

Indigenous entrepreneurship as a research field: developing a definitional framework from the emerging canon

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Abstract This study defines Indigenous entrepreneurship as a distinct disciplinary field of science and charts for it a pre-paradigmatic framework. A strategy of literature search and examination was utilized to argue that Indigenous entrepreneurship is sufficiently distinguished from both mainstream entrepreneurship and other social and management sciences to constitute a legitimate, well-defined sub-field of research in its own right. The study provides both a formal definition of the field and diagrammatic framework to describe it.

Keywords Indigenous · Aboriginal · Entrepreneurship · Colonialism · Economic development

Introduction

The study reported in this paper endeavours to define a newly emerging field of research (or dismiss its rights to be called a field) by searching for, evaluating and classifying a body of scholarly works that might have claim to constituting the principles generally established as valid and fundamental in a field: a canon of Indigenous entrepreneurship research. Potentially, it is going to be very difficult to convince mainstream entrepreneurship scholars that Indigenous entrepreneurship has any claim to being a distinctive research field. Presented below is a set of ‘predicate’ data, from Australia, that points to both the distinctness and importance of Indigenous entrepreneurship as a

As a mark of respect to all Indigenous peoples, the word “Indigenous” is used with a capital “I” throughout this paper.

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research field by elaborating on the context in which Indigenous entrepreneurship takes place.

It has been estimated that there are just over 420,000 Indigenous Australians, living mainly in urban centres. Over half live in New South Wales and Queensland but the highest regional concentration (27.7 per cent) live in the Northern Territory. Compared to the non-Indigenous, Indigenous Australians are two and a quarter times more likely to die before birth. Their life expectancy is only two thirds as long as a mainstream Australian. As recently as April 2007 there was major press coverage of a recent report stating that the average Indigenous Australian can expect to live 20 years less than the average White or Immigrant Australians. Indigenous Australians have over 16 times the incarceration rate of non-Indigenous Australians. They need hospitalization nearly twice as much. Their unemployment rate is nearly four times the mainstream average. Their children are subject to nearly four and a half times the number of protection orders. They are more than 47 times more likely to be living in a dwelling with ten or more people. They have less than half the mainstream retention rates for final year high school. The Indigenous have only a third of the rate of post-high school qualifications and only 68 percent of the median weekly income of the non-Indigenous. The hospital admissions rate for Indigenous women, due to interpersonal violence, is over 47 times the rate for non-Indigenous women and the strongest causal factor is substance abuse (Office of Indigenous Policy, 1999, cited in Allen Consulting Group 2001). These are 2001 data. At the time of our going to press with this article, we have unfortunately missed the release of the latest data set on Indigenous disadvantage in Australia, about to be published by that country's Productivity Commission. While it would have been preferable to have the later data set, we are prepared to risk this speculation. Whatever the recent figures may show, they will show scarcely any improvement in any key measure of relative disadvantage. The new story will be the same old story: passive welfare has failed and Indigenous disadvantage is massive.

As it is for Aboriginals and Torres Strait Islanders, the Indigenous peoples of Australia, so it is for the Indigenous peoples of Canada, New Zealand, the USA, the Scandinavian countries, Russia, Japan, Taiwan, most other Asian nations and indeed, any country where a mainstream polity, through the success of physical and cultural invasion, has come to dominate an Indigenous population who now reside as disadvantaged minority citizens in lands they once controlled (U.N. Report 1987; 2003). A perusal of the extensive literature presented in the reference section of this paper will provide overwhelming evidence of the global nature of Indigenous disadvantage: the pattern is generically similar in many different hegemonic states.

It is thus the purpose of this paper to discern whether or not the patterns above and the consequent phenomenon that emerges from them can be formalized through review of the literature into categories that allow for the classification of Indigenous entrepreneurship as a field of research. In doing so, we ask the following questions: 1) what are the theory, techniques and practice used to distinguish the specific characteristics of a literature in order to determine whether or not it constitutes a valid field of academic study? 2) Does the specific phenomenon of Indigenous entrepreneurship possess any distinct characteristics that may distinguish it from the general phenomenon of entrepreneurship? 3) If so, what are the specific character-

istics that pertain to Indigenous entrepreneurship and do they form a unique subset that can be successfully categorized within the general field of entrepreneurship research and distinguished from other specialized fields? To summarize, we are interested in determining whether or not, Indigenous entrepreneurship can be validly and legitimately classified as a field of study that is distinct from other subsets within the entrepreneurship literature and ultimately, gain recognition from the mainstream domains of applied academic research.

This paper proceeds as follows. First, the theory, practice and tools used to evaluate and categorize the literature into specific fields of study are reviewed. Second, the mainstream literature in the field of entrepreneurship is explored to provide an overview of the phenomenon, definitions and schools of thought relevant to current research. Next, an effort to define and categorize the literature on Indigenous entrepreneurship is explored with the objective of providing further evidence to the importance and legitimacy of the Indigenous entrepreneurship literature as an accepted field of academic inquiry. Definitions are provided that help to formalize its distinctness. The next section aligns the methods with the objective of this paper and explains and justifies the processes used to compile, classify and categorize the data. This is then followed by a presentation of the findings which leads into discussion and analysis. Implications of the findings that include a framework of the distinct categories of Indigenous entrepreneurship are presented and discussed, limitations are briefly evaluated and areas for future research commented upon. The paper concludes with the authors interpretation of the findings.

Predicate perspectives and definitions

What exactly qualifies as a (scientific) field of inquiry?

We anchor our approach to this task by first exploring the question: “what constitutes a viable field of academic inquiry?” Merton (1973) argues that there are four objectives that can be uniformly applied: 1) the setting out of general laws, 2) the requirement for rigorous and unabated questioning of these laws and the facts that support them, 3) the conceptualization through classification, organization and categorization of a collection of interlinked facts and or observations that share common foundations, and 4) the development of a community that adheres to a guiding framework of norms and principles for advancing research within the field in question. There is also a dynamic element to be considered. Edmondson and McManus (2007) suggest that the development of theory can be conceptualized as existing along a continuum extending from nascent to mature. It is along this continuum that theories eventually take shape and blossom into communities from which fields of study gain their beginnings. This formalization is a direct process of the emergence of specific features that arise from what is being studied that demand the instantiation of guiding principles from the scholars who perform the research. Over time, each field espouses distinct features that impact upon which questions should be asked and how, the appropriate methods used and implementation (Van Maanen et al. 2007), and ultimately how data must be interpreted and generalized

(Diamond 1997). It is within this highly subjective area where the distinctness required of a field of research must be evaluated by the nature of the standing theory that ultimately describes it.

Kuhn (1962/1970a) relates all scientific inquiry into the collection of ‘mere facts’, whereas a body of *a priori* beliefs is often already implicit in the guidance of their collection. During the early stages of an inquiry, different researchers will confront the same phenomena, interpreting them in different ways until schools of thought are formed, coalescing a wide assortment of descriptions of the scrutinised phenomena into collections of special emphasis that are pre-paradigmatic in nature. Competing schools vie for pre-eminence until a limited few emerge, based upon their capacity to synthesize old and new, attracting greater numbers of potential scholars. These paradigms thus transform a group into a profession of practice that embraces some or all of the following items:

- i. The creation of specialized journals.
- ii. Formation of specialized research groups within larger fields
- iii. Direct and indirect claims made to the designation of a special place within a field or curriculum (and designated research institutes or networks)
- iv. The fact that members of the group need no longer build their field from scratch as a host of principles, justification of concepts, questions, and methods are already formed in order to galvanize research tracts.
- v. Promulgation of peer reviewed articles intended for a select group of aligned scholars who are assumed to understand and relate to the work being advanced.
- vi. Within the context of modern communications capacity, the appearance of discussion groups, blogspots and web sites hosting and disseminating scholarly research (Kuhn 1962/1970a).

Thus a research paradigm guides and brings together the disparate and often unrealized elements of a special group’s research. It is by these criteria that we seek to investigate the possibility of identifying and clearly proclaiming Indigenous entrepreneurship as a distinct sub-discipline of entrepreneurship and charting for it a pre-paradigmatic framework that distinguishes this field of scholarship from all others. This is accomplished by first examining mainstream entrepreneurship and then attempting to define Indigenous entrepreneurship in relation to this literature. Ultimately, it becomes the task of the greater scholarly community to validate the supposition that Indigenous entrepreneurship should be recognized as a valid field of inquiry beyond that of the mainstream (Kuhn 1962/1970a).

Mainstream entrepreneurship

Davidsson (2003) provides a succinct discussion of the two main streams in the entrepreneurship literature: the emergence perspective and the opportunity perspective. The first stream views entrepreneurship as organisational or firm *emergence* (Gartner 1993) where the evolutionary and dynamic aspects of entrepreneurship are crucial and the focus is on organising activities in a Weickian sense (1999). The second stream essentially argues that entrepreneurship is about the discovery, evaluation and exploitation of *opportunities* (c.f. Shane and Venkataraman 2000).

This literature emphasises entrepreneurship as a disequilibrium activity where opportunities are defined as ‘situations in which new goods, services, raw materials, markets and organizing methods can be introduced through the formation of new means, ends, or means-ends relationship’ (Eckhardt and Shane 2003: 4). Figure 1, derived from Klyver (2005) and Blackman and Hindle (2007) contrasts the two main dimensions distinguishing the emergence view from the opportunity view. Dimension one is whether the actions involved in an entrepreneurial process are defined by creation and identification of new means and ends relationships or maximizing existing means and ends relationships. Dimension two is whether the context involves creation of new organizations or if entrepreneurship takes place in an existing organizational context. *A* is characterised by ventures whose essence is to be an innovative start-up that changes the competitive conditions within an industry and drives the market. *B* involves start-ups that do not change underlying competitive conditions within an industry or the fundamental forces that drive the operation of an existing market, but fill gaps in an existing market by maximizing existing means and ends relationships. *C* includes creation or identification of new means and ends relationships exploited in an existing organizational context, involving an existing organisation changing competitive market conditions by the introduction of new products, processes or production methods. The opportunity perspective embraces *A* and *C*. The emergence perspective embraces *A* and *B*. *D* is not entrepreneurship from either the opportunity or the emergence perspective but merely traditional management.

Agreed key issues in defining Indigenous entrepreneurship

If Indigenous entrepreneurship is to be a field, it must retain the parent discipline’s emphasis on novelty: the *newness* of either the enterprise being built or the opportunity being developed. The putative new field does not have to ‘take sides’ and decide whether the opportunity perspective or organisational emergence perspective is the ‘true’ heart of the parent field. Indigenous entrepreneurship, if it is to be a field, can and should embrace both perspectives. It ought to be about activities covered by boxes A, B and C, in Fig. 1. What can make it distinct as a field in its own right will be two things; first is the issue of ‘whom-generically’. Are Indigenous people sufficiently distinguished from mainstream entrepreneurial actors to warrant special attention? Their relative and systematic deprivation alone is sufficient to give a positive answer to this question.

Second, comes the issue of ‘what matters and for whom-specifically’. In mainstream entrepreneurship, the key thing that matters is the achievement, within the bounds of mainstream law and ethics, of a profitable outcome for the principal protagonists of an entrepreneurial venture. Indigenous contexts are markedly different. Depending on circumstance, culture, norms and other variables, Indigenous entrepreneurship may have to take account of a wider array of stakeholders and a wider variety of issues—particularly social impacts—than just the achievement of economic success by individual or firm protagonists (Anderson and Dana 2007; Hindle and Lansdowne 2005; Dana and Dana 2005; Cornell and Kalt 1998; 2000). This leads into the discovery of what the term ‘Indigenous’ means and how it impacts upon the uniqueness of the study of the phenomenon of entrepreneurship.

Actions involved			
		Creation of new means and ends relationships	Maximising existing means and ends relationships
Context	New organisations	(A) Change oriented venture creation	(B) Non-change oriented venture creation
	Existing settings	(C) Change oriented venturing in existing contexts (e.g. corporate venturing; licensing via markets etc)	(D) Traditional Management

Source: Klyver, 2005; Blackman and Hindle 2007.

Fig. 1 Distinguishing the two main perspectives of entrepreneurship research. Source: Klyver 2005; Blackman and Hindle 2007

Who, exactly, qualifies as an ‘Indigenous’ person?

Australia has two groups of Indigenous people: Aboriginals and Torres Strait Islanders. The basis of classification was given in a High Court judgment in the case of *Commonwealth v Tasmania* (1983) 46 ALR 625. An Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander is a person of Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander descent who identifies as an Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander and is accepted as such by the community in which he or she lives. Essentially, various United States agencies also use self-identification to determine Indigenous status for members of the 500 Indian nations. Canada has three groups of formally defined Indigenous people. Rather than go to a taxonomic assembly of definitions from various international political jurisdictions we will defer our offering of a generic definition of an ‘Indigenous person’, for research purposes, until after our consideration of the literature. In the actual world, far more important than how any scholar or government agency defines Indigeneity is the way Indigenous people define themselves.

The Australian example—and, it can be shown, all other attempts to define Indigeneity for legal or governmental purposes—illustrates that a very important definition of ‘Indigenous’ is *self-definition* by individuals, groups and communities. For non-Indigenous majorities, one of the hardest issues to grasp comes at the highest level of community: the concept of nation. Many Indigenous people see themselves as members of a ‘nation’ within a ‘state’.

A nation is a cultural territory made up of communities of individuals who see themselves as ‘one people’ on the basis of common ancestry, history, society, institutions, ideology, language, territory, and often, religion. A person is born into a specific nation. (Neitschmann 1994: 226)

A state is a centralized political system within international legal boundaries recognized by other states. Further, it uses a civilian-military bureaucracy to establish one government and to enforce one set of institutions and laws. It typically has one language, one economy, one claim over all resources, one currency, one flag, and sometimes one religion. (Neitschmann 1994: 226).

Neitschmann is credited with the development of what has come to be termed ‘Fourth World Theory’. This is the structured attempt to understand the situation of de-privileged original owners in lands now controlled by an alien hegemony—the essential concept of Indigeneity that underpins our literature search. Indigenous people are a dispossessed and disadvantaged minority living under a hegemony, which has much dissimilarity to their own social, economic and cultural traditions.

Two currently cited definitions of Indigenous entrepreneurship

Hindle and Lansdowne (2005) provide a definition of Indigenous entrepreneurship which has been adopted by the editors of the recently published *Handbook of Indigenous Entrepreneurship Research* (Dana and Anderson 2007: 9)

Indigenous entrepreneurship is the creation, management and development of new ventures by Indigenous people for the benefit of Indigenous people. The organizations thus created can pertain to either the private, public or non-profit sectors. The desired and achieved benefits of venturing can range from the narrow view of economic profit for a single individual to the broad view of multiple, social and economic advantages for entire communities. Outcomes and entitlements derived from Indigenous entrepreneurship may extend to enterprise partners and stakeholders who may be non-Indigenous (Hindle and Lansdowne 2005: 9).

Foley (2000) provides an overtly opportunity-focused definition:

The Indigenous Australian entrepreneur alters traditional patterns of behaviour, by utilising their resources in the pursuit of self-determination and economic sustainability via their entry into self employment, forcing social change in the pursuit of opportunity beyond the cultural norms of their initial economic resources. (Foley 2000: 25 not in the refs)

While it is hard to interpret what is meant by the phrase “beyond the cultural norms of their initial economic resources”, it is clear that here is an emphasis on opportunity development with a strong emphasis on overcoming disadvantage through creative, novel economic activity. The important thing is not the differences between these definitions (and others that could be cited), it is their common ground. Both these definitions and others offered throughout the literature (see reference section of this paper, *passim*) stress the importance of *new* economic enterprise, by and for the benefit of Indigenous people as a means of overcoming disadvantage through active participation in the global economy on a competitive business-based basis. All definitions insist that factors—particularly cultural and social norms—associated with ‘Indigeneity’ are so important that much of the received wisdom of mainstream entrepreneurship may well be inapplicable in Indigenous circumstances.

Indigenous entrepreneurship: a possible solution to Indigenous disadvantage?

Given the evidence portrayed above of Indigenous disadvantage, an argument can be made that entrepreneurship is likely to be a viable strategy for considering a multitude of

challenges faced by Indigenous peoples worldwide. Interest in Indigenous entrepreneurship has accelerated in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries primarily because passive welfare solutions have failed so comprehensively to solve any of the problems that arise from the state of Indigenous disadvantage. Agrawal has argued that the failure of neo-liberal (market) and authoritarian and bureaucratic (state) approaches to development has led to a “focus on Indigenous knowledge and production systems” (Agrawal 1995, 414). Continuing, he says that these efforts are an attempt “to reorient and reverse state policies and market forces to permit members of threatened populations to determine their own future” (Agrawal 1995, 432). For the most part, these efforts are not taking place outside the global economy, but within it. As Bebbington (1993, 275) suggests, “like it or not, Indigenous peoples are firmly integrated into a capricious and changing market. Their well-being and survival depends on how well they handle and negotiate this integration”. He goes on to say that the Indigenous approach to negotiating this integration is not to reject outright participation in the modern economy:

But rather to pursue local and grassroots control... over the economic and social relationships that traditionally have contributed to the transfer of income and value from the locality to other places and social groups (Bebbington 1993, 281).

Accordingly, entrepreneurship conducted by Indigenous people for their own benefit has come to be one area where representatives of the hegemonic mainstream state and members of various Indigenous communities have strong points of mutual agreement, though they arrive at them from very different premises. All Indigenous people, long suppressed as minority stakeholders in what were once, and they regard still, as their own lands, seek a higher degree of autonomy than the mainstream state is often willing to convey. There is also a growing awareness by many Indigenous leaders around the world that economic independence is an obvious path towards preserving all aspects of community integrity including lifestyle, heritage and culture. We present the words of a prominent Canadian Indigenous leader, Chief Clarence Louie of the Osoyoos First Nation, to emphasize and validate this thinking:

We need no strings attached by government. In the 1800’s, the government took away the Natives’ economic development [capabilities] by removing their ability to support themselves. Native people, over the years, have fed into that system. Say money. Language, culture, pow wows... I don’t care what, they all cost money. Every idea costs money... You’re going to lose your language and culture faster in poverty than you will in [pursuing] economic development...

Meanwhile, the mainstream state requires no altruism to wish that the obvious waste and failure of expensive passive welfare could be re-applied via more productive policies. So, mainstream states and Indigenous peoples come to the same ground from different starting positions. The basis of all freedom is economic freedom (De Soto 2000). The ability to enhance both the autonomy and economic development of Indigenous people, at all levels (individual, group, community and nation) by creating new ventures, new initiatives and new wealth–entrepreneurship–is mutually attractive to Indigenous people and mainstream polity (Government of Canada: RCAP Final Report 1996; World Bank 2005).

This burgeoning interest in the process and practice of Indigenous venturing extends into and informs the key question: has academic research in this area evolved into a well-structured field of study? Enter the possibility that the unique conditions and contexts that define the phenomenon of Indigenous entrepreneurship might require both a specialised field of practice, a specialised field of research and as Kuhn states, an emerging theory that attempts to describe and predict. Accordingly, a rigorous examination and analysis of the extant literature in this area is overdue.

Methodology

This paper reports the examination of a set of ‘candidate’ works on Indigenous entrepreneurship extant in the literature and employs the following design. To this point in the argument, we have dealt with the task of providing predicate perspectives and definitions of key terms. How does the putative derivative field potentially relate to the parent field of entrepreneurship research? Is there any established consensus about the meaning of ‘Indigenous person’, ‘Indigenous entrepreneurship’ and ‘Indigenous entrepreneurship research’?

Literature classification is our second task and the way we tackle it is the essence of our methodology for determining whether a new field exists or can be developed. A comprehensive literature search was designed to include all academic book publications, peer reviewed journals, University sponsored reports and any germane documents published through reputable research institutes. The authors cast a wide net using as many search tools and contacts to locate as much of the extant literature as possible. This required gaining access to papers published in peer-reviewed journals that are sometimes not represented in the main search engines such as ABI/Inform and EBSCO. Journal and book editors were contacted to retrieve forthcoming chapters and papers not currently housed within accessible online databases. Over 25 search parameters were used within available search engines, and were corroborated against searches with the internet utility ‘Google scholar’ to locate any gaps within the data retrieved from all other databases. Keywords, terms and phrases used in the search were all recorded for each database used, as well as the exact search tools used. Each search term either began with ‘Indigenous’, ‘Aboriginal’, or terms such as ‘Native American’, ‘Indigenous Norwegian’ etc. This predicate was then joined to an array of terms best perceived to elicit the full range of concepts and phenomena that could be synonymous with, representative of, or aligned with ‘entrepreneurship’. The search generated a total of 102 works that were, *prima facie*, deemed to be worthy candidates for inclusion.

Works that might qualify for inclusion in the putative field of ‘Indigenous entrepreneurship research’ were sought, examined and arranged using the search strategies and techniques previously described. After close reading of the works resulting from the search strategy, one major theme was determined a priori and four other major themes emerged. These were used as structural aids to the creation of a comprehensive categorization table, listing all works deemed to fall within the canon of papers constituting the existing body of scholarship directly germane and

principally focused upon Indigenous entrepreneurship. It was arranged in three major subdivisions: works featuring a heavy emphasis on ‘boundary setting’ and defining the field; works that, while not emphasising it, make an important contribution to field definition; and all other works deemed to fall within the boundaries of the field defined by the contribution of works in the previous two categories. A following section discusses the grounds used to determine which works should be excluded from the field.

Third, the tasks of sense making and conclusion-drawing were embraced in an assessment of the current status and future direction of the emerging field. This resulted in the development of new generic definitions of ‘Indigenous entrepreneurship’ and ‘Indigenous entrepreneurship research’ and production of an illustrated, structured framework depicting the field. Fourth, discussion focused on degrees of consensus and controversy among existing scholars in the field, limitations of work done to date, methodological issues and future directions. These definitions may be viewed as the core guidelines and theoretical concerns of the emerging field of Indigenous entrepreneurship.

Finally, it was decided to distinguish ‘general’ references (papers that contributed to the scholarly development of our arguments) from ‘specific’ references—an unalloyed collection of the citation details of the papers we deemed to constitute the current canon in what we did find to be the recognisably distinct field of Indigenous entrepreneurship research. These specific references, the ‘canon’ of extant Indigenous entrepreneurship scholarship, is provided as the appendix to this paper. In Appendix 1, we have collected the works that may be legitimately accepted as studies that seek to define and provide a legitimate framework around the phenomenon of Indigenous entrepreneurship, and distinguish it as a valid field.

Literature collection and classification

Using the search strategy outlined previously, 102 papers were produced for classification and analysis. The authors scrutinised each of the papers and highlighted the main points, issues and concepts in a literature classification matrix¹. Ambiguous classifications and categorizations were resolved through careful deliberation between the authors, following the advice of Davidsson and Wiklund (2001). The matrix contained some self-evident column headings. ‘Date’ is the date of publication. Another obvious column name: the author or authors of the work. The specific reference section contains full citation details for each work listed in the table. ‘Type’ indicates whether a work is theoretical (coded ‘T’) or empirical (coded

¹ The codified matrix can be requested by contacting the authors directly. Given a space-constrained editorial choice, we preferred to offer the full citation details of the works constituting the extant canon, arranged under the most important headings of the codification matrix. See Appendix 1.

‘E’) or both (coded ‘T&E’). Four column headings warrant more detailed explanation in the section below.

Three principal categories of works in the canon

Since our study was focused on defining a field, our principal categorisation variable indicates the extent to which a work concentrates on the task of field definition. Hence, the second column is coded ‘Cat’ and is short for ‘field defining category’. There are three principal categories, labelled, F1, F2 and F3 (where F is short for ‘field definition’). Works that belong to the ‘F1’ category are those that have, as a principal objective, the attempt to conceptually map or define the boundaries of Indigenous entrepreneurship as a unique field of research or as a noteworthy sub-field. These works often postulated theoretical assumptions on what Indigenous entrepreneurship currently entails or how the field should develop. They may have empirical, conceptual and/or elements of both. Of the 102 works considered, 8 papers were designated as those that were directly focused on defining the phenomenon of Indigenous entrepreneurship. Works classified ‘F2’, were those that considered, discussed, or presented theoretical or empirical data on Indigenous entrepreneurship, but were not directly or principally focused upon defining the field. These papers concentrated on the outcomes of Indigenous entrepreneurship, and fell into the domain of economic and sustainable development. Of the 102 papers considered, 17 papers fell into this second category. These papers were viewed as extremely important to the development of entrepreneurship within the Indigenous context as a distinct field of research by the authors as they outlined the contexts, processes, and objectives of Indigenous entrepreneurship.

Together, works coded F1 or F2 (see Appendix 1) addressed the question: What are key issues, terms, boundaries and variables associated with entrepreneurship in the Indigenous context? They were works interested in discovery of quantitative or qualitative data on Indigenous entrepreneurship, that lead to evaluation of best practices and processes for fostering successful entrepreneurship in the Indigenous context. They were works giving considerable attention to assessment of entrepreneurship as a tool for development.

Works coded ‘F3’ did not directly attempt to define or map entrepreneurship in the Indigenous context but belong to the field as defined by works coded ‘F1’ or ‘F2’. These works can be generically summarised as follows.

- They explore Indigenous issues with indirect reference to new venture creation or Indigenous entrepreneurship as a potential tool for forwarding the goals of Indigenous people.
- They address issues that are regarded as important or key to the development of the research field of Indigenous entrepreneurship, but do not speak directly to Indigenous entrepreneurship, per se, such as land, resources, cultural integrity, self-determination, governance, education, and dealing with disadvantage.
- They discuss, recommend or evaluate policy or historical factors that pertain to the development issues faced by Indigenous people.

Of the 102 papers considered, 44 papers fell into the F3 category.

Appendix 1 is arranged with F1 works listed first and not in date order, but ranked with respect to the volume of the paper that specifically addresses the issue of field definition. F2 works are listed next in reverse date and alphabetical order, as these works were much more difficult to rank due to their content. F3 works are also listed in reverse date order for the same reasons as listed for F2. As articulated below, many of the papers initially considered for canonical status did not survive detailed scrutiny.

Principal themes and key concepts

The authors began the classification task with unfettered listing of prominent concepts, issues and arguments derived or inferred from specific instances and contexts within the literature. This process involved copious note taking upon reading each work and identifying all main themes, issues, and concepts found, and then cross referencing them. The results of this exercise produced a high volume and wide range of non-coded descriptive material. Several rounds of concept comparison, amalgamation and coding followed in a search for maximum conceptual parsimony for the purpose of systematic description and classification of works. Five principal themes emerged.

(1) Defining the field of Indigenous entrepreneurship—coded ‘Def’

Given the nature and mission of this study, this theme was determined *a priori*. It is the indicator of whether a work contains significant content concerning the definition of Indigenous entrepreneurship as a distinct field of practice and/or research. Four fundamental, distinct themes were discovered *a posteriori* using a range of content analysis and textual coding techniques (Glaser and Strauss 1967).

(2) Culture and social norms—coded ‘CSN’

(3) Entrepreneurial capacity (relevant skills, experience and education)—coded ‘Capacity’

(4) Organizational drivers and constraints (institutions and governance)—coded ‘Org’

(5) Land and resource issues—coded ‘Land’

The term ‘key concepts’ as used in Table 1 (below) embraces material emphasis that authors placed on various aspects of themes (2) to (4). For instance, a particular paper might be significantly concerned with the way Indigenous governance (subset of the ‘organization’ theme) influences Indigenous entrepreneurship.

Unit(s) of analysis

Our literature classification matrix utilised five units of analysis to distinguish the principal economic actor—the *doer* of the entrepreneurship—with which any work is predominantly concerned. They are: individuals (coded ‘Ind’); Groups or Firms (coded ‘Gr/Fi’); Institutions (coded ‘Inst’); communities (coded ‘comm.’) and multiple units of analysis (coded ‘multi’). If a study merely mentioned several units of analysis but really substantively concentrated on only one, then the ‘multi’ coding was not used. If the study seriously discussed or examined more than one unit of analysis, then the coding ‘multi’ was used. The category of institution was used where our classification of ‘community’ includes the ultimate plurality of ‘nation’ (viz. Neitschmann 1994: 226).

Studies considered but excluded

Works that made reference to Indigenous circumstances but had no direct reference to entrepreneurship or its development potential were excluded as were works that had a lot to say about entrepreneurship but in contexts that did not fit the definition of ‘Indigenous’ as discussed and developed in previous sections of this paper. Literature that was judged redundant or published in dual locations was also screened out. Finally, papers that addressed core or peripheral issues entailed in the phenomenon of Indigenous entrepreneurship were dropped if they did not add significant intellectual value in a manner compatible with the formal notion of ‘research’. In other words, these tended to be papers that merely *reported* acts of or issues in Indigenous entrepreneurship but did not analyse them in any scholastically meaningful manner. Of the 102 papers considered, 33 were dropped on these grounds. The canon, at time of publication, thus consists of the 69 works provided in Appendix 1.

What are the generic fundamentals of the field?

Salient features of the literature

The frequency data illustrated in Table 1 was gathered by counting the incidences of appearance for each of the major categories of analysis found within the works deemed to constitute the canon. A subsequent examination of publication features dealing with location and quality of journals was also conducted.

These results highlight some interesting features of the canon. First, over 50 percent of works focus on ‘community’ as a theoretical or empirical unit of analysis. The next most common unit of analysis, the ‘individual’ only appeared in 21 percent

Table 1 Frequency analysis of aspects of the Indigenous entrepreneurship canon

Units of analysis	Principal themes		Methods		Publication category ^a						
	Total	Percent	Total	Percent	Total	Percent n					
Ind	15	21.7	Def	8	11.5	Case	25	36.2	A	5	7.2
Gr/Fi	8	11.5	Land	16	23.1	Surv	8	11.5	B	11	15.9
Comm	36	53.6	Cap	28	40.5	Type			C	0	0.0
Inst	3	4.3	CSN	35	50.7	E ^b	33	47.8	D	7	10.1
Multi	5	7.2	Org	25	36.2	T ^c	51	73.9	No rank	25	36.2
Nat	1	1.4							Book	8	11.5
									Other	11	15.9
Total	Na*	Na*	Na*	Na*	Na*	Na*	Na*	Na*		69	100**

^a Rankings were obtained by using the Journal Quality List (JQL) of Bradford University that contained various journal-ranking systems

^b Empirical

^c Theoretical

*Do not add up due to counting; ** May not add up due to rounding

of the works. Second, the principal theme, ‘Culture and social norms’, appeared in just over 50 percent of works, while ‘Capacity’ and ‘Organizations’ followed with 40 percent and 36 percent respectively. Third, 74 percent of the ‘Type’ of works is theoretically based, 47 percent were empirical, and of these, the majority of those that could be defined as having a specific method were case studies, at 36 percent. Finally, the authors detailed and recorded the origins of all the works included in the ‘canon’ and then by using a multi-faceted journal quality list (JQL), found that the majority of the works (36 percent) hailed from unranked journals, and that only a fraction of these papers were housed in A-grade (7 percent) or B (16 percent) ranked journals (Harzing 2007).

These findings illustrate the low level of penetration of this field of research in the mainstream literature. Of the journals reported, many were newly minted and/or had specialized content in Indigenous, regional or community studies that served as ‘outlets’ for the work so entailed. They also highlight the relative importance, in the new sub-field, of communities as opposed to the emphasis on individuals and firms in the mainstream entrepreneurship literature, and emphasize culture and social norms over capacity, resources and profits. A formal framework depicting the field of Indigenous entrepreneurship.

A formal framework of the field of Indigenous entrepreneurship research is thus presented in Fig. 2. This framework represents the outcomes of the findings detailed in our discovery and scrutiny of the canon (Appendix 1). The framework represents a distillation of the literature into four categories, 1) the level of analysis used to analyse entrepreneurial actors, 2) the motivating agenda behind the phenomenon, 3)

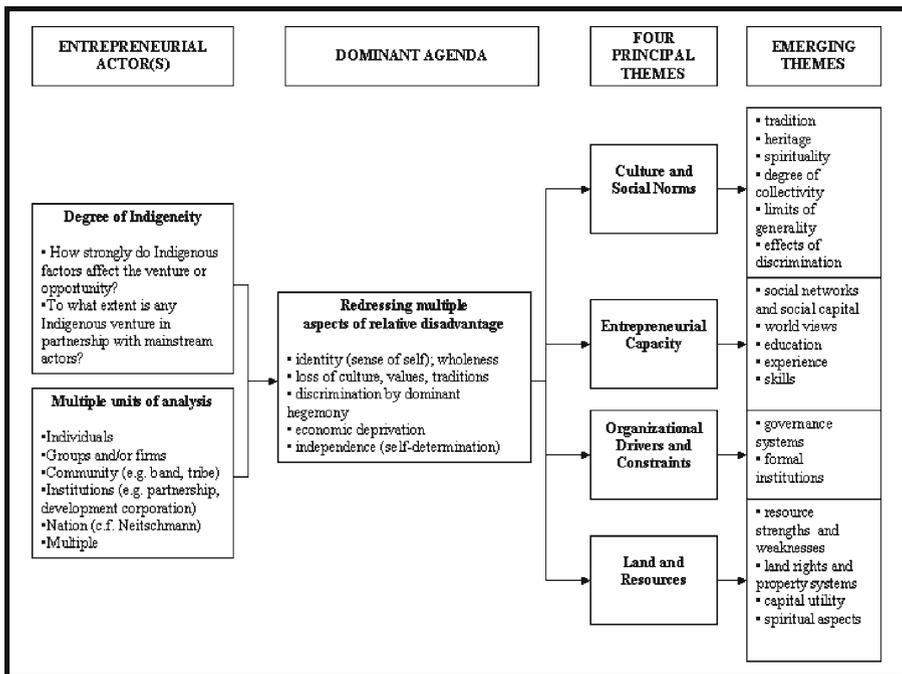


Fig. 2 Indigenous entrepreneurship research framework

principal themes emerging from the research, and 4) the emerging themes that formalize the principal themes. What this graphic clearly illustrates is that research conducted in this field has been driven by one overarching agenda: the need to redress multiple aspects of disadvantage relative to the post-colonial societies in which Indigenous people now find themselves embedded. In effect, the process of invasion and cultural domination has attenuated, and in some instances, destroyed generations of cultural knowledge closely associated with the ecological connection that Indigenous people commonly share with the lands they once ruled. This has resulted in a loss of spiritual and traditional aspects of their identity (Berkes 1999). This overarching theme of disadvantage is underpinned by the need for building economic capacity (independence) to regain the political and social control that is required for establishing self determination and the ability to respect the past while embracing the future.

In the new field, the entrepreneurial actors conducting the transformational activity of redressing Indigenous disadvantage are measured using multiple units of analysis at many levels of inquiry. Thus studies in the field of Indigenous entrepreneurship are focused upon individuals, groups/firms, communities, institutions, nations, or multiple aspects of some or all of these levels of analysis. Upon closer scrutiny of the levels of analysis used in these studies, an important feature of Indigenous entrepreneurship emerges. We classify and define this prominent feature as the ‘degree of Indigeneity’ attached to the entrepreneurial actors involved. This aspect of ‘Indigeneity’ can be assessed in two ways: 1) how strongly Indigenous factors relating to the dominant agenda affect the venture or opportunity involved with an entrepreneurial endeavour, and 2) to what extent is any Indigenous venture involved with mainstream actors. These two factors do not express a dichotomy, but instead, offer keen insight into the mindset of Indigenous entrepreneurial actors that distinguishes them from all others. In the field of Indigenous entrepreneurship, there is always an issue of whether or not and to what level venturing is a for profit exercise involving the dominant agenda and to what extent does involvement in the global economy allow the pursuit of a non-economic, cultural agenda (Hindle and Lansdowne 2005). The essence of the field is its approach to answering the questions how, and through what measures, can Indigenous people, groups, communities, or nations operate within both worlds (the mainstream hegemony and the Indigenous cultural community) to achieve their multiple goals?

The ability to achieve any such goals is addressed by four principal themes within the literature: 1) culture and social norms, 2) education and the fostering of general and specific skills required for venturing, 3) organizational drivers and constraints and 4) land and resources. Each of these principal themes are built upon the foundation of associated emerging sub-themes. We posit that the four principal themes shape the emerging theory development found within the canon of works presented.

Proposed new set of definitions

In accordance with what might be called our ‘map’ of the field of Indigenous entrepreneurship (the diagrammatic framework provided in Fig. 1), we now offer the following formal definitions. Through these definitions, the authors seek to reflect the actors, context and processes extant in the field.

Indigenous people are individuals, groups, communities or nations who reside as disadvantaged minority citizens or non-citizens of a mainstream polity, which, through the success of physical and cultural invasion, has come to dominate them in lands they once controlled or who have been displaced by the dominant hegemony from lands they once controlled.

Indigenous entrepreneurship is activity focused on new venture creation or the pursuit of economic opportunity or both, for the purpose of diminishing Indigenous disadvantage through culturally viable and community acceptable wealth creation.

Indigenous entrepreneurship, as a research field, is the scholarly examination of new enterprise creation and the pursuit of opportunities to create future goods and services in furthering economic progress by redressing key issues of the disadvantage suffered by Indigenous people. Together, the framework depicted in Fig. 1 (the map of the field) and these three new definitions comprise the culmination of our canonically-developed argument that there is a distinct field of Indigenous entrepreneurship.

Discussion: status and future of the field

Our study of the Indigenous entrepreneurship literature reveals strong convergence upon the fundamental importance of two dominant issues:

- the definition and role of ‘community’ as a consideration affecting all forms and processes of Indigenous entrepreneurship;
- and the multi-faceted importance of ‘land’ (where the word ‘land’ embraces all issues ranging from physical terrain to formal property rights).

The importance of ‘community’ emerges as one of the clearest issues to distinguish Indigenous entrepreneurship from mainstream entrepreneurship. First of all, the community may well be the protagonist of Indigenous entrepreneurial activity. Whereas mainstream entrepreneurship scholarship has been critically interested in the intentions, actions and cognitive make up of the *individual* (Shepherd and Krueger 2002; Shane 2003; Baron and Ward 2004; Mitchell 2004), Indigenous entrepreneurship has the additional burden of studying the intentions and actions of a complex plural entity—the community—whenever it takes the lead role in an entrepreneurial process. However, in the field of Indigenous entrepreneurship, there is a second, less obvious but more pervasive importance of the concept and reality of ‘community’ even when the entrepreneurial protagonist is not the community itself. Multiple aspects of community strongly affect any Indigenous entrepreneurship process even when other actors (individuals, groups, institutions) are the entrepreneurial protagonists. Consider the case where the protagonist is an individual. The end goal of the individual Indigenous entrepreneur is tied to the harmonization of several personal *and* community oriented goals that extend from his or her ability to generate new economic value (whether such value be designated as ‘profits’ or by any other term). Indigenous entrepreneurship is always strongly

conscious of the chain of effects that connects personal wealth creation and achievement with an Indigenous community's underlying *communal* goals—particularly those of redressing relative disadvantage within the dominant polity and preservation of the features which define the Indigenous community's desired distinctions from the dominant polity. This is not the same thing as saying or assuming with the naïve paternalism of some of the worst forms of outdated mainstream welfare thinking that Indigenous communities do not value individual initiative, enterprise and innovation. But it is to say that the vast majority of Indigenous communities, from the smallest band to the largest nation, are vitally interested in the maintenance of what we will call 'community integrity': that combination of factors including culture, heritage and *weltanschauung* (a comprehensive conception or apprehension of the world especially from a specific standpoint) which define the Indigenous community and can keep defining its distinctive character in a world of globalization and rapid economic change.

So, the practical illustrations of the importance of community in Indigenous entrepreneurship abound. Indigenous entrepreneurs are more likely to hire Indigenous people, creating higher rates of employment. As well, the type, structure and content of the business opportunity are often linked to traditional and heritage factors. At the end of the day, Indigenous entrepreneurs—even urban based Indigenous entrepreneurs who superficially seem to have more in common with the mainstream than their 'roots'—are still Indigenous, and cannot be removed from their existence as a distinct member of a minority community within a hegemony that is in many ways alien. This situation engenders in many Indigenous entrepreneurs a pervasive regard for the plural consideration of other community members and the relevant Indigenous community and communities as a whole, which, in turn, generates many contextual issues that mainstream entrepreneurs simply do not encounter. The research and practical relevance of the conscious address of issues pertaining to 'community' applies even in extreme contrarian cases, where Indigenous entrepreneurs reject their Indigeneity, 'opt out', or are not inclusive of community activities. Such attitudes and activities, either beyond a community, without community support, or even with community hostility still demand that overt consideration of community must be undertaken. At the crudest practical level this is because it would be bad entrepreneurial marketing to ignore strategic consideration of forces that might have a negative impact on business success. At a deeper level of sound research practice this is because protagonists' senses of identity and self-efficacy are well-established factors in helping to explain business behaviour generally and entrepreneurial behaviour in particular (Boyd and Vozikis 1994; Krueger and Brazeal 1994; Thornton 1999; Warren 2004; Zhao et al. 2005). In the extreme case of an individual Indigenous entrepreneur acting against the express wishes or values of a relevant community, hostility may be generated and is a very important factor influencing the entrepreneurial process. In summary, the nature and role of any relevant Indigenous community as a factor affecting entrepreneurial process is an issue that must be overtly considered in the study of Indigenous entrepreneurship. This is one of the strongest themes extant in the emerging canon.

We turn now, briefly, to the importance of land and well-defined property rights within the canon of works. This is both ecologically and economically intertwined with opportunity management and the successful creation of new ventures within the Indigenous context. Indigenous entrepreneurship, in common with mainstream

entrepreneurship, can only be successfully carried out in the context of well-defined property rights (De Soto 2000) and through the leverage of entrepreneurial capital. However, in mainstream entrepreneurship, especially in developed Western economies, the existence of well-defined, well-regulated property rights focused on the ability of individuals to own and dispose of property is so thoroughly assumed that it scarcely warrants attention (North and Thomas 1973; Davis and North 1970). Quite simply, in mainstream entrepreneurship, it is reasonable to assume an environment of legally-enforceable property rights and institutional abundance (e.g. the existence of capital markets, and a wide range of facilitating institutions). These ‘background assumptions’ cannot be made in Indigenous entrepreneurship. Indeed, the nature of property rights will often assume foreground status as a major impediment to entrepreneurial process (Anderson et al. 2005). In many Indigenous community situations, property rights are communally held and very hard to leverage as collateral in a way that the individual mainstream entrepreneur may take for granted (See [Government of Canada: The Indian Act, Past and Present](#)). For instance, banks and other financial intermediaries often have no experiences, policies or inclinations enabling them to value a proportion of communally held land as a security against an individual Indigenous entrepreneur’s proposed new venture. From the other side of the ledger, heritage issues entailed with land rights often complicate the assignment of commercial property rights (Sully and Emmons 2004; McIntosh 2000). In many examinations of mainstream entrepreneurial processes, the background situation of property rights may be taken for granted. In nearly all Indigenous entrepreneurship studies the nature of relevant property rights will require overt attention and scrutiny as an integral component of the entrepreneurial process.

Principal areas of controversy among existing scholars in the field

Is entrepreneurship a major or a minor issue for the economic and social development of Indigenous communities? This is a fundamental question that emerges from the works gathered.

There exists a perspective where entrepreneurship is viewed by some researchers as only a minor tool in the arsenal of Indigenous communities wishing to engage in ‘economic development’ (Anderson 2002; Cornell and Kalt 1998; 2000). In this view, Indigenous entrepreneurship should only be defined as a minor subset of ‘economic development’ and not exist as a field in its own right. Scholars of this ilk tend to want to paint with a broader brush than the entrepreneurship scholar whose focus tends to detailed study of individual examples of opportunity management and new venture creation. Many ‘broad brush’ scholars believe that the focus should be wider and directed to how development can be achieved within a global context and the modes of development that allow communities to govern their interactions with the outside world (Morris 1963; Anderson et al. 2006). For such scholars, this attitude makes entrepreneurship, though important, a secondary consideration rather than an area of primary focus. In sharp contrast, most ‘entrepreneurship oriented’ scholars view entrepreneurship as the prime driver of any meaningful hope for the economic and social improvement of Indigenous individuals, communities and nations. In particular, these scholars (Hindle and Lansdowne 2005; Sirolli 1999;

Foley 2006; Kayseas and Hindle 2007) are highly sceptical of any welfare initiatives of central hegemonic governments. Their point of view is the dominant one in the emerging field.

A further point of controversy that features in the emerging canon concerns alleged commonalities of Indigenous entrepreneurship, ethnic entrepreneurship and social entrepreneurship (Anderson et al. 2006; Peredo and Chrisman 2006). Some commentators are inclined to bracket these concepts rather than to distinguish them. The bulk of author opinion in the emerging work on Indigenous entrepreneurship argues (overtly or inferentially) that this tendency needs to be vigorously refuted. First, the original inhabitants of a land who owned it before the advent of the dominant hegemony are clearly distinguishable from ethnic minorities who arrived after the prevailing hegemony was established—by temporal if by no other distinction. The history and sociology of the two phenomena are highly distinct. The only common factor shared by both ethnic—i.e. migrant—entrepreneurs and Indigenous entrepreneurs is their minority status. Even more pernicious and fallacious than the equation of Indigenous entrepreneurship with ‘ethnic’ (migrant) entrepreneurship is the mistake of viewing it as some *a priori* subset of ‘social entrepreneurship’. Contrary to the false assumption or inference that Indigenous entrepreneurship is guided in most part by non-profit or socially driven factors, it is strongly and explicitly focused upon for-profit activities (Hindle and Lansdowne 2005). The fact that the achievement of profit motives has to embrace community values and attitudes in a more overt and complex way than is the case in mainstream entrepreneurship does not alter this fact. Indigenous entrepreneurship processes can be either profit or non-profit oriented (just as mainstream entrepreneurship may be). To equate Indigenous entrepreneurship with social entrepreneurship is *a priori* judgementalism and misplaced patronization of the same ilk that has bedevilled mainstream passive welfare systems for so long. The canon overwhelmingly evidences the reason why Indigenous people themselves are principally interested in Indigenous entrepreneurship. They value it as a means to create sustainable revenue streams as the basis of truly viable self-determination and ever less dependence on the mainstream welfare system.

Limitations of work done to date

As previously indicated, the emergent Indigenous entrepreneurship canon features more conceptual than empirical works and what empirical studies do exist tend to be case studies. This is not an unusual situation for an embryonic discipline (Kuhn 1962/1970a). The current emphasis on qualitative study results from the early stage necessity for both substantive and formal theory development (Glaser and Strauss 1967) focused upon contribution to the exploration and advancement of the field. The emergence of Indigenous entrepreneurship fits Kuhn’s picture of how nascent scholarly fields of inquiry typically appear. They begin on the periphery of existing paradigms. Nearly seventy five per cent of articles represented in the emerging Indigenous entrepreneurship canon have been published outside of mainstream academic journals in the management, sociology, strategy and entrepreneurship fields. Research papers on Indigenous entrepreneurship have, to date, rarely been tailored for or targeted toward higher-level journals, and thus there is relatively little awareness among the majority of mainstream scholars in these four established fields that there is an emerging canon

of Indigenous entrepreneurship. Promotion of this awareness has been one of the prime aims of this study.

Relatively few attempts to operationalize theory for testing and quantitative evaluation of best practices and processes for Indigenous venturing have been carried out. This once again is indicative of the nascent stage of growth within the field (Edmondson and McManus 2007; Van Maanen et al. 2007). Yet, though the research field is relatively new, the need for it is well-established. There is very little doubt in either mainstream politics or Indigenous communities of the social need for replacing decades of failed passive welfare policy instituted by a post-colonial hegemony through patronising institutions using inefficient systems. Stringent efforts are required for the expedient advancement of the field from broad theoretical concern to applied research and empirical testing that can help to enact positive change. Examination of best practices, structures and guiding frameworks is as pressing a need as the fostering of capacity through sensitive and specialized educational curricula.

Methodological issues and limitations

Indigenous peoples make the claim that they are among the most studied peoples in the world, and that little good comes from the academic research that involves them (Weir and Wuttunee 2004). This is confirmed within our study as the analysis of the emerging canon reveals that very few studies have indicated the usage of specialized techniques outside of the traditional realms of qualitative data collection. There is a long list of concerns voiced by Indigenous people that claim the data collected on their communities also require greater levels of consultation. According to a document generated for the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada:

Where power, knowledge and authority are clearly unequal, ethical guidelines seek to place limits on the exercise of power by the powerful—chiefly by moral suasion (ITC 1993).

This aim to mitigate the unequal distribution of power held by researchers in contrast to their Indigenous respondents is an ongoing struggle. Methodologies must be built upon frameworks grounded within long standing Indigenous knowledge management techniques, ensuring ownership, control, access and possession (Schnarch 2004). Through this process ‘overzealous’ colonial approaches to ethics, data collection and knowledge dissemination may be better controlled by the subjects being studied. Kayseas and Hindle are two scholars in the early stages of addressing the issue through development of a culturally sensitive protocol for use in Indigenous entrepreneurship case studies, depth interviewing and focus groups (Kayseas and Hindle 2007).

Unfortunately, to date, very little research has been generated, financed, controlled and directed by Indigenous communities themselves. A need for greater involvement by Indigenous academics in designing and conducting critical research may provide Indigenous peoples with a stronger voice in the trajectory of research concerning them. Many of the stories that must be told, and the questions that must be explored can be better facilitated through researchers grounded through the unique conditions of ‘Indigeneity’. You cannot become Indigenous. To be or not to

be is not the question. The field is in urgent need of the empathy that only being Indigenous can provide. Several universities in Canada, such as the University of Victoria and First Nations University of Canada, have responded to the need for Indigenous people to conduct research and provide specialized curriculum for Indigenous venturing. This notion is also clearly conveyed within a Royal Commission Report on Aboriginal Peoples conducted by the Canadian government:

In the past, research concerning Aboriginal peoples has usually been initiated outside the Aboriginal community and carried out by non-Aboriginal personnel. Aboriginal people have had almost no opportunity to correct misinformation or to challenge ethnocentric and racist interpretations. (Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples 1996)

Predicate perspectives include the creation of academic institutes that are wholly governed by Indigenous people. Specifically in the Canadian First Nations context, there is considerable scepticism targeted at the ability of universities to adequately produce Indigenous scholars that are not influenced by the hegemonic nature of the academic system itself. This belief is evidenced by the loss of many individuals who pursue PhD's and then become enveloped by mainstream careers in governments and universities, making the potential benefits to Aboriginal communities unclear. Relatively minor concern is given to the impact of educational assimilation. The challenge is to ensure that Indigenous individuals who work outside of their communities are capable of managing the transitions that limit their proximity to community values (First Nations Center 2007).

Future direction

It is to be hoped that the development of the field of Indigenous entrepreneurship research will be a partnership. It needs the vigorous co-involvement of academics who are representative of the hegemonic western culture but respect Indigenous culture and perspectives, and representatives of a wide range of Indigenous communities who know viscerally what it means to be a member of a disadvantaged minority but respect the norms of quality scholarship as the basis for investigation, analysis and ultimate redress of the evils of relative disadvantage. Such partnership is emerging and shows strong signs of leading to balanced development of the emergent research field. The best traditions of western scholarship ought not to be any more negotiable than respect for the empathic understanding of key themes, issues and modes of knowledge creation that only the increasing involvement of Indigenous scholars can generate.

As mainstream hegemonies come to appreciate the need for reconciliation with the Indigenous minorities of their nation states and, accordingly, Indigenous people accumulate more land and resources through treaty negotiations, the need for a defined and vigorous field of Indigenous entrepreneurship research becomes more urgent. Greater emphasis on empowering Indigenous people through a clearer understanding of their circumstances is critical to the successful harmonization of the interests of mainstream and Indigenous communities after centuries of unresolved conflict. Development of best practices for redressing disadvantage and assuring greater self-determination of Indigenous people is in the national interest of every

mainstream state with significant Indigenous minorities. The right policies of redress can only be based on rigorous research.

True civilization never comes from enforcing the social pre-eminence of any one set of cultural beliefs and ideals predicated by economic dominance. True civilization demands respect for diversity in the context of a quest for ever-improving understanding of the world. Many aspects of Indigenous approaches to innovation, and wealth creation differ in challenging ways from established Western stereotypes of entrepreneurial process. The emerging sub-field of Indigenous entrepreneurship research, as defined and mapped in this study, offers to provide better evidence, greater understanding and greater hope of addressing the distinct and chronic problems of Indigenous disadvantage which have proved insoluble for centuries. That is what the field offers us as citizens. What it offers us as scholars is a civilizing influence on the hitherto monochromatic approach to entrepreneurship scholarship. Entrepreneurship is a parent field whose axioms have been effectively if silently dominated by the world view of the prevailing Western hegemony. After detailed examination of a carefully selected canon of works, we offer three comprehensive definitions and an evidence-based, pre-paradigmatic framework as the foundations of the rapidly emerging field of Indigenous entrepreneurship. The diversity of insight offered by the emergence of Indigenous entrepreneurship as a defined and focused discipline will expand the horizons and relevance of entrepreneurship scholarship.

Acknowledgements We offer special thanks to Dr. Robert Anderson of the Hill/Levene School of Business at the University of Regina for providing critical feedback and suggestions.

APPENDIX ONE: ARRANGED INDIGENOUS ENTREPRENEURSHIP CANON (69 works)

Appendix one consists of a classified reference set of the 69 works that make up the Indigenous entrepreneurship canon.

F1: Works that specifically attempt to conceptually map or define the field

- Chamard, J. and M. Christie 1993. Entrepreneurial development in Aboriginal communities in Australia and Canada. *Small Enterprise Development*, 4(1): 27–33.
- Dana, L. P. 1995. Entrepreneurship in a Remote Sub Arctic Community. *Entrepreneurship, Theory and Practice*, 20(1): 57–73.
- Foley, D. 2000. Successful Indigenous Australian Entrepreneurs: A Case Study Analysis. *Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies Unit Research Report Series*, University of Queensland: Vol. 4.
- Galbraith, C. S., C. L. Rodriguez, et al. 2006. False Myths and Indigenous Entrepreneurial Strategies, *Journal of Small Business and Entrepreneurship*, 19(1).
- Hindle, K. and Lansdowne, M. 2005. Brave spirits on new paths: toward a globally relevant paradigm of Indigenous entrepreneurship research. *Journal of Small Business and Entrepreneurship*, 18(2): 11.

- Kayseas, B., Hindle, K., Anderson, R. 2007. *An Empirically Justified Theory of Successful Indigenous Entrepreneurship*. Australian Graduate School of Entrepreneurship, 3rd International Entrepreneurship and Research Exchange. Brisbane, Australia, February 6–9, 2007. Brisbane, Australia.
- Peredo, A. M., Anderson, R., et al. 2004. Toward a Theory of Indigenous Entrepreneurship. *International Journal of Entrepreneurship and Small Business*, 1(1): 20.
- Peredo, A. M. and Anderson, R. 2007. Indigenous Entrepreneurship Research: Themes and Variations. *Developmental Entrepreneurship: Adversity, Risk and Uncertainty*. C. S. a. C. Galbraith. Oxford, JAI Press/Elsevier.

F2: Works that consider, discuss or present data on Indigenous entrepreneurship

- Anderson, R., B., L. P. Dana, et al. 2006. Indigenous land rights, entrepreneurship, and economic development in Canada: 'Opting-in' to the global economy. *Journal of World Business*, 41(1): 45.
- Anderson, R. B., Warren Weir, Benson Honig, Leo Paul Dana, & Ana Maria Peredo 2007. Business Creation, Growth and Survival in Indigenous Communities in Canada: The Saskatchewan Experience. *International Handbook of Research On Indigenous Entrepreneurship*, L. P. D. a. R. B. Anderson. Cheltenham (UK). Edward Elgar.
- Anderson, R. B. and L. P. Dana 2007. A Multidisciplinary Theory of Entrepreneurship as a Function of Cultural Perceptions of Opportunity. *The Handbook Of Indigenous Entrepreneurship*, L. P. Dana. London, Edward Elgar.
- Berkes, F. and T. Adhikari 2006. Development and conservation: indigenous businesses and the UNDP Equator Initiative. *Int. J. of Entrepreneurship and Small Business*, 3(6): 20.
- Dana, L. P., Dana, T., and Anderson, R. 2005. A Theory-based Empirical Study of Entrepreneurship in Iqaluit, Nunavut. *Journal of Small Business and Entrepreneurship*, 18(2): 10.
- Foley, D. 2003. An examination of Indigenous Australian entrepreneurs. *Journal of Developmental Entrepreneurship*, 8(2): 133.
- Foley, D. 2006. *Indigenous Australian Entrepreneurs: Not all Community Organizations, not all in the Outback*. Centre for Aboriginal Economic Policy Research; Australian National University. Discussion Paper No. 279.
- Furneaux, C. 2007. *Indigenous Entrepreneurship: An Analysis of Capital Restraints*. AGSE 2007. Brisbane, Swinburne University of Technology: Melbourne.
- Hailey, J. 1992. The politics of entrepreneurship—affirmative-action policies for indigenous entrepreneurs. *Small Enterprise Development*, 3(2): 4–14.
- Hindle, K. 2005. The renaissance of Indigenous entrepreneurship in Australia: dream or educational possibility? *A theory of Indigenous entrepreneurship: the Edward Elgar handbook of Indigenous enterprise*. L. P. Dana. London, Edward Elgar.
- Lindsay, N., Lindsay, W., Jordaan, A., Hindle, K. 2006. Opportunity recognition attitudes of nascent indigenous entrepreneurs. *Int. J. of Entrepreneurship and Small Business*, 3(1): 20.

- Lindsay, N. J. 2005. Toward A Cultural Model of Indigenous Entrepreneurial Attitude. *Academy of Marketing Science Review*, Vol. 5(1) pp.1–17.
- Lituchy, T. R., Reavley, M. A., et al. 2006. Success factors of Aboriginal women entrepreneurs: a study of Mohawk community in Canada. *Int. J. of Entrepreneurship and Small Business*, 3(6): 18.
- Meis-Mason, A., Dana, L. and Anderson, R. 2007. Building Local Capacity to Compete Globally—A Case Study of The Inuit Commercial Caribou Harvest and Related Agri-Food Industries in Nunavut. *Journal of Entrepreneurship and Small Business*.
- Wuttunee, W. 2007. Shattering Misconceptions. *International Handbook of Research on Indigenous Entrepreneurs*, (Eds) Dana, L. and Anderson, R.B., Cheltenham (UK). Edward Elgar.
- Zapalska, A., Perry, G., Dabb, H. 2003. Maori Entrepreneurship in the Contemporary Business Environment. *Journal of Developmental Entrepreneurship*, 8 (3): 219.

F3: Works that belong to the field as defined by works coded from F1 and F2

- Anderson, R., B. 1997. Corporate/indigenous partnerships in economic development: The first nations in Canada. *World Development*, 25(9): 1483.
- Anderson, R. 2002. Entrepreneurship and Aboriginal Canadians: A Case Study in Economic Development. *Journal of Developmental Entrepreneurship*, 7 (1): 21.
- Anderson, R. B. and Giberson, R. 2003. Aboriginal Economic Development in Canada: Thoughts on Current Theory and Practise. *Ethnic Entrepreneurship: Structure and Process*, C. S. a. C. Galbraith. Oxford, JAI Press/Elsevier:
- Anderson Robert B, Kevin Hindle, Leo Paul Dana and Robert Kayseas. 2004. *Indigenous Land Claims and Economic Development: The Canadian Experience*. *American Indian Quarterly* 28(3&4): 634–648.
- Anderson Robert B, Ron Camp II, et al. 2005. Indigenous Land Rights in Canada: The Foundation for Development? *Journal of Entrepreneurship and Small Business*, 2(2): 30.
- Anderson Robert B., Scott MacAulay, Wanda Wuttunee. & Warren Weir 2006. *Building Aboriginal Economic Development Capacity: The Council for the Advancement of Native Development Officers*. *The Handbook of Research on Entrepreneurship Education* editor Alain Fayolle. Edward Elgar: Cheltenham (UK): 185–195.
- Anderson, R., Honig, B., Peredo, A.M. 2006. Communities in the new Economy: Where Social Entrepreneurship and Indigenous Entrepreneurship Meet. *Entrepreneurship as Social Change*, Steyart and Hjorth (eds). Cheltenham: Edward Elgar.
- Aspaas, H. R. 2004. Minority women's microenterprises in rural areas of the United States of America: African American, Hispanic American and Native American case studies. *GeoJournal*, 61(3): 281.
- Cachon, J.-C. 2000. Aboriginal entrepreneurship on reserves: some empirical data from Northern Ontario and considerations following the Supreme Court of Canada decision on the Delgamuukw vs British Columbia appeal. *Journal of Small Business and Entrepreneurship* 15(3): 2.

- Camp II, R. D., Robert B. Anderson, et al. 2005. Aboriginal Land Rights and Development: Corporations and Trust. **International Journal of Entrepreneurship and Small Business**, 2(2): 15.
- Cardamone, M. and R. Rentschler 2006. Indigenous innovators: the role of web marketing for cultural micro-enterprises. **International Journal of Non-profit and Voluntary Sector Marketing**, 11(4): 347.
- Chen, J., L. J. Parker, et al. 2006. Technopreneurship in Native American businesses: current issues and future with a case study. **Int. J. of Management and Enterprise Development**, 3(1/2): 70–84.
- Charlotte, P. 2007. Focus on the Ngai Tahu tribe. **Int. J. Entrepreneurship and Small Business**, xx(xx): 1–9. (forthcoming).
- Chiste, K. 1996. **Aboriginal Small Business and Entrepreneurship in Canada**, Captus Press.
- Cornell, S. and Kalt, J. P. 2000. Where's the glue? Institutional and cultural foundations of American Indian economic development. **Journal of Socio-Economics**, 29(5): 443.
- Cornell, S. and Kalt, J.P. 1998. Sovereignty and Nation Building: The development challenge in Indian Country. **American Indian Culture and Research Journal**, 4.
- Dana, L. P. 1996. Self-employment in the Canadian sub-Arctic: An exploratory study. **Revue Canadienne des Sciences de l'Administration**, 13(1): 65.
- Dana, L. P. and Dana, T. 2005. Expanding the scope of methodologies used in entrepreneurship research. **Int. J. of Entrepreneurship and Small Business**, 2(1): 79–88.
- Dodson, M. and Smith, D.E. 2003. **Governance for sustainable development: Strategic issues and principles for Indigenous Australian communities**, The Australian National University.
- Duffy, D. and Jerry, S. 1998. An assessment of Native American economic development: Putting culture and sovereignty back in the models. **Studies in Comparative International Development**, 32(4): 52.
- Fowler, J. 2007. Maori land claims: a historical perspective. **Int. J. Entrepreneurship and Small Business**, xx(x).
- Frederick, H. and Foley, D. 2006. Indigenous Populations as Disadvantaged Entrepreneurs in Australia and New Zealand. **The International Indigenous Journal of Entrepreneurship, Advancement, Strategy and Education**, 1(1): 16.
- Fuller, D. and Eileen, C. 2003. Indigenous small enterprise in Northern Australia: A case study of the Warai. **Journal of Small Business Management**, 41(1): 108.
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- Gombay, N. 2006. From subsistence to commercial fishing in Northern Canada. **British Food Journal**, 108(7): 502.
- Hindle, K. 2005. Contrasting Indigenous entrepreneurship in Australia and Canada: how three applied research perspectives can improve policy and programs. **Small Enterprise Research**.

- Hindle, K., Anderson, R., et al. 2005. Relating Practice to Theory in Indigenous Entrepreneurship: A Pilot Investigation of the Kitsaki Partnership Portfolio. *American Indian Quarterly*, 29(1/2): 1.
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