing, E. 2007. "Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Australians." In *Planning Australia: An Overview of Urban and Regional Planning*, ed. Susan Thompson, 225-246. Port Melbourne, Australia: Cambridge University Press.
- Wensing, Ed, and Libby Porter. 2015. "Unsettling Planning's Paradigms: Towards a Just Accommodation of Indigenous Rights and Interests in Australian

- Urban Planning?" *Australian Planner* 1-12.
<http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/07293682.2015.1118394>.
- Whadjuk Trail Network. 2017. "Noongar Information."
<http://whadjukwalkingtrails.org.au/noongar-information/>.
- White, John. 2010. "Peas, Beans and Riverbanks: Seasonal Picking and Dependence in the Tuross Valley." In *Indigenous Participation in Australian Economies: Historical and anthropological perspectives*, edited by Ian Keen, Canberra, A.C.T.: ANU E Press.
- White, John M. 2012. "Before the Mission Station: From First Encounters to the Incorporation of Settlers into Indigenous Relations of Obligation." In *Indigenous Participation in Australian Economies II: Historical engagements and current enterprises*, edited by Natasha Fijn, Ian Keen, Christopher Lloyd and Michael Pickering, Canberra, A.C.T. : ANU E Press.
- Willmott, Cory. 2014. "Radical Entrepreneurs: First Nations Designers' Approaches to Community Economic Development." *Anthropology of Work Review* XXXV (2): 95-109. doi: 10.1111/awr.12043.
- Wilson, Lindsay. 1988. *A Handbook of Traditional Torres Strait Islands Material Culture*. Queensland, Australia: National Library of Australia.
- Winchester, Hilary P.M.. 2000. "Qualitative Research and Its Place in Human Geography." In *Qualitative Research Methods in Human Geography*, ed. Iain Hay, 1-22. New York, U.S.A.: Oxford University Press.
- Wolfe, Patrick. 1991. "On Being Woken Up: The Dreamtime in Anthropology and in Australian Settler Culture." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 33 (2): 197-224. doi: 10.1017/S0010417500017011.
- Wood, Glenice J., and Marilyn J. Davidson. 2011. "A Review of Male and Female Australian Indigenous Entrepreneurs: Disadvantaged Past – Promising Future?" *Gender in Management: An International Journal* 26 (4): 311-326. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1108/17542411111144319>.
- Wyatt, Ben (MLA Western Australia). 2015. The Evolution of Aboriginal Leadership. *Pathfinders: Indigenous Business, Leadership and Social Change*, November 2015, 10-11.
<https://www.joomag.com/magazine/mag/0969945001446294195?feature=archive>.

- Yin, Robert K. 1994. *Case Study Research: Design and Methods*. USA: SAGE Publications.
- Young, Greg. 2008. "The Culturization of Planning." *Planning Theory* 7 (1): 71-91.
<http://plt.sagepub.com/content/7/1/71>.
- Yunupingu, Galarrwuy. 1996. "Concepts of Land and Spirituality." In *Aboriginal Spirituality: Past, Present, Future*, ed. Anne Pattel-Gray. Victoria, Australia: HarperCollins.
- Zehrer, Anita, and Frieda Raich. 2010. "Applying a Lifecycle Perspective to Explain Tourism Network Development." *The Service Industries Journal* 30 (10): 1683-1705.
<http://web.b.ebscohost.com.dbgw.lis.curtin.edu.au/ehost/pdfviewer/pdfviewer?sid=ff12d4cc-1bcc-4d34-a454-4d7213e2d5ff%40sessionmgr115&vid=1&hid=116>.

Every reasonable effort has been made to acknowledge the owners of copyright material. I would be pleased to hear from any copyright owner who has been omitted or incorrectly acknowledged.

Appendices

Appendix 1: Interviewee profiles

- Alice (Indigenous consultant; 20-29 year age group) is a Noongar woman who was born and raised in Perth. Her father is Aboriginal and her mother is non-Aboriginal. Prior to becoming an entrepreneur, Alice states that she “completed a very niche degree in Australian Indigenous studies”, and then worked at an executive level in a government organisation until the birth of her first child. Feeling she no longer had the same level of job security in her role, she looked into becoming an Indigenous consultant. After building a successful consultancy, she has now merged her business with that of another interviewee (Cathy, below).
- Andrew Taylor (fashion, design and retail; 30-39 year age group) is a Noongar man who was born in the town of Tammin, east of Perth, but was fortunate enough to get a scholarship following his primary education to attend Scotch College, an independent school for boys in Perth. Andrew states that the school “laid the foundations down in terms of education and career pathways and gave me a heap of options instead of farming, the local abattoir or unemployment back at home which still exists.” Andrew is the owner and head designer of clothing label and social enterprise ‘Brothaboy’.
- Anne (self-employed artist, 30-39 year age group, responses via email) identifies as both Gidja and Yamatji, but has lived in Perth most of her life. She states that “I have never lived on Gidja or Yamatji Country, only visited. As a child I have lived in other states of Australia; Victoria and Queensland, and I have also lived overseas because my father was in the Air Force.” Anne has a university degree in art and design and continues to study and build her skills, something that she says is vital as an artist and business owner.
- Anthony (self-employed artist; 20-29 year age group) is a Noongar man with an Aboriginal father and a non-Aboriginal mother. Anthony has lived in Perth since a very young age and loves working with people. He states that after leaving his previous job about five years ago, “tourism was a good next

step for me”, and aside from producing artwork, Anthony teaches art classes part time as well.

- Cathy (Indigenous consultant; 30-39 year age group, phone interview) is a Gidja woman who was raised in an Aboriginal community in the Kimberley region of Western Australia; a place that she states is “very much still home for me.” However, following the completion of her secondary schooling, Cathy lived overseas for 8 years after receiving a scholarship to undertake tertiary studies, and has lived in Perth since 2010. She began her business not long after moving to Perth, with a non-Aboriginal friend whom she first met a few years earlier when they worked together on a community event that saw them mediating between an Aboriginal community and a corporate group. This was the catalyst for creating a business that helps Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people engage in an effective and culturally appropriate way. Cathy is the majority shareholder in the business.
- David (Aboriginal tourism coordinator; 40-49 year age group) is a Noongar man with a science undergraduate degree and a postgraduate degree, who works as an ‘Aboriginal engagement officer’ for a local Perth council. David states that “people ring up all the time and say ‘can we have an Aboriginal dancer’ for an event”, or for other occasions such as Welcome to Country ceremonies. Accordingly, he spends a lot of time in his role putting people in touch with entrepreneurs such as Indigenous consultants and education providers. He has also worked for the South West Aboriginal Land and Sea Council and is currently a board member of another prominent Noongar organisation.
- Elaine (non-Aboriginal tourism consultant; 40-49 year age group) began working in the area of Aboriginal economic development almost 20 years ago, when tourism was identified as a key industry sector that was expected to grow. She states that at the time, “no one really knew anything about the status of the Aboriginal tourism industry, because they weren’t really part of any mainstream body, so no one had any idea who was operating out there.” She has since worked for peak tourism bodies in Western Australia such as Tourism WA and WAITOC, and has helped to organise a number of state and national conferences for tourism operators over the years.

- Elizabeth (Indigenous consultant; 60 + age group, responses via email) was born in Queensland and is of Aboriginal, Torres Strait Islander, and Asian descent. She comes from a poor working class family; her father was a labourer and her mother was employed as a domestic for her entire working life. Elizabeth is a qualified teacher who worked in the State public service for 20 years during which time she overcame “numerous barriers put up to prevent [her] from progressing to higher levels.” She eventually reached a glass ceiling in her career and decided to become an Indigenous consultant. Elizabeth holds a formal business qualification and has attended numerous courses on entrepreneurship since the 1990’s. These have been held in Australia, America, and a number of Asian countries and were led by entrepreneurial figurehead and author Robert Kiyosaki. She has been an entrepreneur for almost 25 years now.
- George (artist and gallery owner; 60 + age group) is a Noongar man who was raised on a mission settlement to the north of Perth. He states that he has “been freelancing with art for years, [from] when I was a kid...then in-between work, mostly as a hobby part-time...and at exhibitions and things like that.” However, George has only committed to art full-time and become part-owner of a gallery a couple of years ago. Prior to this, George held a range of government positions for the better part of his working life.
- Graham (performance and dance; 50-59 year age group) was raised in the Kimberley region of Western Australia but spent a good deal of his life growing up in Noongar Country, and states that he was relocated at an early age “because of the mission movement separating people.” He has been an entrepreneur for over 20 years; starting and operating his dance group under the Community Development Employment Program (CDEP) until this initiative was wound up by the Howard government (in urban areas). However, by this time the dance group was able to sustain itself without government assistance to the point that the group has now toured overseas well over 50 times. Prior to becoming an entrepreneur, Graham worked for a number of government departments and the Aboriginal legal service.
- Hazel (various business interests; 60 + age group) is a Noongar woman with a number of tertiary qualifications who became an entrepreneur almost 20

years ago. Her first business venture involved travelling interstate and selling small Aboriginal gifts to the tourist market, and then she opened her first art gallery not long after. She now has a business partner (her brother, although Hazel states that she is “probably the driver” in the business) who shares ownership of the gallery. Together they sell a range of tourist-focused items, food products, and offer a catering service, and Hazel also provides cultural education and consultancy services.

- Jason (Indigenous education provider; 40-49 year age group) is a Noongar man born and raised in Perth. Jason started working as an entrepreneur over five years ago after been asked by a friend who was working as an Aboriginal tour guide if he could run the tours on weekends. He took over the business on a full-time basis after his friend moved on, and Jason has grown the business in several areas. He can now cater to larger groups of tourists; he has incorporated performance and dance into the tours, stating that “I actually paint up” for visitors which allows for photo opportunities; and, he has also designed cultural education programmes for schools which take place during both the school term and holiday periods.
- John (self-employed artist; 40-49 year age group) is a Noongar man raised in the far south of Western Australia. He produced his first set of paintings after leaving school, having no formal art-training, and they went on to sell very quickly in a local art gallery where he was living at the time. He has also gained valuable business experience selling his work from a small stall in a Perth marketplace. John’s parents are both of Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal descent, and he states that while some Noongar people “look at me and they say ‘you’re a white guy’; I know more about my traditions and culture than what they’ll ever dream of.”
- Kylie (Indigenous consultant; 40-49 year age group) is a Bardi woman who was brought up in a town in the Kimberley region of Western Australia. She has an Aboriginal mother and non-Aboriginal father, both of whom speak English as a second language. Despite this, Kylie has an undergraduate degree, a masters, an advanced diploma, has completed studies in areas related to mental health, and she lectures part-time at a Perth university. She has also worked in different states and territories as an employee of various

organisations including an Indigenous community organisation where she worked on a leadership program for young Aboriginal women, and a not-for-profit Indigenous organisation “that deals with micro-financing and small businesses.” After resigning from this position in 2012, Kylie decided to establish her consultancy.

- Maria (Indigenous consultant; 30-39 year age group, responses via email) was born in the Pilbara region of Western Australia and identifies as a member of the Ngarluma people. She was raised by her mum (whom she refers to as “inspirational”) with her four siblings and grew up around her extended family of aunts, uncles, and cousins. She says that she is very proud of her family and that her Aboriginal identity is certainly a big part of who she is. She goes on to state that she is “constantly reminded of the tough life my mum, grandparents, and great grandparents lived”, and that she is “inspired by them because they survived hard times so that I could enjoy the life I have today.” Prior to starting her consultancy business a few years ago, Maria worked as a Native Title lawyer.
- Mary (Indigenous education provider; 30-39 year age group) is a Noongar woman from Perth. Her mother is also Noongar, while her father is a Murri man from Queensland. Prior to becoming an entrepreneur, Mary worked as an Aboriginal heritage officer for a government organisation where she states one of her first roles “was in tourism delivering cultural education programmes and teaching cultural heritage to the wider community.” Mary started working as an entrepreneur part-time about fifteen years ago, and now works on her business full-time with the help of her mother and (non-Aboriginal) husband. She also partners with a Perth council to provide cultural education services to (mainly) local visitors.
- Neil (artist and gallery owner; 60 + age group) is a Noongar man who was born and raised on an Aboriginal reserve east of Perth. He left the reserve in his teens to seek employment and worked in a number of labouring positions around Western Australia. Neil moved to Perth when he was in his early twenties and completed studies in community health, then spent close to ten years working in the field of Aboriginal health. In the late 1980’s he started painting and by the year 2000 had moved to the eastern states and opened a

gallery. Neil moved back to Perth five years ago and continues to paint, and is also part-owner of a gallery (with George).

- Richard (various business interests; 40-49 year age group) was born in a small town outside of Perth, but was brought to the city at an early age for education and a better life. Richard got into business through a love of art and at the age of 16 started selling paintings to galleries. Now he “shares with the general community; art & design, cultural understanding, education, ‘Welcome to Country’ and tourism.” Richard goes on to state that he loves working in tourism but “it’s really hard to stay on the one thing” as it cannot support him all year round, so he works in many different industries, and has recently begun supplying products to the resources industry.
- Robert (non-Aboriginal tourism consultant; 50-59 year age group) has worked in the tourism industry for over 20 years, held positions with Tourism WA and other state government organisations, and has also worked closely with WAITOC in a number of roles since it was first established. In 1995, Robert began working with an ‘elder statesman’ of the Aboriginal tourism industry in Western Australia, and this relationship continued for almost a decade. Robert states that when they first met, the elder said to him, “if you want to get business going up here in the Kimberley, you need to engage Aboriginal people. So together, we started engaging Aboriginal people”, and Robert has been doing this ever since.
- Steve (various business interests; 50-59 year age group) is a Noongar man who was born and raised in a small town south of Perth. As a teenager his family moved to Perth, something that he states was “probably one of the best things mum and dad did, because it took us out of that mildly sort of rural world where there was limited opportunities.” Steve went on to work as a tradie, in a government position, and then gained a number of qualifications from university before becoming an academic. He became an entrepreneur over ten years ago, starting a consultancy at a time when he states “there weren’t too many Aboriginal businesses in consultancy.” Steve has now established three separate companies including the consultancy, and his latest venture is 49 percent-owned by a non-Aboriginal business partner.

- Susan (non-Aboriginal tourism coordinator; 40-49 year age group, phone interview) is a non-Aboriginal woman whose business works with Aboriginal tourism providers to create cultural packages/experiences for visitors. She has a background in outdoor education and started working in the tourism industry almost 20 years ago. Having travelled the world as a tour guide; living in many other countries along the way, she found herself living back in Perth about seven years ago working for a non-Aboriginal tourism business. Not long after she had “an epiphany” to start her own unique tourism business, and subsequently handed her notice in to her employer. She states that she was “the perfect candidate to work within Aboriginal tourism”, because of her experiences as a guide working with other cultures, and because she had “always lived and worked alongside Aboriginal people since her school days.”
- Tina (Indigenous consultant; 30-39 year age group) is a Kurnell woman from the Goldfields region of Western Australia. Prior to becoming an entrepreneur, Tina worked in the resources industry. Following a personal experience with racism on a work site, and seeing how poorly her complaint was handled by the resource company, she realised there was a gap in the industry where companies did not understand Indigenous people and how to talk about racism. Tina states that “I established my business with the aim of filling the gap, which is everything I do.”
- Tracey (food and clothing retailer; 40-49 year age group, phone interview) is of mixed race descent which includes English heritage, but she identifies completely as Noongar. Tracey started working in the tourism industry in a catering and food service role as a teenager. Upon turning 18, she began working in licensed venues before rising through various positions to hotel and restaurant management. Tracey then moved into the farm-stay industry and gained skills in a wide-range of areas including horse-trekking. She also developed valuable office-work skills which helped her to secure a position with Tourism WA. Tracey then identified an opportunity to sell (small) Aboriginal products to people attending conferences and events in Perth that they could easily take home. So, with more than 30 years in the tourism

industry behind her, she went on to start her own business selling a range of Aboriginal-themed products to visitors and tourists.

Appendix 2: Interview sample

Pseudonym	Language Group	Sex	Age group	Occupation	Type of interview
			KEY: A = 20-29 years old B = 30-39 years old C = 40-49 years old D = 50-59 years old E = 60 years +		
Alice	Noongar	F	A	Indigenous consultant	Face to face
Andrew	Noongar	M	B	Fashion, design and retail	Face to face
Anne	Gija and Yamatji	F	B	Self-employed artist	Email
Anthony	Noongar	M	A	Self-employed artist	Face to face
Cathy	Gija	F	B	Indigenous consultant	Phone
David	Noongar	M	C	Aboriginal tourism coordinator	Face to face
Elaine	Non-Aboriginal	F	C	Tourism consultant	Face to face
Elizabeth	Aboriginal/TSI/Chinese	F		E Indigenous consultant	Email
George	Noongar	M		E Artist and gallery owner	Face to face
Graham	Noongar	M		D Performance and dance	Face to face
Hazel	Noongar	F		E Various business interests	Face to face

Jason	Noongar	M				C			Indigenous education provider	Face to face
John	Noongar	M				C			Self-employed artist	Face to face
Kylie	Bardi		F			C			Indigenous consultant	Face to face
Maria	Ngarluma		F	B					Indigenous consultant	Email
Mary	Noongar and Murri		F	B					Indigenous education provider	Face to face
Neil	Noongar	M						E	Artist and gallery owner	Face to face
Richard	Noongar	M				C			Various business interests	Face to face
Robert	Non-Aboriginal	M						D	Tourism consultant	Face to face
Steve	Noongar	M						D	Various business interests	Face to face
Susan	Non-Aboriginal		F			C			Aboriginal tourism coordinator	Phone
Tina	Kuburn		F	B					Indigenous consultant	Face to face
Tracey	Noongar		F			C			Food and clothing retailer	Phone
Total			11	12	2	6	8	3	4	

Appendix 3: Interview questions

- 1) Can you tell me a little bit about your family and where you're from?
- 2) How did you start working as an entrepreneur?
- 3) How important were your social networks when you first started your business (family, friends, business associates, etc.)?
- 4) Has the importance of these networks changed over time?
- 5) Has the growth of these networks had any disadvantages?
- 6) What problems did you face when you started your business (this may include problems faced by any entrepreneur, as well as any that have arisen because you are Aboriginal)?
- 7) What have been the personal costs and benefits of owning a business?
- 8) What personal qualities do you think are needed to become a successful Aboriginal entrepreneur?
- 9) Who do you turn to for advice about your business?
- 10) Would you describe your elders and/or ancestors as entrepreneurial, and if so, in what ways?
- 11) Is there anything else you would like to say?
- 12) Is there anyone else you think I should speak to?



Appendix 4: Participant information sheet

Faculty of Humanities
School of Built Environment
Department of
Urban & Regional
Planning

Telephone +61 8 9266 9266

Facsimile +61 8 9266 2711

Email: SOBE.Enquiries@curtin.edu.au

Information sheet for interview participants

Project title: *What is the role of social networks (particularly extended family and business networks) in supporting Aboriginal Australian entrepreneurship in metropolitan and regional Australia?*

Project method:

- Participants will answer a short series of questions which should take around 45 minutes.
- Responses will be used along with data collected by other methods to help determine the role of networks in supporting Aboriginal entrepreneurship.
- Participation is voluntary and participants may withdraw from the project at any time without any risk of negative consequences.
- If you withdraw, any information you have provided will be returned to you upon request and will not be included in the results of the project.
- Participants' personal details will remain confidential. Names, and other information which could identify individuals, **will not be used** in any published material.
- Any decision to withdraw from the project will also be kept confidential.
- You can request a transcript of your interview to correct any information, suggest changes, or to withdraw consent to use that information.
- This project poses no risks to participants.
- Findings may be used to help WAITOC improve Aboriginal participation in the tourism industry. They will also be used in a PhD thesis, academic articles and academic presentations.

Project time-line:

This project commenced on 24/02/14, and is due for completion by 24/02/17.

Contact details for further information:

Investigator: Warrick Fort

Phone: 0424 868 882

Email: warrick.fort@postgrad.curtin.edu.au

Supervisor: Dr Tod Jones

Phone: 9266 4709

Email: T.Jones@curtin.edu.au

This study has been approved by the Curtin University Human Research Ethics Committee (Approval Number HR 203/2014). The Committee is comprised of members of the public, academics, lawyers, doctors and pastoral carers. If needed, verification of approval can be obtained either by writing to the Curtin University Human Research Ethics Committee, c/- Office of Research and Development, Curtin University, GPO Box U1987, Perth, 6845 or by telephoning 9266 9223 or by emailing hrec@curtin.edu.au



Appendix 5: Participant consent form

Faculty of Humanities
School of Built Environment
Department of
Urban & Regional
Planning

Telephone +61 8 9266 9266

Facsimile +61 8 9266 2711

Email: SOBE.Enquiries@curtin.edu.au

Consent form for interview participants

Project title: *What is the role of social networks (particularly extended family and business networks) in supporting Aboriginal Australian entrepreneurship in metropolitan and regional Australia?*

Investigator: Warrick Fort

Phone: 0424 868 882

Email: warrick.fort@postgrad.curtin.edu.au

Supervisor: Dr Tod Jones

Phone: 9266 4709

Email: T.Jones@curtin.edu.au

Human Research Ethics Committee (Secretary):

Phone: 9266 2784 Email: hrec@curtin.edu.au

Post: C/- Office of Research and Development, Curtin University of
Technology, GPO Box U1987, Perth WA 6845

Consent:

I _____

of (Organisation) _____

consent to participate in this project.

- I have been informed and understand the purposes of the project, and have been given the opportunity to ask questions and discuss the project.
- I understand I can withdraw from the project at any time without risk of negative consequences.
- I understand my role is to answer and discuss a series of questions, and that findings from this project may be used to help WAITOC improve Aboriginal participation in the tourism industry and will also be used in a PhD thesis, academic articles and academic presentations.
- I give permission for the results of this project to be published so long as any information which can, or may potentially identify me, will not be used.
- I understand this project poses no risk to my wellbeing.
- I agree to participate in the project as it has been outlined to me.

Signed _____

Date _____

Appendix 6: WAITOC letter of support



Chair, Human Research Ethics Committee,
Curtin University, Bentley,
Western Australia

LETTER OF SUPPORT – WARRICK FORT

WAITOC, the peak representative body for Aboriginal Tourism support Warrick Fort in his PhD research project which will contribute to the scholarship on Aboriginal participation in tourism, entrepreneurship, and networking by analyzing the role of social networks in assisting Aboriginal tourism entrepreneurship through a range of qualitative research methods.

This research will assist the current WAITOC project supporting existing and aspiring Aboriginal tourism operators create partnerships between themselves and mainstream tourism through the Perth and South West Aboriginal Tourism Development Program.

We look forward to working with Warrick on his project and will provide support wherever possible for him to complete his research.

Please do not hesitate to contact me should you require further information.

Yours sincerely



Simon Haigh
CEO – WAITOC
18 October 2014

PO Box 7689, Cloisters Square, Perth WA 6850 • Email: info@waitoc.com

• • • •
www.waitoc.com

Appendix 7: WAITOC report



Curtin University

BUILDING SUCCESSFUL ABORIGINAL TOURISM VENTURES:

Case-studies from metropolitan Perth

Warrick Nerehana Fort

PhD Candidate

Department of Planning and Geography

Curtin University

April 2018

Make tomorrow better.





Photo showing a 'Mia' taken by author (2015)

Not only does the Mia provide shelter from the sun, they always face a certain direction so when a fire is placed near their entrance the wind comes from behind and blows the smoke away, while their shape causes air pressure to push heat back inside. Aerodynamically they are brilliant, and when people understand that sort of thing they start to appreciate it. (Jason, cultural education provider)

Acknowledgements

The PhD project this report is based upon was carried out on Whadjuk Boodjar. As such, the author would like to acknowledge the traditional Whadjuk Noongar owners of Whadjuk Boodjar, both past and present.

I would also like to acknowledge my interview participants and in particular, those who shared stories with me about their Countries and culture, elders and kin, their work in the tourism industry, and some of the benefits and difficulties that this entails.



EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This report discusses some of the opportunities that are available for aspiring and established Aboriginal entrepreneurs wanting to participate in the tourism industry, and the potential benefits of such work. It also details some of the barriers to success and other problems that this type of work entails, and possible solutions to these issues.

The report is based mainly on information gathered through in-depth, face-to-face interviews and a literature review which were undertaken as part of the author's doctoral studies. Most of the interviewees are experienced Noongar tourism entrepreneurs, while the remainder consists of non-Aboriginal tourism professionals with significant experience in the tourism industry.

KEY FINDINGS

- Cultural education is a key area of the tourism industry in Western Australia that continues to present potential business opportunities to aspiring Aboriginal entrepreneurs.
- There remain a number of barriers to success and other problems that aspiring entrepreneur's face, most notably, a lack of business skills and uncertainty concerning the legal requirements that must be met in establishing and operating a business.
- There are also issues that affect Aboriginal entrepreneurs specifically. These include negative perceptions of entrepreneurship by some members of the Aboriginal community, and negative perceptions of Aboriginal entrepreneurs by some members of the non-Aboriginal community.

KEY QUOTES

- "It's one of the few jobs in the world where you get thanked profusely every time you go to work; every time."
- "Meeting different people from all over the world. That's the main benefit; you don't get that elsewhere...only in the tourism industry."
- "I'm sick of making other people rich...I'd rather bust a gut...on my own business, trying to help myself and my family."
- "Seeing the change in non-Aboriginal people, how

they look at us today, that's of really great value."

- "Dad always said, 'you teach the white man now, because he needs to know...I couldn't teach him'"
- "We encourage all the other dance groups, none of this competitive stuff - 'I'm better than you'...I don't buy into any of that crap, and look who's still here, forging ahead."
- "It's about establishing yourself and developing networks, because tourism's all about access to the client...The best way of doing that is starting a partnership...thinking about 'who else can help me?', rather than 'I want to do this and I'll make it happen'"

KEY BENEFITS

Staying on Country, practicing culture and sharing it with visitors. You can also get the kids involved and help them to develop business skills.

Aboriginal tourism entrepreneurs can support community elders by encouraging them to participate in business activities.

Participation by elders adds value to customer experiences and helps the entrepreneur to develop their own cultural knowledge.

Operating a business where customers will tell you on a daily basis how much they appreciate what you have taught them.

The tourism industry is dynamic, exciting and full of variety, and people do not have to start their own business to take part.

Opportunities for financial independence and working toward your own goals, rather than those of an employer.

Cultural education is a central aspect of the Aboriginal tourism industry and it offers a way for entrepreneurs to build positive perceptions of their communities

BARRIERS	SOLUTIONS
Not knowing who to turn to for help when starting a business.	Aspiring Aboriginal entrepreneurs should start by contacting business support agencies such as the IBA & SBDC, local and state tourism organisations, industry bodies, and chambers of commerce and industry.
A lack of business skills, particularly in relation to advertising/marketing, time-management, and the legal requirements of operating a business such as how to gain essential industry certifications and insurance.	"Some people have a product and just want to get out there and go, but it's actually very complicated. These are things you don't think about and this is why it's so great working with non-Aboriginal people, as they know all the rules and regulations."
"If you don't invest in marketing and advertising then it's going to fail, it's plain and simple. I don't think Noongar people or Aboriginal people in general realise the importance of it."	Word-of-mouth advertising is particularly helpful. "Family networks were really important in the beginning, and still are today. They encourage you, they talk to potential clients [and]...they promote our business where friends or other people wouldn't do it as passionately."
"The main problem I had when starting my business was a lack of self-confidence. To succeed as an entrepreneur it's vital that you believe in your ability and your ideas."	"Don't rush it...It will take a good year or two to really find your grounding, and make sure you share your goals with people who know business...don't try and make it yourself, and don't rush to the bank to ask for money."
"The Aboriginal community [also] have that problem; 'the tall poppy syndrome'. They want to pull you down when you're doing really well."	Aboriginal entrepreneurs are developing their own business networks as a means of overcoming problems that affect them specifically. "It's not about competing with each other; it's about helping each other."
"People that want to expand their business find it hard to locate and train young Aboriginal people that want to be part of the tourism industry."	Networking with the Aboriginal business community also improves an entrepreneur's chances of locating suitable employees.
"People may try to use your ideas even if they are family."	"I don't let anyone know what I'm doing, except for my Mum and immediate family."
"Being 'humbugged' by family and community members who believe they are doing well financially."	Successful entrepreneurs are contesting kinship obligations relating to the sharing of money and other assets. "To fit in with modern society the importance of some obligations needs to change."
"A lot of people think you can't be an entrepreneur because you're Aboriginal."	"Don't blame the white man for things...you have to take responsibility for your life; just do it."

KEY RECOMMENDATIONS

There are specific personal qualities that aspiring and established Aboriginal entrepreneurs should have, or be able to develop, if they wish to build successful business ventures in the tourism industry. These include:

- A strong work ethic;
- Broad knowledge of Aboriginal culture;
- Confidence and friendliness;
- Adaptability/willingness to learn new skills; and,
- Being 'thick-skinned'.

There are also certain measures that entrepreneurs should take as they progress along their business journey that will allow them to overcome, or negotiate their way past, the personal and business-related issues that they will encounter. These include:

- Be clear about the type of venture you want to develop and progress carefully toward this goal by seeking help from people with relevant business experience, rather than rushing in and 'going it alone'.
- Make the most of business-support agencies such as the SBDC and IBA, but also seek the assistance of mentors who specialise in areas such as personal

development and business development.

- While family members and friends may be able and willing to support your business activities, some may seek to take advantage of your ideas and/or success, so be selective in whom you tell about your business activities and who you seek help from.
- Seek advice from, and develop networks with, other Aboriginal entrepreneurs. These networks are a valuable source of assistance and provide a sounding board for discussing problems specific to Aboriginal entrepreneurs and finding solutions to move past them.
- Entrepreneurs should use these findings where relevant as part of a personalised strategy for achieving long-term business success. For example, both aspiring and established entrepreneurs may need to build their confidence to engage more effectively with customers. They can seek assistance with this from business-support agencies or mentors.



TABLE OF CONTENTS

Acknowledgements	i	Chapter 3:	
Executive Summary	ii	Building a business strategy to overcome barriers to success and other problems encountered as an entrepreneur.....	7
Table of Contents.....	iii	3.1 The importance of family and friends for successful Aboriginal tourism entrepreneurship.....	7
Acronyms	iv	3.2. The importance of capacity-building and succession planning for successful Aboriginal tourism entrepreneurship	7
Author Bio.....	iv	3.3.. The importance of Aboriginal business networks for successful tourism entrepreneurship.....	8
Chapter 1		3.4. The importance of mentors and business support organisations for successful Aboriginal tourism entrepreneurship	9
:Introduction.....	1	Chapter 4	
1.1. Methodology.....	1	Conclusion	11
1.2. Addressing ethical concerns	1	Appendix A: Interviewee profiles.....	15
1.3. Entrepreneur occupations	1	Appendix B: Interview questions	17
Chapter 2		Appendix C: Endnotes	19
Opportunities for Aboriginal tourism entrepreneurs	3		
2.1. Benefits of Aboriginal tourism entrepreneurship	3		
2.2. Barriers to success and other problems faced by entrepreneurs.....	4		
2.3. Challenges and issues faced by Aboriginal entrepreneurs specifically	5		



ACRONYMS

ABN - Australian Business Number

IBA - Indigenous Business Australia

SBDC - Small Business Development Corporation

TAFE - Technical and Further Education

WAITOC - Western Australian Indigenous Tourism Operators' Council

AUTHOR BIO

Kia ora; my name is Warrick Nerehana Fort and I am a Doctoral Candidate in the Department of Planning and Geography at Curtin University, where I gained an honours degree in Urban and Regional Planning in 2013. Of Māori and Pākehā descent, I have family connections to a number of tribal groups in Aotearoa-New Zealand including Tūhoe, Ngāti Ranginui and Ngapuhi. My study interests centre on learning about how Indigenous groups maintain their customs, practices and rights within settler-states.



CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

This report details a range of features and influences that help shape Aboriginal tourism in metropolitan Perth, and explains how a number of Noongar Aboriginal entrepreneurs have achieved long-term success in the industry. It has two key purposes: to provide the reader with an understanding of how to succeed as an entrepreneur in the tourism industry; and, help the Western Australian Indigenous Tourism Operators' Council (WAITOC) to identify further ways that they can assist aspiring and established Aboriginal tourism entrepreneurs to prosper. Key findings are presented throughout Chapters 2 and 3, and recommendations are provided at the end of Chapter 4. The profiles of Aboriginal tourism entrepreneurs from Perth are provided throughout the text to introduce their stories, showcase their diversity, and to include their opinions on key issues identified in this report.

There is a shortage of data pertaining to Indigenous entrepreneurs in urban areas, and investigations in this field often lack Indigenous perspectives. In addition, support programs for aspiring entrepreneurs have usually been based on data drawn from non-Indigenous economic contexts, with little thought given to their relevance for Indigenous peoples. For these reasons, this report draws heavily from accounts by Noongar Aboriginal entrepreneurs and other key players of their experiences in the tourism industry in metropolitan Perth, and includes numerous direct quotes from them.

The main body of the report will discuss some of the opportunities that are available for aspiring Aboriginal entrepreneurs who want to enter the tourism industry, and some of the benefits that this work provides, before looking at some of the barriers to success and other problems that Aboriginal entrepreneurs are likely to face. Following this, the report will detail some of the ways that experienced Noongar entrepreneurs have overcome these problems and barriers. This information can be used by aspiring and established entrepreneurs to guide them through some of the difficulties that they will face in business, and achieve long-term success.

1.1. METHODOLOGY

The primary data in this report is drawn from thirteen semi-structured in-depth interviews conducted by the author during the course of his doctoral studies. Ten of the interviewees are entrepreneurs who identify as belonging to one or more of the fourteen language groups of the Noongar people from the south west region of Western Australia. One interviewee is a non-Aboriginal entrepreneur who is heavily involved in the Western Australian Aboriginal tourism sector. The remaining two interviewees are non-Aboriginal tourism consultants who

have worked in the West Australian tourism industry for a significant period of time, and both have extensive experience working with Aboriginal tourism entrepreneurs. All of the interviewees reside in the Perth metropolitan area. Of the ten Noongar entrepreneurs, each has been assigned a specific occupation based on the core activity of their business, although most offer a variety of products and services.

1.2. ADDRESSING ETHICAL CONCERNS

All of the interviewees read an information sheet before their interview which outlined its purpose. They also signed a consent form which emphasised that they had been informed of and understood the purposes of the author's PhD work, had been given an opportunity to ask questions, could withdraw from the study at any time without any risk of negative consequences, and that they consented to any findings from the study being published as long as they could not be identified in any way. For this reason, all the names of interviewees in this report are pseudonyms. Ethics approval for the study came from Curtin University's Human Research Ethics Committee. The approval process was made easier with the assistance of Robert (non-Aboriginal tourism consultant), who has worked closely with WAITOC since its establishment. Robert reviewed my interview questions to ensure that they made sense and were appropriate, and he also helped identify my initial interviewees.

1.3. ENTREPRENEUR OCCUPATIONS

Two of the entrepreneurs have been termed 'Indigenous education providers', as their work usually involves teaching people such as local visitors and tourist groups about Aboriginal culture, customs, and practices, in a variety of ways. Another two entrepreneurs are listed as having 'various business interests', as they offer a range of products and services to customers both within and outside of the tourism industry. One entrepreneur is a food and clothing retailer who sells Aboriginal-themed products, while another is the leader of an Aboriginal dance-group that he established over twenty years ago. The remaining four entrepreneurs are self-employed artists. Appendix A presents brief profiles of all thirteen interviewees, while Appendix B provides the set of twelve open-ended questions that each of the Noongar entrepreneurs were asked.



CHAPTER 2: OPPORTUNITIES FOR ABORIGINAL TOURISM ENTREPRENEURS

The tourism industry remains an important source of both employment and business opportunities for Aboriginal Australians, and continues to offer them a platform for sharing their cultures with visitors and tourists. Cultural education is a particularly valuable aspect of the Aboriginal tourism industry as it can help non-Aboriginal people start to see and understand the world from an Aboriginal perspective, and some Noongar entrepreneurs have found that the market for cultural education now extends beyond the local visitor and tourism market to schools and higher education institutions, and government and corporate bodies. Importantly, they believe that it is essential to tailor their products and services to meet the needs of these different clients and customers for their businesses to remain financially viable.

The following profiles provide an insight into some of the opportunities available to aspiring Aboriginal entrepreneurs and how they can take advantage of them. The remainder of the chapter will discuss some of the benefits that Aboriginal entrepreneurs derive from this type of work, as well as various challenges and other issues that can prevent them from achieving business success.

Profile: Mary, Indigenous education provider

Mary's business interests include providing cultural education services to schools, TAFE institutes and universities. According to Mary, there is a raft of opportunities for Aboriginal people wanting to enter the tourism industry due to a surge in interest from individuals and groups within the non-Aboriginal community in recent years, who want to engage with Aboriginal people and learn about their cultures and histories. She goes on to explain that:

They want to learn about this stuff. They want to get an understanding of who we are and they want to know how they can play a role in supporting our First Nation's people.

Mary also states that to be a successful tourism entrepreneur you have to be "open, honest, and friendly," as this will help you make a good name for yourself, and "you really need to know your stuff," that is; you need a broad knowledge of your culture. Mary goes on to state that even though she works in cultural tourism, a customer may ask her about Yagan, or "why are Aboriginal youth running amok... You have to understand your cultural history... that's essential. You cannot focus on your own specialty" such as animals and plants for example.

Profile: Elaine, non-Aboriginal tourism consultant

Elaine believes that there are many opportunities for aspiring Aboriginal tourism entrepreneurs in Perth, particularly in the area of cultural education. She goes on to explain that:

It's great for individuals to go at their own pace and develop, expanding into things...as confidence builds, as their profile builds, as word-of-mouth spreads, instead of them doing something that is not their idea...and I think the education sector is an opportunity for people to get involved. Not just the students but staff now also have to do personal development days relating to Aboriginal culture, as part of the school curriculum...that's a lot more positive way to learn about culture, and a fun and educational way is to do a tour with an operator...it's something sustainable that could provide them with a regular income versus the unpredictable tourist...just becoming a bit more business savvy in what they value-add to their tours.

According to Elaine, there are a number of pathways through which members of the Aboriginal community can become involved in the tourism industry, and some of these do not involve setting up a business. For example, an aspiring Aboriginal entrepreneur could start a 'bush-tucker tour' by partnering with an organisation such as the Department of Parks and Wildlife who can provide support in areas such as advertising and marketing, or, they could work with a restaurant or café and have cultural nights whereby the entrepreneur can cook a special menu one night of the week. Elaine goes on to explain that you could even just work in the industry; "get employed as a guide or a manager" for example and you will not have to deal with all of the typical problems related to running your own business.

2.1. BENEFITS OF ABORIGINAL TOURISM ENTREPRENEURSHIP

Engagement in the tourism industry provides a number of benefits for Aboriginal entrepreneurs. Elaine says that it allows them to both practice and share culture, earn an income to support their families, and it is something that they can get their children involved with through teaching them about their culture and how to operate a business. She also says that working in the tourism industry allows some Aboriginal entrepreneurs to remain on Country, instead of having to move to find employment or do fly-in, fly-out work (Elaine, non-Aboriginal tourism consultant).

The tourism industry also offers a means through which Aboriginal entrepreneurs can encourage non-Aboriginal people to engage in cultural maintenance. For example, as part of her cultural education programs, Mary encourages her customers to organise events promoting Aboriginal culture on 'Sorry Day', during NAIDOC week, or as part of Reconciliation Action Plans. Cultural education also provides an opportunity for Aboriginal entrepreneurs to build positive perceptions of their cultures within a wider cross-section of the community. In turn, this can benefit causes of national interest such as reconciliation and constitutional change. According to Mary:

Six months later you might hear back from a customer and they go 'wow! You transformed my life showing me what that plant does', as they've gone and had a conversation about Aboriginal knowledge and the environment with their grandparents who have been racist for so many years...they go on to educate others, and change their way of thinking. Things are becoming more positive. (Mary, Indigenous education provider)

Furthermore, cultural education can be undertaken in a number of ways. For example, Graham (performance and dance) states that the 'cultural strength' his dance group displays has a positive effect not only on the performers, but on the audience as well: "changing the way people look at Aboriginal people."

Another important benefit of Aboriginal tourism is that it can be used to reinforce the role of elders in the Aboriginal community. These elders are the gatekeepers of important beliefs, perspectives, and worldviews, and their insights and opinions are often highly valued by members of their communities. This was elaborated on by Jason who provides cultural education to local visitors and bus and cruise ship tour groups, and also visits schools and designs and runs school holiday programs to teach children about Noongar culture. He explains that:

We continue to rely on a lot of the community, especially my elders. I can't do this without their permission - my tours are controlled by my elders, there are certain things I can talk about and certain things I can't...They'll always correct me if I'm saying something wrong...or say if they like it, or 'don't go too far with the jokes'. Sometimes they come and listen...and because I do lots of little bits in other programs I'll talk to the elders about this and that. (Jason, Indigenous education provider)

Jason also takes his customers into account when deciding what he will talk about. He believes that it is particularly important to speak to and teach people in a way that does not make them feel uncomfortable, particularly when it comes to explaining some of the violence and marginalization that Aboriginal Australians have been subject to since the arrival of European settlers. According to Mary, gaining the approval of elders is a cultural obligation and while the role of elders "has sort of fallen through...it is being embraced once more and we are trying to lift it up." Mary also tries to get her elders to participate directly in her cultural education programs wherever possible, and believes that their involvement

improves customer experiences as they can share their personal histories and knowledge of culture and language:

For my women's workshops I'll bring in the elders to talk about their experiences and the hardships they've gone through and then I'll pay them some money. These are the stories people want to hear and if they can't share these stories they'll be gone forever. (Mary, Indigenous education provider)

Mary is also asked on a regular basis to perform 'Welcome to Country' ceremonies but always says 'no', and will refer customers to local elders instead. Mary goes on to explain that there are now "a lot of younger people" performing Welcome to Country ceremonies "when their parents and grandparents are still alive and if you've been given permission it's okay," but otherwise, they should be encouraging their parents and elders to perform these roles.

2.2. BARRIERS TO SUCCESS AND OTHER PROBLEMS FACED BY ENTREPRENEURS

The entrepreneurs who provided information for this report discussed a range of challenges they encounter through business participation. As Hazel (various business interests) states: "you have to be like everyone else in small business...prepared to work long hours, often seven days a week, and not always receive a good return for this work." Other key issues discussed by interviewees were:

- not knowing who to turn to for help after deciding to start a business;
- the sheer poverty that comes from a small business start-up;
- a lack of business skills, particularly in relation to advertising/marketing and time-management; and,
- a lack of know-how in regard to the legal requirements of operating a business and how to gain essential industry certifications and policies such as an ABN and different forms of insurance.

For example, George suggests that the legal requirements aspiring entrepreneurs must comply with, particularly where there are sites of significance, can deter them from starting their own business:

The parks up here and old sites...there's none of that happening [cultural tours]...no-one's doing it for this area, and a lot of them that maybe want to...younger people...all the permission stuff, they think it's just too hard...it's too complicated...and sometimes it's too threatening for them. (George, artist and gallery owner)

Tracey highlights further issues that were mentioned by a number of the entrepreneurs:

The main problem I had when starting my business was a lack of self-confidence. To succeed as an entrepreneur it's vital that you believe in your ability and your ideas. Lack of cash-flow was of course another problem, and so too was establishing contact with

business people – developing my business network. (Tracey, food and clothing retailer)

Tracey also states that if someone has a business idea they must nurture it and not share it too quickly, because “people may try to use your ideas even if they are family.” She goes on to explain that an entrepreneur must work out what needs to be done to make their business idea succeed, and then gain the help needed to do this, before telling others their plans (Tracey, food and clothing retailer). Thus, Noongar entrepreneurs face the same barriers to success and other problems as any entrepreneur, but there are a number of challenges and issues that affect them specifically, and these will be discussed in the following section.

2.3. CHALLENGES AND ISSUES FACED BY ABORIGINAL ENTREPRENEURS SPECIFICALLY

Immersion in a business environment and the development of business networks may be viewed as a contradiction of cultural values and can lead to Aboriginal entrepreneurs being rejected by some members of their community. In addition, Jason (Indigenous education provider) points out that some members of the Aboriginal community have a problem with “tall poppy syndrome”, whereby some people “want to pull you down when you’re doing really well.” He also says that there can be difficulties when it comes to sharing cultural knowledge, as Aboriginal people can be quite guarded in this respect. Because of this, Jason has turned to other Aboriginal entrepreneurs for advice and to share ideas. He believes that the Aboriginal community as a whole can benefit from the work that he and his peers engage in, and goes on to state: “if we share it with our tour guides, give each other knowledge, look out for each other...and keep lifting each other up; we’ll get back” (Jason, Indigenous education provider).

Another significant issue is the cultural obligation of asset-sharing. According to Elaine (non-Aboriginal tourism consultant), this obligation can lead to Aboriginal entrepreneurs “being ‘humbled’ by family and community members who believe they are doing well financially.” Richard, whose business interests include conducting bus-tours around metropolitan Perth during which he teaches people about Noongar Country and culture, explains that such obligations are “just as strong in urban areas as they are in places far away from the city.” A further problem was highlighted by Robert, who believes that the financial and time-management requirements of a successful business can often be at odds with the approach to life that some Aboriginal people prefer:

I think it’s that side of the business which is about running the bookings, book-keeping, and making sure they’re paid. I don’t think Aboriginal people like asking for money...culturally, you don’t

ask people for money...and I think timekeeping is not an Aboriginal thing...culturally it’s not something you worry about...I don’t think they’re cultural priorities...but I think they’re very important for running a business. (Robert, non-Aboriginal tourism consultant)

However, none of the entrepreneurs I interviewed said that asking debtors for money is something they feel uncomfortable about, and most mentioned that time management and being punctual were essential aspects of their business success.

Another problem mentioned by a number of interviewees was that many people in the non-Aboriginal community have negative perceptions of Aboriginal people. Aboriginal entrepreneurs may not reveal, or will even hide their Aboriginality as a way of avoiding latent racism that exists within some mainstream business networks. Some Aboriginal entrepreneurs believe that unless a business is culturally-related, such as an art or tourism venture, it is of little to no value, and in some cases a barrier to business success, highlighting that the business-owner is Aboriginal. Yet, even if a business is based on Aboriginal culture, latent racism can still be an issue. According to Anthony:

A lot of people think you can’t be an entrepreneur because you’re Aboriginal. ‘Oh you own a business...Aboriginal people owning their own business...really...oh that’s not going to work’, is the type of thing I hear from friends, competitors, and other people in my business network. (Anthony, self-employed artist)

Thus, Aboriginal entrepreneurs may be viewed unfavourably by some members of the non-Aboriginal community, and such views are not conducive to business success. However, Anthony goes on to explain that he does not let these types of comment get to him, and by maintaining a professional attitude he has been able to avoid a lot of problems and continues to grow his business.

So, while there are a variety of opportunities for Aboriginal entrepreneurs to participate in the tourism industry, which can benefit both the entrepreneur and their community, there are a number of problems and barriers to participation that must be overcome first. There is no straight forward solution to any of these problems; each requires a different response and how effective these responses are will vary from one person to the next, and depend to a large degree on how determined each entrepreneur is to negotiate or contest the expectations of their community.

As Susan (non-Aboriginal tourism coordinator) explains, Aboriginal entrepreneurs need “a particular type of courage,” as they often have to “challenge the old way of doing things and so must be particularly innovative in moving forward.” She goes on to say that unfortunately, not all traditions can be maintained in this day and age, but while some of the older traditions are lost, this does not disrespect or diminish the culture; instead, it evolves and grows. For example, there are “specific traditions in many places around the world where women play a

lesser role to men and in some aspects of culture this needs to be challenged" (Susan, non-Aboriginal tourism coordinator).

The following profile describes how an experienced Noongar entrepreneur has challenged some aspects of his culture and achieved long-term business success, and the following chapter will look at other issues and barriers to success that Aboriginal entrepreneur's face, and how they have overcome these challenges and made the most of business opportunities. In particular, it will highlight measures that both aspiring and established entrepreneurs can take as part of a business strategy to

Profile: Richard, various business interests

Richard says that any aspiring entrepreneur must have a strong sense of what they want to do and how far they are willing to go to achieve it, and then they must work carefully toward this goal by seeking out help from people with relevant business experience. He elaborates on this by stating:

I've watched a lot of people stand up and say 'this is us, we got this'; but a year later they're not there. Don't rush it because you think that you need to get in quick. It will take a good year or two to really find your grounding, and make sure you share your goals with people who know business...organisations such as small business agencies and micro-finance companies. I've never borrowed money from them, but I've gained a lot of knowledge such as 'how to go forward as a businessman'. Those are the kind of people that you work with...don't try and make it yourself, and don't rush to the bank and ask for money.

One reason Richard enjoys working in the tourism industry is that it provides him with an opportunity to interact with non-Aboriginal people and teach them about Noongar culture. He goes on to explain that they "need to see how valuable we are as a people," and (as discussed in the previous chapter) engaging in cultural education allows him to do this. Richard also highlights how traditional values influence his views on tourism:

Our mob is really territorial and so tourism should only happen here if you're Noongar and you have a traditional understanding of this Country. That's what tourists really want to see - not just authenticity on the level of learning about Aboriginal culture from Aboriginal people, but from Aboriginal people who are the traditional owners of that Country and who have those deeper connections.

Yet, cultural and economic survival has often forced Aboriginal people to adapt their values to meet the demands of modern lifestyles which in turn have upset customary ways of life and social relationships. Richard acknowledges that "there was one stage of life where, whatever you did...you would take your family with you, but things changed." He elaborates on this change by stating that:

Because of our culture's law and structure there's obligations and those obligations must be met...but to fit in with modern

reconcile the demands of their family and business, and minimise the personal costs of becoming an entrepreneur.

society the importance of some obligations needs to change. I hold a lot of things of value as an Aboriginal person, but in the context of life, we need to change a proportion of it.

For Richard, this change means that he only tells his immediate family what he is doing in regard to his business activities, rather than his extended family. While Richard is often asked by members of his extended family, "what are you doing...where are you now?" he does not tell them "until it's fully complete." Richard goes on to explain that:

I just say I'm doing my business because I don't want to be pulled down first. I want to get it up and running and then say what I've got. It's very hard to stand in your community, because your community's so critical...so how do we overcome that? You stand up and you do your business and then when you're finished...just go out and say 'hello, this is who I am'.

Also, if Richard is asked by an extended family member for money he will say "I have none, it's my children's." Richard goes on to explain that in this way "we change our cultural system, we change our obligations, but if you see a family member that's really close, you keep that obligation." Richard has also been questioned about the suitability of his business activities. For example, some Noongar elders believe that he should not be providing certain aspects of cultural education, as he is not an elder himself. However, Richard states that other people were:

very supportive; some immediate family members were proud of me...and seeing the change in [non-Aboriginal] people, how they look at us today, that's of really great value...so you need to weigh up the benefits you can achieve against the costs, such as the reaction of your community.

Richard also explains that some of his elders who have now passed on always told him, "it's not about your age; it's about what you know." He went on to state that "dad always said, 'you teach the white man now, because he needs to know...I couldn't teach him'" So, while Richard says that the backlash he received from some parts of his community was quite harsh, something he refers to as the 'cultural costs', he has decided that the benefits he can bring to his community, his family, and himself, are worth paying this price

CHAPTER 3: BUILDING A BUSINESS STRATEGY TO OVERCOME BARRIERS TO SUCCESS AND OTHER PROBLEMS ENCOUNTERED AS AN ENTREPRENEUR

The development of a business network is essential to any entrepreneur's success. For Indigenous entrepreneurs, this network usually consists of other business-owners (both Indigenous and non-Indigenous), government institutions, and other organisations (both for-profit and non-profit). However, building a business network is easier for an aspiring entrepreneur if they have a family member who is an entrepreneur or who has business experience and/or contacts. Yet, previous business ownership is uncommon within most Aboriginal families, and so business networking by Aboriginal entrepreneurs has usually been carried out with the assistance of non-Aboriginal people such as business mentors. As mentioned earlier, this type of interaction is frowned upon by some members of the Aboriginal community while in some cases, Aboriginal entrepreneurs may be taken advantage of by less well-off family and community members who seek to exploit their ideas and/or success. This can force the entrepreneur to interact less with their community and engage more with those in their business networks.

This chapter will detail a number of steps that Noongar entrepreneurs have taken to move past these issues and other barriers to business success. Aspiring and established (Aboriginal) entrepreneurs can use this information to develop a business strategy that will allow them to cope with some of the difficulties that they will face, and achieve long-term success.

3.1. THE IMPORTANCE OF FAMILY AND FRIENDS FOR SUCCESSFUL ABORIGINAL TOURISM ENTREPRENEURSHIP

Non-Aboriginal people play a vital role in the development of Aboriginal businesses, and it has been suggested that Aboriginal entrepreneurs may gradually become isolated from their network of family and friends as they focus on operating their business. However, as discussed in the previous chapter, Aboriginal entrepreneurs also seek advice and assistance from members of their own community such as elders when operating their businesses. Furthermore, Aboriginal family and friends can also be crucial to their success. For example, Graham highlights the importance of his family network as both a source of encouragement and word-of-mouth advertising:

Family networks were really important in the beginning, and still are today. They encourage you, they talk to potential clients [and]...they promote our business where friends or other people

wouldn't do it as passionately. (Graham, performance and dance)

Similarly, Mary highlights how important both her family and friends were in supporting her business and helping it to grow:

A lot of friends have volunteered to help me with the business... do my morning teas, look after some of the participants while I'm talking, carrying my bag, just little things like that...They like what you do...They're also bringing their kids and family along to learn...a lot of Aboriginal people that are really close friends and family come and help and they're learning about their own roots and things as well. (Mary, Indigenous education provider)

In addition to making Mary's job easier and improving the experience that her customers have, this network has also offset a lot of marketing and promotional costs. Mary explains that she has "a friend who works in a busy retail environment and she hands out a lot of pamphlets for me and another who works for a government department that does the same." According to Mary, her business has also "benefited immensely from word-of-mouth advertising" by friends, family, and business contacts, and her website and Facebook page have been really helpful too. Mary says that because of this, most of her costs have related to the start-up phase of her business.

3.2. THE IMPORTANCE OF CAPACITY-BUILDING AND SUCCESSION PLANNING FOR SUCCESSFUL ABORIGINAL TOURISM ENTREPRENEURSHIP

Succession planning for the entrepreneur typically relates to employment strategies, and most importantly, who to appoint as a successor in the running of a business. Effective succession planning usually requires capacity-building, particularly for Indigenous entrepreneurs, and this may be undertaken in a number of ways such as institution-building, and staff-training and/or education. The opportunity to engage in capacity-building is an important motivation for Aboriginal entrepreneurs, as it allows them to give back to their communities. Through capacity-building they are helping other members of their community to learn new skills and abilities, or develop existing ones, and in the process they are helping to prevent future generations of the Aboriginal community from experiencing some of the difficulties endured by older generations. Also, by up-skilling their employees, entrepreneurs can offset some of the business problems that they experience.

For example, Jason says that he has built his business up

gradually as his network of business contacts has grown, and while this growth continues to open further business opportunities, it has also led to an overload of work that has affected his family life:

The wife finds it very difficult because I work every weekend... my kids are all into sports...I've missed a lot of that sort of stuff because I've been working...Valentines and Easter breaks and Christmas parties, I'm here. I work during the Christmas holidays. I mightn't have a 9 to 5, but then I work every day, and I might only do 45 minutes in a school and then I've got the rest of the day off, but my wife works as well...so at times it makes it very difficult. (Jason, Indigenous education provider)

In order to offset these demands, Jason is training others to work in his place so that he can have more personal time:

Every now and then I pull in another tour guide, and I'm training my son so he can cover for me, and there's another guy who works for a dance company...I'm teaching him to cover the tours as well. (Jason, Indigenous education provider)

Yet, succession planning for Aboriginal entrepreneurs is also made more difficult by the fact that the pool of suitable employees they can draw from is much smaller than that of non-Aboriginal entrepreneurs. As Elaine highlights:

How hard it is getting young people involved in business, or finding other reliable people...generally speaking. People that want to expand their business find it hard to locate and train young Aboriginal people that want to be part of the tourism industry. (Elaine, non-Aboriginal tourism consultant)

Furthermore, from this small group, Aboriginal entrepreneurs must find employees who have specific skills and/or qualities. According to Jason:

You've got to have that personality to be able to stand up and have the confidence to speak...Some people are very shy, you barely get very much out of them and it makes the tour very boring, whereas I want it to be dramatic. I'm looking for a certain charisma...I want somebody who has that smile on their face and makes people feel comfortable. I can't get anybody, and they have to be reliable. (Jason, Indigenous education provider)

Therefore, Aboriginal business networks are essential in terms of succession planning, as the more contacts an Aboriginal entrepreneur has within their community, the greater the chance they have of finding suitable employees. Aboriginal entrepreneurs are now developing business networks among themselves to help them overcome some of the problems they face, such as those related to succession planning.

3.3. THE IMPORTANCE OF ABORIGINAL BUSINESS NETWORKS FOR SUCCESSFUL TOURISM ENTREPRENEURSHIP

According to Elaine, Aboriginal tourism entrepreneurs in regional areas of Western Australia are not only drawing on established Aboriginal tourism networks for support; they are developing their own local Aboriginal business networks:

People up north...are quite happy to help each other out by referring customers to other operators; as one operator calls it - 'the black highway'. More formalised networks like WAITOC are good...One operator said 'you just get so bogged down with the day-to-day stuff and disillusioned because you're doing it all by yourself, but then you come to the [WAITOC] conference and see that people have got the same issues and overcome it. I just get reenergised and get that passion back to continue.' I think hearing and learning from each other about those experiences... grassroots kind of stories, that's what they want to hear...have they faced similar challenges?...They don't want to hear from the internationals [speakers] or government. (Elaine, non-Aboriginal tourism consultant)

Not only do these networks described by Elaine offer an alternative form of support to the non-Aboriginal business mentors that Aboriginal entrepreneurs often depend on for developing their business networks, they provide a means of discussing issues that are specific to Aboriginal entrepreneurs, and in settings that people feel comfortable in. Also, as mentioned earlier (Chapter 2.2), some Aboriginal people consider interaction with the business community to be inappropriate. However, by building business networks with each other, and not just with non-Aboriginal people, these entrepreneurs can show the Aboriginal community that this is not the case. In addition, Aboriginal business networks provide another platform through which members can maintain, express and share their culture.

Graham also believes it is important for Aboriginal entrepreneurs to support each other, even if they work in the same industry:

We encourage all the other dance groups, none of this competitive stuff - 'I'm better than you'...I don't buy into any of that crap, and look who's still here, forging ahead. No politics; positivity, strength, with the blessing of the elders, that's how we do it, and everybody appreciates that. (Graham, performance and dance)

Mary has a similar opinion: "it's not about competing with each other, it's about helping each other"; and so she and a handful of other Aboriginal entrepreneurs like to meet up on a monthly basis and yarn about their businesses and any new ideas that they have had. Because Mary usually works alone, she often has an overload of work, "particularly for special occasions such as Sorry Day or NAIDOC week." Mary says that she is always putting her name out there and goes on to explain that:

Someone's always seeking a cultural experience. Talk to local councils, talk to 'friends of' groups...how you grow your business

and expand your networks is very important – you don't focus on the one stream, you move into different streams. A 'friends of' group may want to learn about Aboriginal plants and their uses, or a local council may need some cultural education for their staff to improve consultation with Aboriginal people. Offer what people want and that's how your name spreads. Participants then go and tell 20 other people. (Mary, Indigenous education provider)

Because of this, it has been particularly important for Mary to network with other Aboriginal entrepreneurs. If she is unable to meet the needs of multiple customers, she can direct them to other operators who provide the same or similar services.

Mary also believes that WAITOC can potentially offer further assistance to aspiring Aboriginal entrepreneurs when it comes to sharing business knowledge and building business networks:

I feel there needs to be a regular turnover of some positions on the WAITOC board so newer operators get to interact on a more regular basis with the senior WAITOC members. Once I got what I needed and shared my experiences, I decided to move on and process that information and commit full-time to my business. A temporary board member position would be good as there are a lot of new, up-and-coming operators and they could learn 'what to do', 'where to go', etcetera. (Mary, Indigenous education provider)

Nevertheless, WAITOC remains an important source of support for Aboriginal entrepreneurs, who are also gaining additional support by building business networks with each other. Government-funded business support organisations and non-Aboriginal mentors are further sources of assistance that Aboriginal entrepreneurs can utilise, and this will be explained next.

3.4. THE IMPORTANCE OF MENTORS AND BUSINESS SUPPORT ORGANISATIONS FOR SUCCESSFUL ABORIGINAL TOURISM ENTREPRENEURSHIP

In general, there are few Aboriginal business networks within Australia, and so Aboriginal entrepreneurs are highly dependent on the assistance of government-funded business support organisations when developing their businesses. As Richard explains:

Not many of us have this knowledge. As a mob we have our ideas, we understand the basic structure, we could go forward and we could make things happen, but we need to know how successful people operate. We need to do a lot of study, and our young people are coming through with all that knowledge of business and so on, but us as a mob, we never had that chance. (Richard, various business interests)

Neil (self-employed artist), who has accessed help from Indigenous Business Australia (IBA) and the Small Business Development Corporation (SBDC), believes that government assistance for Aboriginal entrepreneurs should last for at least five years if they are to succeed.

However, it usually lasts for less than two years. Nevertheless, organisations such as the IBA and SBDC can be particularly important sources of support for Aboriginal entrepreneurs. For example, Mary has taken advantage of SBDC workshops on public liability and food-handling requirements and goes on to explain that: "they have been really supportive and have encouraged me to get my business plan sorted." Mary goes on to explain that:

People don't spell this out to you. Some people have a product and just want to get out there and go, but it's actually very complicated. These are things you don't think about and this is why it's so great working with non-Aboriginal people, as they know all the rules and regulations. (Mary, Indigenous education provider)

However, once they progress beyond the business start-up stage, Aboriginal entrepreneurs may seek assistance with their business and personal development from other sources of support such as mentors. Some of the benefits that people derive from the mentoring process include a stronger sense of identity, more effective interpersonal skills, and greater confidence.

Tracey (food and clothing retailer) states that she did not have a mentor when she first started her business and, because of this, "pretty much made every silly mistake you could possibly make in business." However, Tracey now works with a marketing consultant through IBA and has also participated in Curtin University's 'Growth Ignition Program', a week-long intensive course for aspiring entrepreneurs which she found "incredibly helpful" – working with "like-minded people." Tracey also found that as people grew to love her products they introduced her to more people and her business network really started to build. This also helped Tracey build her mentor network, as many of the people who became contacts within her business network often became sources of advice in relation to succeeding as an entrepreneur.

Tracey also highlights a more novel form of mentor that she would like to work with. Now that her business network is "more in tune" with both her business and personal needs, she would like to network with people who have failed as entrepreneurs, as they can provide valuable insights into "what not to do" as an entrepreneur. Tracey goes on to state that "you can learn so much from unsuccessful entrepreneurs." Thus, Tracey has built her mentor network by utilising mentor services offered through different programs, by seeking advice from people within her business network, and intends to develop her mentor network further by seeking advice from entrepreneurs who did not achieve business success.



CHAPTER 4: CONCLUSION

The tourism industry in Western Australia continues to offer potential business opportunities to aspiring Aboriginal entrepreneurs that can benefit both them and their communities. However, there are a number of problems and barriers to success that entrepreneurs will face as part of their business journey, and for Aboriginal entrepreneurs, there are further issues that affect them specifically. Based on the advice of successful Noongar entrepreneurs and other professionals who provided information for this report, there are a number of personal qualities that aspiring and established entrepreneurs should have, or be prepared to develop, and there are a number of measures that these entrepreneurs should take, to help them overcome the challenges that they will face in business.

These recommendations are offered below, following a summary of findings from throughout the report. Aspiring and established entrepreneurs can use this information to develop a personalised strategy that will help guide them along their business journey and enable them to achieve long-term success. The findings and recommendations should also be taken into account by individuals and organisations who wish to facilitate further successful participation in the tourism industry, particularly by individuals and groups within the Aboriginal community.

4.1. FINDINGS

The following are the key findings:

- Tourism entrepreneurship continues to provide opportunities for people to earn a living while remaining on their traditional Country and it is something that they can involve other family members in.
- The tourism industry presents a number of points of entry, many of which allow people to take on entrepreneurial roles without having to attend to every challenge associated with business ownership.
- Cultural education is a particularly important area of the tourism industry. The market for this type of service is broad, and it offers a way for Aboriginal entrepreneurs to build positive perceptions of their cultures, and encourage others to do so too.
- Engagement in the tourism industry provides opportunities for community elders to participate in business activities.
- This participation adds value to customer experiences, and also provides an opportunity for the entrepreneur to build their own cultural knowledge.
- Like most people, many aspiring Aboriginal entrepreneurs lack essential business skills, do not understand the legal requirements of running a business, and do not know how to gain essential certifications for the type of business that they want to operate.
- Who they can turn to for assistance with these issues is often unclear, as is the amount of effort and financial expenditure needed to establish and develop a business.
- Business participation may diminish the social standing of Aboriginal entrepreneurs and lead to feelings of isolation.
- In some cases, family and community members may not oppose somebody starting a business, but they may feel entitled to a share of the entrepreneur's income or the use of other assets.
- Aboriginal entrepreneurs may also be subject to latent racism which can further diminish their confidence and belief in their ability to succeed.
- The success of Noongar entrepreneurs is dependent on assistance from people both within and outside of their family and wider community.
- Aboriginal family and friends can be a source of competitive advantage as their assistance is not always dependent on monetary payment.
- Succession planning is particularly difficult for Aboriginal entrepreneurs due to the very small population base from which they must find employees who meet the specific needs of their business.
- Membership of Aboriginal business networks will improve an entrepreneur's ability to find these employees.
- Membership of Aboriginal business networks may reduce the opposition some entrepreneurs face in relation to their business activities from family and community members.
- Because Aboriginal entrepreneurs find it particularly difficult to locate suitable employees, business networks between these entrepreneurs are essential so they may refer customers to one another when they have excess work.
- Aside from government-led business support organisations such as the IBA and SBDC, Aboriginal entrepreneurs should seek assistance from mentors.



- Entrepreneurs should use these findings where relevant as part of a personalised strategy for achieving long-term business success. For example, both aspiring and established entrepreneurs may need to build their confidence to engage more effectively with customers. They can seek assistance with this from business support agencies or mentors.

4.2. RECOMMENDATIONS

The following recommendations offer

- Aspiring and established entrepreneurs must be prepared to develop a number of attributes, even if they already possess them. These include a strong work ethic, confidence, friendliness, and the ability to maintain a positive, professional attitude despite the setbacks and problems that they will encounter.
- Any Aboriginal entrepreneur in the tourism industry should also have a broad knowledge of their culture, and be able to share this knowledge in a way that does not make customers feel uncomfortable.
- Any aspiring entrepreneur should have a clear idea of the sort of business that they want to develop, whether it will be a full-time or part-time concern, and then seek assistance from people with relevant business experience. They should not rush into starting a business and then try to make it by themselves, or share their ideas with people unless they can help them achieve their business objectives.
- Any entrepreneur should utilise their network of family and friends when establishing and developing their business, while keeping in mind that some within this network can be a barrier to success. Therefore, they must be strategic in who they tell about their business and who they seek assistance from, and they must be prepared to deny the requests of family and community members who want to share in their financial success without contributing to it.
- Aboriginal entrepreneurs must be prepared to contest, or negotiate their way past opposition to their activities by members of their family and/or community. By gaining permission from their elders to start a business, and asking them to participate in some of their activities, Aboriginal entrepreneurs can reduce this opposition and demonstrate that business and culture are not incompatible.
- Capacity-building should also be used by Aboriginal entrepreneurs to help reduce opposition to their business activities. Capacity-building allows the entrepreneur to give back to their community by helping others to learn new skills and abilities, or develop existing ones, and this is not an unnecessary financial expenditure. Capacity-building often becomes an essential activity for established entrepreneurs as it allows them to grow their business, meet the demands of customers, and offset some of the problems that they experience when operating a business, such as a lack of personal time.
- Aboriginal entrepreneurs may also reduce opposition to their business activities by developing business networks with each other, in addition to building networks with non-Aboriginal organisations and individuals. Networks between Aboriginal entrepreneurs also offer a means of discussing problems that affect this group specifically and how they can overcome them, and they provide another platform through which members can maintain, express and share their culture.
- Entrepreneurs should gain relevant advice from business support organisations such as the SBDC and IBA, and they should seek assistance from mentors who can also help them overcome business-related problems, and develop or strengthen some of the personal qualities that successful entrepreneurs require. Importantly, an entrepreneur can look to people within their existing business network when seeking such advice.



APPENDIX A: INTERVIEWEE PROFILES



- **Anthony (self-employed artist; 20-29 year age group)** is a Noongar man who has lived in Perth from a very young age. After leaving his previous job five years ago, he decided that entering the tourism industry would be his next best step. Aside from producing artwork, Anthony also teaches art classes part time.
- **Elaine (non-Aboriginal tourism consultant; 40-49 year age group)** began working in the area of Aboriginal economic development almost 20 years ago. She has since worked for peak tourism bodies in Western Australia such as Tourism WA and WAITOC, and has helped to organise a number of key tourism conferences.
- **George (self-employed artist; 60 + age group)** is a Noongar man who was raised on a mission settlement. George started painting at a very young age and only committed to producing art as a full-time occupation a few years ago, after been employed by the government in a range of positions for most of his working life.
- **Graham (performance and dance; 50-59 year age group)** was raised in the Kimberley region of Western Australia, but has strong family ties to Noongar Country where he has spent a good deal of his life. He formed an Aboriginal dance group over 20 years ago, which he continues to lead. Prior to becoming an entrepreneur, Graham worked for a number of government departments.
- **Hazel (various business interests; 60 + age group)** is a Noongar woman with a number of tertiary qualifications who became an entrepreneur almost 20 years ago. Hazel owns a gift shop that sells a range of items, and also provides cultural education and consultancy services.
- **Jason (Indigenous education provider; 40-49 year age group)** is a Noongar man born and raised in Perth, who started working as an entrepreneur over 5 years ago. He has grown his business in several areas and now caters to larger groups of tourists and has incorporated performance and dance.
- **John (self-employed artist; 40-49 year age group)** is a Noongar man from the far south of Western Australia. Despite having no formal art-training, he produced his first set of paintings after leaving school. These went on to sell quickly in a local art gallery where he was living at the time. He has also gained valuable business experience selling his work from a small stall in a Perth marketplace.
- **Mary (Indigenous education provider; 30-39 year age group)** is a Noongar woman from Perth. Mary started working as an entrepreneur part-time about 15 years ago, and now works on her business full-time with the help of her mother and husband. Her main area of business is cultural education and she has partnered with a Perth council to provide this service to (mainly) local visitors.
- **Neil (self-employed artist; 60 + age group)** is a Noongar man who was born and raised on an Aboriginal reserve. He has lived and worked throughout Western Australia over the years, and has also produced art consistently during this period, something that he now does on a full-time basis.
- **Richard (various business interests; 40-49 year age group)** was born in a small town outside of Perth, but was brought to the city at an early age for education and a better life. Richard became an entrepreneur through his love of art, when he started selling paintings to galleries during his late teens. His business interests now include, but are not limited to, art and design, cultural education, and tourism.
- **Robert (non-Aboriginal tourism consultant; 50-59 year age group)** has worked in the tourism industry for over 20 years. He has held positions with Tourism WA and other state government organisations, and has also worked closely with WAITOC in a number of roles since it was first established.
- **Susan (non-Aboriginal tourism coordinator; 40-49 year age group)** is a non-Aboriginal woman whose business works with Aboriginal tourism providers to create cultural packages/experiences for visitors. Susan has worked in the tourism industry for almost 20 years, and has lived and worked alongside Aboriginal people since her school days.
- **Tracey (food and clothing retailer; 40-49 year age group)** is a Noongar woman who started working in the tourism industry as a teenager, and has held various positions including retail, service, administration and management. With more than 30 years in the tourism industry behind her, Tracey went on to start her own business selling a range of Aboriginal-themed products to visitors and tourists.

A photograph of a pine tree with a text overlay. The tree has a central trunk and several branches with clusters of green needles. The text is in a white box with an orange border at the top right.

APPENDIX B: INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

- 1) Can you tell me a little bit about your family and where you're from?
- 2) How did you start working as an entrepreneur?
- 3) How important were your social networks when you first started your business (family, friends, business associates, etc.)?
- 4) Has the importance of these networks changed over time?
- 5) Has the growth of these networks had any disadvantages?
- 6) What problems did you face when you started your business (this may include problems faced by any entrepreneur, as well as any that have arisen because you are Aboriginal)?
- 7) What have been the personal costs and benefits of owning a business?
- 8) What personal qualities do you think are needed to become a successful Aboriginal entrepreneur?
- 9) Who do you turn to for advice about your business?
- 10) Would you describe your elders and/or ancestors as entrepreneurial, and if so, in what ways?
- 11) Is there anything else you would like to say?
- 12) Is there anyone else you think I should speak to?



APPENDIX C: ENDNOTES

1. Without the assistance of WAITOC, the author's research would not have been possible.
2. The terms Aboriginal and Indigenous are used interchangeably.
3. Foley, Dennis. 2006. "Does Business Success Make You Any Less Indigenous?" *International Entrepreneurship*: 241-257. <http://researchbank.swinburne.edu.au/vital/access/manager/Repository/swin:7639>
4. Russell-Mundine, Gabrielle. 2007. "Key Factors for the Successful Development of Australian Indigenous Entrepreneurship." *Tourism* 55 (4): 417-429.
5. Peredo, Ana Maria, and Murdith McLean. 2010. "Indigenous Development and the Cultural Captivity of Entrepreneurship." *Business and Society* 52 (4): 592-620. <http://bas.sagepub.com/content/52/4/592>.
6. Higgins-Desbiolles, Freya, George Trevorrow, and Syd Sparrow. 2014. "The Coorong Wilderness Lodge: A Case Study of Planning Failures in Indigenous Tourism." *Tourism Management* 44: 46-57. <http://www.sciencedirect.com.dbgw.lis.curtin.edu.au/science/article/pii/S0261517714000351>.
7. Altman, Jon, and Julie Finlayson. 2003. "Aborigines, Tourism and Sustainable Development." *The Journal of Tourism Studies* 14 (1): 78-91.
8. Wyatt, Ben (MLA Western Australia). 2015. *The Evolution of Aboriginal Leadership. Pathfinders: Indigenous Business, Leadership and Social Change*, November 2015, 10-11. <https://www.joomag.com/magazine/mag/0969945001446294195?feature=archive>
9. Matunga, Hirini. 2013. "Theorizing Indigenous Planning." In *Reclaiming Indigenous Planning*, eds R. Walker, T. Jojola and D. Natcher, 3-32. Montreal, Canada: McGill-Queen's University Press.
10. Klyver, Kim, and Dennis Foley. 2012. "Networking and Culture in Entrepreneurship." *Entrepreneurship and Regional Development* 24 (7): 561-588. <http://ideas.repec.org/a/taf/entreg/v24y2012i7-8p561-588.html>.
11. Australian Taxation Office. 2009. *Indigenous Small Business Owners in Australia*. Canberra: Australian Taxation Office.
12. Anderson, Robert B., Leo Paul Dana, and Teresa E. Dana. 2006. "Indigenous Land Rights, Entrepreneurship, and Economic Development in Canada: "Opting-in" to the Global Economy." *Journal of World Business* 41: 45-55.
13. Klyver, Kim, Kevin Hindle, and Denny Meyer. 2008. "Influence of Social Network Structure on Entrepreneurship Participation-a Study of 20 National Cultures." *International Entrepreneurship Management Journal* 4: 331-347. doi: 10.1007/s11365-007-0053-0.
14. Australian Taxation Office, *Indigenous Small Business Owners*.
15. Klyver and Foley, *Networking and Culture in Entrepreneurship*.
16. Foley, Dennis, and Boyd Hunter. 2008. "Submission to the House of Representatives Standing Committee on Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Affairs (Horscatsia) Inquiry 'Developing Indigenous Enterprises-the Road to Economic Independence'."
17. Pearson, Cecil A. L., and Klaus Helms. 2013. "Indigenous Social Entrepreneurship: The Gumatj Clan Enterprise in East Arnhem Land." *Journal of Entrepreneurship* 22 (1): 43-70. <http://joe.sagepub.com/content/22/1/43.abstract>.
18. Foley, *Does Business Success Make You Any Less Indigenous?*
19. Klyver and Foley, *Networking and Culture in Entrepreneurship*.
20. Frederick, Howard H., and Dennis Foley. 2006. "Indigenous Populations as Disadvantaged Entrepreneurs in Australia and New Zealand." *The International Indigenous Journal of Entrepreneurship, Advancement, Strategy and Education*: 1-16. <http://www.indigenousjournal.com/IIJEASVolIIIss2Frederick.pdf>.
21. Pearson and Helms, *Indigenous Social Entrepreneurship: The Gumatj Clan Enterprise*.
22. Foley, *Does Business Success Make You Any Less Indigenous?*
23. Foley, Dennis. 2010. "Enterprise and Entrepreneurship Are Not Un-Aboriginal." *Journal of Australian Indigenous Issues* 13 (4): 85-93. <http://nova.newcastle.edu.au/vital/access/manager/Repository/uon:9652>
24. Chapman, Jonathan. 2011. "Succession Planning for the Entrepreneur." *Construction Accounting & Taxation* 21 (4): 5-12. <http://search.proquest.com.dbgw.lis.curtin.edu.au/docview/886423991/fullPDF/52A49E8B8C7949FCPQ/1?accountid=10382>
25. Morley, S. 2014. *Success Factors for Indigenous Entrepreneurs and Community-Based Enterprises*. Australian Institute of Health and Welfare & Australian Institute of Family Studies. <http://www.aihw.gov.au/WorkArea/DownloadAsset.aspx?id=60129546986>.
26. Kevin Hindle, Robert B. Anderson, Robert J. Giberson, and Bob Kayseas. 2005. "Relating Practice to Theory in Indigenous Entrepreneurship: A Pilot Investigation of the Kitsaki Partnership Portfolio." *American Indian Quarterly* 29 (1/2): 1-23. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4138799>.
27. Pearson, Cecil A. L., and Klaus Helms. 2012.

"Conversations with Australian Indigenous Females Revealing Their Motives When Establishing a Sustainable Small Business." *Information Management and Business Review* 4 (6): 299-310. http://search.proquest.com.dbgw.lis.curtin.edu.au/docview/1030094596?rfr_id=info%3Axri%2Fsid%3Aprim0.

28. Ibid.
29. Foley, Dennis. 2008. "Does Culture and Social Capital Impact on the Networking Attributes of Indigenous Entrepreneurs?" *Journal of Enterprising Communities: People and Places in the Global Economy* 2 (3): 204-224. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1108/17506200810897204>
30. Pearson and Helms, Indigenous Social Entrepreneurship: The Gumatj Clan Enterprise.
31. de Janasz, Suzanne C., Sherry E. Sullivan, and Vicki Whiting. 2003. "Mentor Networks and Career Success: Lessons for Turbulent Times." *Academy of Management Executive* 17 (4):78-93. http://www.jstor.org/able/4166008?seq=1&cid=pdfreference#references_tab_contents



CONTACT:

Warrick Nerehana Fort
School of Built Environment
Curtin University, Perth WA
warrick.fort@postgrad.curtin.edu.au

WAITOC
www.waitoc.com
PO Box 7689
Cloisters Square, Perth WA 6850