Indigenous Culture and Entrepreneurship in Small Businesses in Australia

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Introduction

Indigenous entrepreneurship in Australia takes many forms: Partnerships between corporate Australia and Indigenous corporations/communities; Indigenous community-owned enterprises; Indigenous social enterprises and Co-operatives, though the majority are private small to medium enterprises (SMEs). One of the most significant developments in the Australian Indigenous economy the last two decades has been the increasing importance of Indigenous entrepreneurs and enterprises. Between 1991 and 2011, the number of Indigenous self-employed almost tripled from 4,600 to 12,500, an increase of more than 271 per cent (Hunter, 2013). As Hunter (2014) further shows, the number of Indigenous employers in remote areas has grown in the five year inter-censual period between 2006 and 2011, while the gap between Indigenous and non-Indigenous entrepreneurs in remote areas is closing. Nevertheless the rate of Indigenous entrepreneurship in Australia is much lower than that of non-Indigenous Australians. As Hunter (2013) shows through his analysis of 2011 national census data, between 1991 and 2011 the rate of self-employment for non-Indigenous Australians is about five times that of the rate of Indigenous entrepreneurship.

This relatively low rate of Indigenous entrepreneurship not exclusively an Australian phenomenon, but is replicated in countries with Indigenous populations around the world (Dana and Anderson, Eds., 2007). Since most entrepreneurs, including Indigenous entrepreneurs, operate small to medium enterprises (SMEs) this under-representation of Indigenous peoples in the global SME sector requires some explanation. A combination of factors can be hypothesised to explain this under-representation. Most Indigenous peoples experience socio-economic disadvantage relative to the non-Indigenous population. Low income, poor health, lower levels of education, high rates of criminality and unemployment and inadequate housing constitute a formidable socio-economic barrier to Indigenous entrepreneurship (Langton, 2013). As the latest data demonstrates for Australia (Department of Prime Minister and Cabinet, 2016), little progress has been made in reducing this Indigenous socio-economic disadvantage, or Closing the Gap as it is referred to in Australia. Indigenous enterprises play a crucial role in reducing Indigenous socio-economic disadvantage through contributions to increasing the standard of living of indigenous entrepreneurs' families and contributing to the economic development of their communities. Indigenous enterprises generate Indigenous employment: as Hunter (2014, p. 16) shows, Indigenous entrepreneurs in Queensland created 300 per cent more Indigenous employment than other Australian enterprises.
At the same time global Indigenous culture is often characterised by an emphasis on communality – the benefit of the many - rather than individuality and the primacy of wealth acquisition of the individual which is the central characteristic of “rational economic man” in neoclassical free market economics (Cassidy 2009; Quiggan 2010). In this sense Indigenous culture could be characterised as anti-entrepreneurial. However, as this paper argues, such a characterisation is a crude stereotype that offers little to an understanding of contemporary relationship between Indigenous culture and entrepreneurship in Australia. It does not sit well with the data on the rapid growth in Indigenous entrepreneurship in Australian SMEs and the growing strength of other Indigenous community enterprises, co-operatives and corporate partnerships. Drawing on primary (the findings of qualitative fieldwork conducted for a recent study of Indigenous enterprises) and secondary (census data and research on Australian Indigenous entrepreneurship) data, this paper looks at the relationship between Indigenous culture and entrepreneurship.

The central research question that this paper addresses is the relationship between Indigenous culture and entrepreneurship in Australian SMEs. There are a number of dimensions of this relationship. At one level Indigenous culture generates a series of goods and services for which Indigenous entrepreneurs have a comparative advantage or an entrepreneurial market niche. Enterprises focussing on Indigenous art and craft, Indigenous tourism and workforce education and training about Indigenous cultural sensitivity are examples of this. At another level Indigenous culture is embedded in a history of dispossession and invasion and a contemporary reality of persistent racial stereotypes and lived experiences of socio-economic disadvantage and social exclusion (Langton, 2013). Moreover Indigenous culture is a complex phenomenon: rather than a homogenous community Australia’s Indigenous peoples historically come from over 600 tribal and or clan groupings with their own land and, in most instances, their own language/dialect. Australia’s contemporary Indigenous peoples are mostly an urbanised population living in the large Australian cosmopolitan metropolises though some still live in regional, rural and remote areas. Most Indigenous Australians have spouses or partners who are non-Indigenous and have family histories of complex multi-generational intersections with non-Indigenous family members (Biddle, 2013). Family obligations and relationships resonate strongly in contemporary Indigenous households and communities (Altman 2001).

Taking this complex construction of contemporary Indigenous culture as a point of departure, this paper addresses a number of research questions about the relationship between Indigenous culture and entrepreneurship in Australian SMEs: In what ways does Indigenous culture impact on the goals of Indigenous entrepreneurs and their business dynamics? How is Indigenous entrepreneurship embedded within Indigenous culture and Indigenous family and community relationships, responsibilities and ambitions and what is the impact of this cultural embeddedness on the dynamics of their SMEs? How importance are non-Indigenous partners in Indigenous SME enterprises and are Indigenous enterprises at the same time cosmopolitan enterprises. What is the impact of racialisation on the experiences of Indigenous SMEs in Australia?
The structure of this paper is as follows. Section 2 provides an overview of research into Australian Indigenous enterprises. Section 3 draws on primary data generated by qualitative fieldwork with 38 male and female Indigenous entrepreneurs across Australia to address the research questions raised above. Section 4 provides an overview of the main contributions of this paper to the literature on Indigenous SME enterprises.

Research into Australian Indigenous Enterprises

One of the earliest surveys of Indigenous businesses in Australia was conducted by Byrnes (1989, p. 10), who estimated that there were 500 Aboriginal commercial businesses across the country by the late 1980s, and that “more are starting all the time”. In 1991, when the rate of self-employment among the Australian born males was 7.6 per cent, the rate of self-employment among the Australian Indigenous peoples was 4.0 per cent (Hunter (1999). One of the critical arguments for the establishment of Indigenous enterprises in Australia is that they provide an opportunity for generating employment of Indigenous people. A survey of 38 Indigenous enterprises in New South Wales (NSW) (Collins, 2004) showed that three out of four Indigenous enterprises employed five or less people, with five enterprises employing between six and ten workers, three employing between 11 and 20 workers and five employing more than 20 workers. This finding provides a strong argument to support the growth of Indigenous enterprises in general, and community-owned Indigenous enterprises in particular. Analysing a Queensland business database, Hunter (2014, p. 16) estimates that “Indigenous businesses are still about 100 times more likely to employ an Indigenous Australian than non-Indigenous businesses”. Indigenous enterprises in Australia thus provide an opportunity for generating Indigenous employment – central to any Closing the Gap strategy - and a way out of welfare dependency within the framework of self-determination that entrepreneurship offers.

One key issue in the Indigenous entrepreneurship literature relates to the motivations and goals of Indigenous entrepreneurs. Traditional entrepreneurship literature stresses the main goal of business enterprises is profits and the main goal of entrepreneurs is private wealth accumulation – the fundamental backbone of neoclassical free market theory (Cassidy, 2009; Quiggan, 2010). The minority of Indigenous entrepreneurs in the NSW survey (Collins, 2004) reported that they did it for the traditional materialistic reasons embedded in the capitalist spirit: Thirteen enterprises were started to make money; another nine for “financial independence.” However, more than two in every three enterprises surveyed stated that they had commenced the enterprise for communitarian reasons. This referred to providing Aboriginal people with education, training, employment, community development. This is one dimension of the way that Indigenous SMEs in Australia are embedded in Indigenous culture: cultural obligations to both immediate family members and broader indigenous community members are deeply felt by Indigenous entrepreneurs.

Yet there is an anxiety about Indigenous business enterprise failure, particularly within co-operative or community-owned businesses. In part, this is shaped by reports of misadministration of Aboriginal Lands Councils and other organisations (Norman 2015). It may also be shaped by the stereotypical association
of Aboriginal people with an inability to succeed. However, small enterprise failure is part of the generic nature of small business per se, rather than a result of particular Aboriginal entrepreneurial inadequacies based on some primordial and static view about Aboriginal culture. Research by the Standing Council on Employment, Education and Workplace Relations (2000, p. 188) shows that:

only about 3 per cent of small businesses are truly successful, with 17 per cent providing a reasonable result for their owners where they are at least maintaining the values of their assets, 40 per cent are vulnerable in that their equity is steadily devaluing, 25 per cent are at risk with their asset base rapidly eroding and 15 per cent are at a critical stage in terms of survivability as their equity runs out or their positions become insolvent.

In the 2004 NSW survey just over half of the business enterprises surveyed made a profit in the previous year, though all reported that they thought that their business was a success (Collins, 2004). This leads to the question – is it possible to have legitimate business goals other than profitability? What benchmarks do Indigenous entrepreneurs use to judge the success of their entrepreneurial endeavours? For some, survival is the measure. For others, growing the business in employment size, improving community and inter-cultural relations, or improving their community’s outcomes are such benchmarks. For others, a good reputation and continued usage by local Aboriginal peoples is critical. Interestingly, even sole-owned enterprises often included some measure related to their community while calculating business success – not just profits (Morley, 2014).

Research suggests that Indigenous businesses face both racial and gender discrimination from mainstream society (as well as discrimination from Indigenous communities, emerging from a lack of Indigenous understanding of entrepreneurs) (Foley, 2006; Australian Tax Office, 2009). Other barriers faced by potential Indigenous entrepreneurs include a lack of basic business skills and financial literacy (Schaper, 1999; Collins, 2004; Baguley, 2007), a lack of education and training (Collins, Gibson, Alcorso, Castles, & Tait, 1995), a limited pool of skilled labour (Flamsteed & Golding, 2005; Schaper, 1999); poor mentoring and inadequate business advisory support in the establishment phase (Altman, 2001; Collins, 2004) and a lack of access to finance and education (Collins, 2004; Foley, 2006). These have been identified by some scholars as a colonial impact, resulting in the underdevelopment of Indigenous social and human capital (Klyver & Foley, 2010). Low levels of human and social capital have led to other social and economic problems, including an undermining of the incentive for individuals to engage in entrepreneurial activity, welfare dependence and substance abuse (Baguley, 2007).

Altman (2001) has also highlighted the poor management practices in differentiating commercial from non-commercial objectives in Indigenous enterprises and the tension between property rights as defined in Australian law and in customary law (Altman, 2002). Moreover, the “metro-centrism of service delivery” has resulted in the inaccessibility of government and banking services in remote areas (Altman, 2002; Flamsteed & Golding, 2005). The extremely small size of most Aboriginal communities also has negative impact on the commercial viability of Indigenous enterprises (Altman, 2001; Beer,
Maud, & Pritchard, 2003). There also appears to be an inadequate incentive for the private sector to engage with Indigenous business, while Government support programmes for Indigenous business are sometimes designed without consultation and inefficiently administered (Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs, 2003). Most studies have focused on single issues rather than mapping the prevalence of a range of critical success factors. Nor have these studies investigated many of the factors that we know to be important in influencing business success, notably social capital (Van Es & Dockery, 2003; Hindle & Lansdowne, 2005; Foley, 2008).

Indigenous Culture and Entrepreneurship

This section of the paper draws on in-depth, semi-structured interviews undertaken with 22 male and 16 female Indigenous entrepreneurs located in urban, regional and rural across Australia using a networking or snowballing methodology to explore the complex and often contradictory ways that Indigenous culture impacts on Indigenous small businesses.

The relationship between Indigenous culture and Indigenous enterprises and entrepreneurship is a central issue in the field of study. Altman (2001, p. 15) argued that the competitive advantage of Indigenous enterprises relates to those which are rooted in Indigenous culture: “Indigenous communities only have competitive advantage in a small number of industries, mostly in the areas of ‘culture business’ (the manufacture of arts and crafts, the provision of cultural tourism services, etc.).” Here culture is used to refer to goods and services that derive their distinctiveness from Indigenous culture. Yet at the same time, Altman suggests that there is an apparent contradiction or paradox between Indigenous cultural and business culture:

A critical issue that many communities face is determining where their competitive advantage lies. In many situations it is in what is termed above ‘culture business’, but a problem with culture business is that it is not very amenable to commercial business. Conversely, commercial business is not very amenable to cultural priorities. The result is a major potential development mismatch.

In our qualitative fieldwork we explored the role of Indigenous culture in the business enterprises and found that perceptions of our informants of the cultural impact on their businesses was complex and multifaceted. In some fields such as tourism and art, Indigenous culture enhanced the business. In other Indigenous enterprises, Indigenous culture constrained the business. For example, participants recounted difficulties in securing reliable Indigenous workers in some locations, or the need for private capital accumulation versus the perception by their extended family of their obligation to share their wealth with their relatives. In one tourism business owned by an Indigenous woman in Darwin, Northern Territory, an Indigenous cultural interpretation of tourist sites was the key competitive advantage of the business but at the same time the key barrier to the business success was an inability to secure reliable Indigenous workers for the business.
Unsurprisingly, the concept of “culture” was interpreted differently by business owners, however four strong themes were evident: Family priorities (values and morals around responsibility and care); egalitarianism (values around fairness); survivor mentality (individual and collective traits around strength, determination and resilience); and cultural knowledge products (externalisation of cultural heritage through food, dance, art, stories and lineage).

Commitment to family was a very strong indication of Indigenous cultural identity across business owners. In this reasoning, priority was placed on maintaining kin relationships and fulfilling notions of responsibility to family members. As Foley (2010) argues, strong views remain among Indigenous people concerning protocol and ethics. What has evolved are contemporary Indigenous values that allow the Indigenous Australian to maintain cultural standards revolving around kinship in contemporary Australia.

One informant, B14, who ran a pizza shop business with his non-Indigenous wife, expressed this ethos directly. His family was very much involved in the business and making business decisions:

It’s all part of your life. If your family is involved, it’s liked any, like an ethnic thing, really, like the Chinese, a family business. It’s about your family, and Aboriginal people are no different. ... People think that what I’m doing doesn’t involve culture, because it’s all business. But it’s a lot of Indigenous business, really.

B8, who ran an industrial laundry in Melbourne, had claimed that her Aboriginal culture “doesn’t influence us in any way” until she spoke about her family; “I think the only thing with being Indigenous, is that family’s priority. ... I’ve got nieces and nephews that I’ve been able to help at times when they’ve been out of work for a little while.” Other participants preferred not to mix business and family for this very reason. B28, for example, found it difficult to separate her work from family needs in her household, “[I]n an Aboriginal household, everyone wants to use the computer. So it’s just trying to cut that down, cut that right back.” B32, who ran a cultural tourism business with his brothers, also highlighted the sacrifice that needed to be made to extended family and kin for the business to thrive:

You can’t go off in the car and say ‘I am going to the footy game’ ... or ... ‘I am going to the funeral’ ... you have to put the business first and it’s hard ... But then, other people in the community don’t see us all there ... So it’s a difficult balance ...
This concept of sacrifice was a common theme in the entrepreneurs’ business histories. Entrepreneurs had to put the business first, and the down side of this sacrifice was felt to be specifically taxing on Indigenous cultural relations which relied on participation, care and responsibility.

Outside of the family, participants differed considerably in what they identified as Indigenous and the impact of Indigenous culture on their business. Some entrepreneurs felt that there were key points of difference between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal businesses. These ranged from “everything” to significant forms of power structures, the role of women, and transparency.

“I think that there’s definitely a different way in which we handle things in conjunction to corporate business. Yes”, detailed B27. She ran an Indigenous food café in Sydney and saw her Indigenous cultural identity as impacting on “everything” in her business from how she managed her staff to the food she served and the suppliers she used, “Everything is based on being, not just culturally safe but culturally aware .... In Aboriginal business you join a team and work as a team, everyone’s on the same level”.

In this explanation, B7 drew on an absence of hierarchy and a focus on egalitarianism to distinguish her business as both Indigenous and separate from “corporate” businesses. B26, whose company ran dances and cultural workshops in Sydney, also had a perception of cultural heritage and its impact on her business as being morally guided. For her, this was akin to a form of faith, which she felt determined the nature of her business success, explaining, “I rely on my culture for a lot of things to run the business. I truly believe that if I have done the wrong thing culturally over the years, I wouldn’t still be in business”.

This cultural protocol featured strongly in several entrepreneur’s identities and practices, as well as in the narratives of the products they developed and sold. While the predominant impact of Indigenous culture on businesses appeared to be how one treated family and maintained kin relations, for those working in fields perceived to be more “traditionally” aligned with overt cultural heritage – such as tourism to Indigenous sites or Indigenous arts and crafts - seeking guidance and permission from elders was another central component of their business.

2011 census data shows that most Indigenous Australians who have a partner have a non-Indigenous partner (Biddle 2013). The importance of non-Indigenous partners in Indigenous enterprises was also very strong theme of our qualitative research. The Indigenous entrepreneurs were more likely to have a spouse than be single, and these spouses were more likely to be non-Indigenous. Non-Indigenous male entrepreneurs were also more likely to be in a relationship with a non-Indigenous woman, whereas Indigenous women were more likely to be single.
Several entrepreneurs in this research were also in a formal business partnership with their spouse, and many of these partners also played a key role in the Indigenous enterprise. 42 per cent of all participants identified as receiving a significant input into the business from their spouse. These spouses occupied many different roles, ranging from business advice and management; financial, technological and administrative advice and support; childcare, and emotional labour. In most cases, the spouse who occupied this informal role did not receive a formal wage from the business.

For example, B10, who managed an Indigenous graphic design and printing company, explained that he could not have gone into business without the financial support of his spouse. For B2, a painter decorator in regional New South Wales, his wife maintained the technological and administrative side; “It’s just basically my wife and myself is really that’s just sort of how we... I’ve never had financial help or anything like that from anyone”. His wife did not receive a wage for her work but was instrumental to the business. Likewise B21, who ran cultural tours in the NT, made her husband’s role explicit when she explained, “he does the backbone. I’m more of the show pony, so we work really well together”. While her husband was not a formal business partner, he managed much of the financial and administrative side, including her website.

The participants in this study with non-Indigenous spouses also cited clear advantages in access to finances, such as their spouse owning property, less racial discrimination, less gender discrimination among women, and access to wider cultural capital from non-Indigenous networks and education. This suggests that non-Indigenous spouses contributed considerable human and cultural capital in the form of education, experience and networks to Indigenous entrepreneurs (see also Foley 2006, pp. 18-19). This was particularly evident in the area of financing, with eleven entrepreneurs having sourced a range of mainstream finance which they combined with their own personal savings. Ten of these eleven entrepreneurs also had a spouse, nine of whom were non-Indigenous. This strongly suggests that entrepreneurs with a non-Indigenous spouse were more likely to seek and obtain a mainstream bank loan in their business.

A corollary of the high rate of Indigenous exogamy over generations is the fact that many Indigenous couples and families – including entrepreneurial couples and families – have very multicultural family lineages. Several entrepreneurs mobilised their non-Indigenous cultural identity in their entrepreneurial identity. In doing so, they highlighted forms of “ethnic capital”, identifying traits which they felt were innate to their cultural origins. B19 identified her entrepreneurial heritage in the Chinese-Malayan ancestry of her great grandfather, and drew on this inter-cultural family heritage in the narrative of her success and motivation:

I’ve found out through my heritage and my DNA that my great grandfather who was Chinese/Malayan was a very, very predominant businessman ... I’ve come to the realisation that it’s actually in my DNA. My dad was self-employed and ran his own painting contracting business, so I have been around men and women within my family that have been self-motivating to own and operate businesses.
B19 contributes to a subtle theme that comes through in the transcripts of people re-interpretating and re-writing Indigenous history as one of being highly entrepreneurial and “in my DNA”, so to speak. In another example of a cosmopolitan heritage, B34 sought to “draw people who are non-Indigenous into my business”. He had an emblem which combined the Aboriginal flag with the union jack, and called it “tribal street wear”:

I don’t call my business Aboriginal street wear ... A lot of people see the Aboriginal colours and the flag as a negative thing, so I’ve still kept the colours but I’ve put in a British emblem as I’m half-British. So I’m trying to meet halfway without removing who I am...that’s my main emblem for the business and it’s accepting everyone.

Indigenous Australians have been a racialized minority in Australia for most of white settlement. They face discrimination in public spaces and places (Paradies, Harris, & Anderson, 2008) and in the institutions of Australian life such as the labour market (Biddle, Howlett, Hunter, & Paradies, 2013). Racial prejudice and lowered expectations among both Indigenous community members and outsiders were common themes in the impact of Indigenous culture on their business.

Some immigrant entrepreneurs from Asian backgrounds dealt with the prejudice that they faced by adopting practices of “playing the mainstream card” (Chiang, Low, & Collins, 2013), obscuring their Indigenous identities in certain respects. B1, an older man who had been in the business a long time, spoke of people being reluctant to buy his product in the early days due to racial prejudice, which was overcome by market demand. “It was basically they just wouldn’t buy. But eventually when people were asking for the product, then it turned around”. B12, who ran a retail outlet in regional Victoria, also spoke of an implicit prejudice he experienced directed towards him as an Indigenous business owner. “With your suppliers”, he elaborated, “it’s nearly detrimental. Because they think, ‘ah, he won’t pay his bill’ ... you’d have more hope if you told them lies”. With Indigenous customers, the other side of this was making sure that Indigenous customers in the community would pay; “you’ve gotta just let them know that it’s all got to be paid for all the way. Give them a discount, do the right thing, but they’ve still got to be treated as customers”

B22, a non-Indigenous consultant working for a community business in the Northern Territory, further explained, “there is a bit of an expectation that if it’s an Aboriginal company ... you’ll get the job done but the standards might be somewhat lower or something”. B26 stressed how crucial it was to break both the perception of Indigenous people being in welfare, and of Indigenous people perceiving themselves as being entitled. It was important, she argued, that young Indigenous people understood that they have to work hard, to “give Aboriginal people a go”, and to be treated in the same way as other non-Aboriginal people, citing, “give us a hand up, not a hand out”.


Conclusions

Indigenous entrepreneurship in Australia is growing both numerically and in terms of importance for Indigenous socio-economic development. More and more Indigenous Australians are moving to establish a small business to provide a livelihood for themselves and their families. These developments are important because Indigenous entrepreneurship in Australia plays a central and growing role in reducing Indigenous socio-economic disadvantage, providing Indigenous employment and contributing to the economic development of Indigenous communities. However, there has been inadequate contemporary research into this issue. This paper has drawn on new qualitative research with Indigenous entrepreneurs in SMEs across urban, regional, rural and remote Australia to explore how contemporary Indigenous culture impacts on Indigenous entrepreneurship. One key finding is that Indigenous culture both enables and constrains Indigenous entrepreneurs and their enterprises. Most Indigenous entrepreneur informants gave a higher priority to the their enterprise achieving social aims – creating Indigenous jobs, contribution to Indigenous community development – than the literature suggests for non-Indigenous SMEs. Private capital accumulation and individual wealth is not the only goal of Indigenous enterprises. The contribution of this paper is to situate the explanation for this difference within Indigenous culture where social and community obligation and priorities are given high importance.

Indigenous entrepreneurs in small private business also aim primarily to provide for their family, a trait that they have in common with other Australian entrepreneurs in such enterprises, including immigrant entrepreneurs (Collins and Shin 2014). Investigations into Indigenous culture often construct it as traditional and static. This paper rejects this approach, demonstrating that the families of Indigenous entrepreneurs are increasingly cosmopolitan in character. Most Indigenous entrepreneurs have non-Indigenous spouses or personal partners who are also formal or informal business partners. Many Indigenous couples and families also have very multicultural family lineages, and this paper suggests that this cosmopolitan aspect of Indigenous entrepreneurship – and the way that contemporary Indigenous culture exhibits increasingly complex cosmopolitan elements - has often been overlooked in the literature. This is a new insight into the literature on Indigenous SMEs and requires further investigation.

The paper also argues that the racialized experience of Australian Indigenous people impacts on Indigenous entrepreneurship in complex and sometimes contradictory ways. It constrains their movement into entrepreneurship and at the same time shapes the dynamic of their enterprise and their entrepreneurial goals, elevating the importance of their contribution to their (racialized and disadvantaged) Indigenous community. Furthermore a move into entrepreneurship is a way for Indigenous people to achieve better economic outcomes than are generally available to them in the Australia labour market where racial discrimination still constrains the achievements of Indigenous and other racial minorities. A key contribution of this paper is to view racial discrimination as a barrier to, and a motivating force for, Indigenous entrepreneurship and to situate racial discrimination as a dimension of contemporary Indigenous culture in Australia and in other countries that profoundly impacts on Indigenous entrepreneurship.
Indigenous entrepreneurship in small business private enterprises in Australia is a complex phenomenon. To understand it we need to investigate how Indigenous entrepreneurship is embedded within cultural, family and Indigenous community relationships. It is clear from this paper that there is a strong potential for Indigenous entrepreneurship in small business to grow even more rapidly in coming decades. Policies and programs to support the formation on new Indigenous businesses and the development of existing Indigenous enterprises would assist in this regard. These policies and programs cannot just be copied from existing programs to support other Australian entrepreneurs in small business. Rather, they need to be tailored to the different social, cultural and economic dynamics that shape Indigenous entrepreneurship across urban, regional, rural and remote locations in Australia.

References


